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HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

COMPILED BY

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H. H. THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT,

HYDERABAD (Deccan).



VOL. IV.

STATE DEBT.

LOANS TO STATE BY THE ARABS.

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CURRENCY.

STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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STATE DEBT.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

CHAPTER I.

STATE DEBT.

ENGLISHMAN, *November 28, 1840.*—We resume our *exposé* of Hyderabad affairs, and proceed to give another instance of British interference. We take it from the statements in a petition laid before the Resident on the 14th of May 1840, and we must therefore be understood not as if we ourselves vouched for those statements (though we are assured and believe that they are all accurate), but merely as saying that those statements were made to the Resident.

The case is that of Mahadeo-gheer, a wealthy Sahookar, formerly of Sholapore, and of his Gomastah, Govind Rao, formerly the manager of his master's *dookan* in the cantonment of Muktul.

Mahadeo-gheer was the principal Sahookar of Sholapore, and the possessor of a *dookan* in that place, which had flourished under his predecessors for nearly 80 years. He was the principal medium for the payment of the kist, or tribute, due by the Rajah of Sholapore to His Highness the Nizam, on which account and many others the Rajah was largely indebted to Mahadeo-gheer. It had formerly been the practice for the British commanding officers (acting under instructions or permission of the Residents) to countersign the Rajah's bonds to Mahadeo-gheer, but about two years and a half ago this practice was prohibited, and ceased accordingly, whereby the value of those bonds fell very considerably.

About the beginning of 1839, orders were sent from the Residency directing the dismissal of a considerable body of Arabs then in the service of the Rajah of Sholapore, and the officer then commanding at Muktul, Captain Hampton, went to Sholapore to see the order executed. The Rajah was largely in arrears to his Arabs, who refused to go until they had received their arrears, and also large sums due to them by divers persons in Sholapore; but by the firm and temperate demeanour of Captain Hampton, and a seasonable advance by Mahadeo-gheer to the Rajah of one lakh and ten thousand rupees for the arrears due to the Arabs, their removal was effected without bloodshed or riot, though at one time appearances were very untoward. Captain Hampton, however, afterwards discovered that the Rajah had retained about 50 other Arabs, and at once remonstrated with him on this evasion of the Resident's order, whereupon the Rajah asserted that he had retained only 25 (the real number being 50); that he had done so only because those Arabs had given security for him to Mahadeo-gheer for Rs. 20,000 (the real amount being Rs. 40,000), and gave a written engagement to dismiss them all in six months, whereas he kept them more than a year.

Before Captain Hampton left Sholapore, Govind Rao waited on him to request and obtain his permission to open a *dookan* in the Muktul cantonment, which Captain Hampton granted the more willingly that, owing to the poverty of the cantonment bazar people, there had been often much difficulty in procuring the necessary supplies of grain, and the several commanding officers had more than once been obliged to borrow money on their own responsibility, in order to enable the banneas to purchase grain.

Govind Rao ultimately opened a *dookan* in the cantonment bazar, which proved a great convenience to the whole station, and as he always conducted himself unexceptionably, he was proportionably esteemed. His petition contains unexceptionable references for character.

About the latter end of 1839 a change of corps took place, and Captain Jackson arrived at Muktul, and according to custom the bazar people waited on him to pay their respects, and were received accordingly, but he refused to receive the visit of Govind Rao. The latter begged Captain Hampton to testify to his respectability, but still Captain Jackson would not see him, which Govind Rao imputes to the misrepresentations of a rival Sahookar, named Seetaram, who had gone to meet Captain Jackson on his way to Muktul.

Captain Jackson soon afterwards went to Sholapore, preceded by this same Seetaram, and a moonshee, since dismissed for corruption, and on his arrival at Sholapore, being waited on by the Rajah and the principal people, he refused to admit the visit of Mahadeo-gheer, notwithstanding the Rajah's remonstrances.

Soon after, however, he sent for Mahadeo-gheer, and accused him of detaining the 50 Arabs in Sholapore, contrary to the Resident's orders. Mahadeo-gheer denied the charge, represented how impossible it was that he, a Sahookar, could compel the Rajah to keep them against his will, and for proof that it was the Rajah alone who could keep or dismiss them, he referred to the written engagement which the Rajah had given to Captain Hampton to dismiss them in six months. Captain Jackson intimated his disbelief of Mahadeo-gheer's assertions, and said he would report to the Resident, and he probably did so, for shortly afterwards he sent again for Mahadeo-gheer, and told him he had received the Resident's orders to expel him immediately from Sholapore. Mahadeo-gheer begged for time, represented that he had lakhs' worth of property in Sholapore, and that if not allowed to settle his affairs he would be ruined. Captain Jackson replied that the Resident's orders were imperative, and ultimately Mahadeo-gheer, finding entreaty useless, mounted his horse and rode off, saying that he considered Captain Jackson responsible for his property, and the cause of his ruin.

About the same time Captain Jackson sent orders to his officers at Muktul to expel Govind Rao from the cantonment (by beat of tom-tom it was said), but as he happened to be absent at the time, he was simply forbidden to return. The officer in command did not close Govind Rao's *dookan*, but it seems to have been Captain Jackson's intention that it should have been closed, and he himself expelled at the same time, for when he himself returned to Muktul he closed it, to the great delight of Seetaram, the only other Sahookar of any consequence (if there be any other at all) in that cantonment, who was thus freed from the competition of a wealthy and generally esteemed rival.

Govind Rao, who had never heard of any charge against himself, came to Hyderabad to learn of what he was accused, and to pray for inquiry into his own case and his master's. When he arrived there, he heard that a barrister was then at Secunderabad, and he applied to him to prepare an English statement of his case to lay before the Resident, as his orders had been assigned as the reason for the expulsion of Mahadeo-gheer and Govind Rao.

While his case was in preparation Govind Rao re-opened a *dookan*, which his master had formerly had in the British cantonment.

His petition was sent to the Resident on the 14th May, and was immediately returned, and the Resident informed the barrister that "he considered it objectionable that he should be the medium of communication between himself and His Highness the Nizam's subjects." Whereupon the barrister assured the Resident that he was mistaken in supposing that he had either attempted or desired to become so, but that if the words "*medium of communication*" referred to his having prepared and put into English the statements of parties desirous to appeal to the Resident for justice but ignorant how to proceed, he should at all times reserve to himself exclusively to consider the propriety of refusing or granting his assistance in that way to any who might seek it, and that in no other way had he ever interfered or sought to become a "*medium of communication*," nor should he ever desire to do so.

That Govind Rao's petition was in English and prepared by a barrister was of course a full and sufficient reason for returning it and refusing inquiry, but this was not all. He had before remained unmolested in the British cantonment, carrying on his *dookan*, but after his petition, drawn up by a barrister, had been

sent to the Resident, orders were sent to the Secunderabad Superintendent of Police to expel him from the cantonment, which was accordingly done on short notice.

Subsequently, however, when he desisted from consulting the barrister, inquiry was made into the case. Mahadeo-gheer came to Hyderabad, so did Captain Jackson, who was summoned, we believe, for the purpose, and both were frequently confronted together, about the latter end of October, at the house of the Assistant Resident,* so that this whole case seems to have been managed very much on the principle of that infernal judge, who, we are told,

Castigatque auditque dolos, cogitque fateri.

The parties are expelled in February, we believe inquiry followed in or after May, and in October Mahadeo-gheer is confronted with Captain Jackson.

This is, we think, undeniably a pretty strong case of interference, if it be admitted that the expulsion of both or either of these parties took place by order of the Resident, as Mahadeo-gheer stated was expressly alleged to him by Captain Jackson. If it be said that the expulsion of both or either was enforced at the request of the Minister, we say firstly that Govind Rao expressly stated that he appealed to the Resident, and not the Minister, because the name of the latter was never mentioned to him, and because he would never venture to interfere with an order of the Resident; and we say secondly that even if this were the case, it would have been a violation of the positive orders of the Directors contained in the Bengal Political Despatch of the 31st Oct. 1832; Mandamus papers 214, para. 18. "*With respect to the general state of the (Nizam's) country, we can only direct you (the Supreme Government) that you will instruct the Resident NEVER TO FORGET THE SOLEMN OBLIGATION HE LIES UNDER, in NO CASE to permit the subsidiary force of even the Nizam's own Army, so long as it is OFFICERED BY BRITISH SUBJECTS, to obey the requisitions of the Minister, UNTIL he has FIRST SATISFIED HIMSELF that the purpose for which their services are required is a just one, and even then to require from the officer in command the fullest report of all his proceedings.*" Yet here we have a British Officer of the Nizam's army expelling people from their homes in February (or thereabout), one of those people again expelled from a British Cantonment in May (for no other crime, that we can discover, but that he got a barrister to write his petition in English),—all this done without either of those people having their case duly investigated; and then, last of all, an investigation takes place in October.

The Directors' order is a highly salutary one, for though the Native Government does occasionally act on *ex-parte* and erroneous information, it has no hesitation in retracing its steps when they are entirely its own, but when the British Resident becomes a party to them the case is very different, and, *à fortiori*, when the acts originate with the Resident alone, the Minister never dreams of countermanding them. When the British Resident becomes a party to the Minister's acts, a reference to the latter is a mere form; he never changes, whatever may be his internal conviction. He dislikes exposing himself to the possibility of having his change of purpose imputed to precipitancy, caprice, vacillation, or corruption, and of being either told so personally, or of such a report being made to the Supreme Government.

Inquiry ought therefore to be carefully made before proceeding to action in every case to which the British Resident becomes a party.

This is, for the present, our last instance of British interference, though we may perhaps at a future opportunity say something about Sholapore that will *rather* amaze some of our readers.

ENGLISHMAN, *January 28, 1841.*—In the statement which we gave a few weeks ago of the case of Kishen Doss, the Hyderabad Sahookar, we adverted to the disputes which had occurred between him and his former partner, Mr. Dighton, and the constant accusations which the latter made to the Minister against Kishen Doss, but which the

* It was stated from a credible quarter that when the petition against Captain Jackson was laid before the Resident, the Assistant Resident wrote to Captain Jackson to the effect that he need not make himself uneasy about it, for that when Kishen Doss's complaint against Mr. Dighton had been laid before the Supreme Government, they had declined to grant even an inquiry.

Minister disbelieved, and had even endeavoured, though in vain, [*eaten by insects*]. It will be remembered that Kishen Doss petitioned the Resident for an inquiry into his case (after Mr. Dighton had *refused* to submit to English arbitration), supporting his allegations by Mr. Dighton's own letters; that his petition was forwarded to the Supreme Government, who viewing the case *probably and naturally*, through the medium of their representative, whose bias in favour of Mr. Dighton his own letters place beyond a doubt, decided ultimately on refusing the inquiry prayed for; and that subsequently the Minister was compelled, notwithstanding his remonstrances, to deprive Kishen Doss of all his districts. It was also distinctly stated, by one not likely to be misinformed, that two broad hints from an influential quarter (one of the *British* authorities) had been conveyed to the Minister against Kishen Doss; one to the effect that Kishen Doss "*was a bad man and ought not to be allowed to attend the darbar*;" the other, to the effect that the Minister ought *not* to have paid Kishen Doss a sum of Rs. 50,000 (fifty thousand) which he had paid him a few days before, and which was only a small part of what the Minister owed him—the Minister having been previously forbid to give him districts, *almost* the only, if not *the only other way* in which he *could* pay Kishen Doss *at all*. He had before tried, ineffectually, the plan of giving him assignments on the districts held by Mr. Dighton.

We stated that the Minister had given incontestable proofs of the regard in which he held Kishen Doss, and of his utter disbelief of the truth of the accusations made against him, and of his own desire to do him justice, but we likewise showed that the influence which Mr. Dighton possesses or (which as to its effect is exactly the same thing) is believed to possess at the Residency (and we will add that the grounds for such belief are stronger by far than we can easily reconcile with the idea of that impartiality which *ought* in all such matters to distinguish those who are permitted to represent the British Government and character) is such that the Minister stands in awe of it, is most anxious to conciliate it, and afraid to act in opposition to it, and that therefore there was little chance that justice would be done to Kishen Doss so long as British influence was thrown into the scale against him on one hand, while on the other the British authorities refused not only to do him justice, but even to *inquire* into his case.

We have been led into this brief recapitulation by a letter which has been forwarded to us from our former informant, and which corroborates in the most incontestable manner the justice and truth of our former statements, and the absolute necessity which exists, if the character of British justice is to be upheld, for instituting a speedy inquiry into conduct so grossly unjust as that of Kishen Doss's adversaries is alleged to be—into injustice which he states, and we fear with too much truth (for, besides our former reasons, every sentence of the following letter carries conviction to our minds), is effected solely under cover of British influence.

The letter is dated 24th Shuwal 1256 Hijree (18th December 1840), and is addressed to the Minister by Row Hoolas Row, whom he had deputed to go into the districts which had been transferred from Kishen Doss to Mr. Dighton, to inquire into certain advances which Kishen Doss, while he was Talookdar, had made to the ryots on account of Government (and was therefore entitled to have repaid to him), and proved it by accounts, but which either Mr. Dighton himself or his Moonshee Azim Ali* and his other people for him (and, we must presume, by his direction) refuse to repay until the ryots should have personally acknowledged each advance. These districts are the same, or some of them, the remainder of the lease of which, viz., some eight or nine years, in the beginning of 1839, Mr. Digh-

* Since his master's recent accession of influence this person calls himself Azim Ali Khan Bahadoor, and assumes, we are told, most amusing airs. Mr. Dighton's Talookas are given him in the name of this Moonshee of his, who thereupon gives out, as we are assured, that it is *he* who has made Mr. Dighton what he now is, it is *he* who *really* manages everything. Not long ago, we understand, the Minister sent some presents to this Azim Ali, who, thinking them less than his dignity required, received them with the utmost contempt, and at first said he would *return them to the Minister*—which would have been an unpardonable insult. This was probably merely to impress those within hearing with an adequate idea of the dignity and influence of the man who could even *talk* of insulting the Minister, for he soon allowed himself to be dissuaded from this, but said he would positively have the presents sold in the bazaar, and carry the proceeds to the credit side of the Minister's accounts.

Such is the version of this story given to us and current at Hyderabad, and the names of the parties whence our informant learned it are tolerable vouchers for its accuracy. If it proves anything, it is that this Moonshee considers his master's influence too great for the Minister to think of punishing the "*homme d'affaires*" of so powerful a person.

ton sold to Kishen Doss for about one lakh and thirty thousand rupees, and which, in January 1840, by repeated importunity and by offers of increased revenue, Mr. Dighton induced the Minister to take from Kishen Doss and give to himself (without his repaying the Rs. 1,30,000), and this only a fortnight after the Minister had given Kishen Doss a written confirmation of his lease until 1847.

The Minister's deputy, or judge appointed to *decide* on the matters in dispute (of course with the intention that his decision was to be as binding on Mr. Dighton's people as on Kishen Doss) goes to the *spot*, and he shall now speak for himself, translating as exactly as we can from the Persian :—

"I before gave you a full statement of proceedings here. The Naib [*i.e.*, Mr. Dighton's] of Humnumkoondah had promised to bring together the parties concerned [*i.e.*, the ryots from whom Kishen Doss claims]. I wrote to the said Naib that in the town of Humnumkoondah, and Matawarrah and Rammanapait, which are joined to the town, two hundred and fifty persons who, according to a statement of particulars enclosed, owe Rs. 1,930 for the purchase of grain, are present : let them be directed to attend. In consequence of this the Naib appointed two peons to bring in the parties, and wrote to me to come to the Kutcherry, that a confronting of all the parties might take place *in his presence*. * Accordingly, I and Meer Gholam Ali, the Naib (*i.e.*, Kishen Doss's former Naib) with our accountants, went to the Kutcherry. A comparison of accounts was made with 25 persons who stood indebted for trifling sums : the particulars are enclosed in the *urzee*. One person amongst these, the servant of Bolia Kullal, owed a sum of sixty rupees. The Kullal procured a written security, at the time the Mootsuddes [Kishen Doss's] were returning to Hyderabad, for the payment of this sum, from a horseman in the pay of Rajah Govind Narain, whose horsemen are stationed here. The bond of Ettoba (the horseman) is forthcoming, and Ettoba has acknowledged in the presence of the Naib (Mr. Dighton's) that the claim is just, and that he would importune the Kullal and pay the amount to Government. The bond is made payable to Gholam Ali Khan, the deposed Naib (Kishen Doss's), and in consequence the Naib in office (Mr. Dighton's) declares that the claim is a private claim of Gholam Ali Khan, and that he will not *inquire* into it. I got up, † and with the Mootsuddes of the deposed Talookdar returned home.

"Also Wuzeer Ali Beg, son of Moorad Beg, the deposed Naib (*i.e.*, Kishen Doss's) of Pakal, having received five hundred rupees from the Sircar (Government) as an advance for cultivation had passed his bond for it, and having purchased bullocks carried on cultivation in Pakal. After the removal of Kishen Doss from the charge of the district, he has lived in retirement at Humnumkoondah. The bullocks which the Government advance had purchased have been seized by a bunnea for a debt of two hundred rupees, and employed in *his* cultivation. Wuzeer Ali says if the bullocks be restored to him he will sell them and pay his debt to the Government. ‡ The debt he had contracted to the bunnea was on account of the marriage of his daughter, and *not* to assist in the cultivation he was carrying on. The Naib *tells* him to pay the money to the Sircar first, and *then* he will *inquire* into the matter of bullocks. *Besides the bullocks, Wuzeer Ali has no other ostensible means of paying.* If such partiality be shown to the ryots, *in what way will the Sircar be able to realize its dues?*

"There is one Mahomed Mooneen, who owed 4½ annas ; upon being called on he said he had paid the money to Rutneia, the Mootsuddee who had charge of the grain-store in Kishen Doss's time, and the Mootsuddee acknowledged it ; the Naib (Mr. Dighton's) in consequence made a written record of the statement of the Moot-

* This Mr. Dighton's Naib at once sets himself above the person whom the Minister has appointed to inquire and decide : he tells him to attend his Kutcherry—that the examination must take place only in *his* presence. The object of *this* will soon appear. Seldom do the natives dare to speak the truth where contrary both to the pleasure of their superior and also to the interest of their own pockets. This was the case here : they were called on to admit, in the presence of their superior and against that superior's wishes, that they owed a debt to that superior's enemies. We shall see how this Naib treated the few who dared to admit their just debts.

† Got up and went away in *disgust*. Mr. Dighton again and most unequivocally declares that he is to decide upon the decisions of the Minister's deputy, sent expressly to settle the matter ; and it being notorious that he is supported by superior authority, the Minister's deputy has nothing to do but to retire—he is helpless.

‡ We are assured, and can readily believe, that no native in the Nizam's dominions but Mr. Dighton's Naib would dare to give preference to payment of any claim over that of the Sircar, especially when prior. This Naib, however, fearlessly robs the Sircar in order to rob Kishen Doss, his master's enemy, at the same time.

suddee and Mahomed Mooneen, and, *having been very angry with the Mootsuddee, proclaimed with a loud voice in the Kutcherry that every person who should ALLEGE having paid money to Rutneia AGAINST his bare allegation would be admitted!!* *

"Nursingum Bunnea owed one rupee one anna; he at first denied the debt, but having made up his accounts with the Mootsuddee (Kishen Doss's) he gave his note for it. The Naib (Mr. Dighton's) *returned him his note and made him tear it!!!*

"When the ryots hear such expressions from the mouth of the Naib, they will all say: 'We have paid Rutneia Mootsuddee, and do not owe a fraction,' since but few documents passed concerning their purchases of grain, the transactions resting upon accounts between the parties.

"Lutchmee Narsoo, Putwarry of Hunnumkoondah, realized after my arrival here Rs. 21 from the Daers, and when confronted he acknowledged it; and Bundeia Desmook had also realized Rs. 13 from Ramroo, a weaver; the weaver when the matter was inquired into acknowledged it. These people belong to the Naib (Mr. Dighton's, i.e., to the districts, and have no connection with Kishen Doss); *to THEM he has expressed no resentment for having WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SIRCAR collected balances which were due to IT in account with the former collector, whilst to the Mootsuddee of the former collector, who had charge of his grain, he was so very violent for a matter of 4½ annas. UPON WHAT PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE IS THIS?†*

"I do not see any likelihood of this business being settled; for as yet even the persons owing *small* balances for purchases of grain have not been brought before me; but when a comparison of accounts of the sums collected, and of the advances to ryots for carrying on cultivation, amounting to thousands of rupees, shall be entered on, *what adjustment can be expected when such groundless pretences are used?!!*

"Butcheia, the Sheristadar of the district, has not yet left the city. If the Sirkar desire a comparison to be made of what sums have been collected, and the advances made to the ryots, by the deposed Naib (Kishen Doss's), he pleased to give strict orders to Azim Ali Khan Bahadoor that *his* Naib's (the districts are held by Mr. Dighton in his moonshee's name) do not favour the ryots, but adjust the accounts with fairness, and that whatever I, considering it to be just, may say to the Naibs of the present and deposed collectors, they shall consent to it.

"If what I say is not cared for by the Naib of the person in office, of what use is my remaining here? It appears to me that it will be difficult to adjust in a period of years the accounts of the collections of revenues made at this place. I submit *urzees* to you *repeatedly* on *small* matters, which is not consonant with the rules of respect. I shall obey whatever you may be pleased to enjoin."

This remarkable letter places beyond all doubt the *inability* of the Minister to do justice to Kishen Doss in the teeth of the powerful influence opposed to him. The writer is not arguing in favour of Kishen Doss. It will be seen, on a careful perusal, that his anxiety is for the *Government* dues, but his decisions are laughed at, though he has been deputed directly from the Minister. He indicates plainly his conviction that the injustice of the Naibs proceeds from the orders of Azim Ali, and that different orders from him will put a stop to it. Who then is this Azim Ali, and what is he? He is a man of straw; he is whatever the influence of his temporary master makes him. He was Kishen Doss's moonshee when Mr. Dighton was in partnership with Kishen Doss; on their disagreeing he went to the stronger party. He is Mr. Dighton's moonshee, and his name is used as a convenient screen under cover of which his master holds districts. He is the mere agent of Mr. Dighton, who can control his every action, and is therefore responsible, not legally (there being neither law nor justice in the country) but morally.

If there be one tittle of truth in the above letter or the statement we published about Kishen Doss's case, Kishen Doss is the victim of gross injustice, which cries

* Mr. Dighton's Naib proclaims aloud, in an angry tone, that he will thus severely punish a former servant of Kishen Doss for merely admitting that he owed his former master 4½ annas! Would this encourage large debtors to admit their debts.

† While he is furiously angry with an old servant of Kishen Doss's for admitting a just debt of 4½ annas to his old master, he takes no notice of the fact that his own people have secretly collected 34 rupees of Government money. Where can any other Talookdar be found whose Naibs would dare act thus?

aloud for inquiry and redress—inquiry as to whence originated the overwhelming influence which enables his enemies to plunder, and disables the Minister from doing him justice. He says publicly that it is the influence of the British Residency, and British subjects patronized by the Residency ; and will the British Government say that this is not a case calling for inquiry ? If it was ever true that

“ He who permits oppression shares the crime,”

doubly true must it be if that oppression be proved to have originated in either the apathy, credulity, or connivance of the parties whose single word could put an end to it, and who are therefore justly responsible for its continuance.

How the above letter got into our informant's hands we will not mention ; it sufficiently shows how hopeless is Kishen Doss's case in the quarter it refers to ; it must have convinced even the Minister of this, but though from the whole tenor of his conduct towards Kishen Doss we are convinced he desires to see justice done to this persecuted Sahoooar, we cannot learn that he has ventured to make any open declaration of his good will, or of his intention to recompense him in some other way. He may have done so, or, if not, most likely will, but it will be in *private*—and WHY ?

Let the Government ask WHY ?

ENGLISHMAN, *February 19, 1841.*—We understand that since the publication of our last article but one on Hyderabad affairs, the Resident addressed a formal note to the Minister acquainting him that it never was his, the Resident's, intention to constitute himself a patron of Mr. Dighton, or to interfere in that gentleman's favour, in the manner we showed he was believed to do.

This is all, we doubt not, fair and well-meant enough on the part of the Resident, but it is much too late to serve any useful purpose at Hyderabad, though the note will doubtless be adduced at head-quarters as a full vindication of the Resident's proceedings.

Nearly two years of intimacy with, and extravagant eulogium upon Mr. Dighton on the part of the Resident (to say nothing of his having placed that gentleman in the unprecedented position of umpire over the Minister and one of his subjects) have shown the Minister what the Resident's *real* wishes and opinions are respecting that gentleman ; and the Minister is quite crafty enough to feel that the more Mr. Dighton's conduct is criticized and commented on either in matters where, like Kishen Doss's case, the Resident by refusing to interfere or inquire has virtually expressed his approbation,—or, in consequence of proceedings into which, as in Poorun Mull's case, he was led by the Resident himself,—the more, in all human probability, will the Resident be disposed to take his part, and identify himself with him, so far as public appearances will permit. Mankind are much more easily swayed through the medium of their prejudices and partialities than through that of their principles, and no one knows this better than the Minister, or will be more sure to act upon it. Besides, the Minister knows full well that were he now, immediately upon the receipt of the Resident's note, denying all interest in Mr. Dighton, publicly and at once to throw Mr. Dighton overboard, or even reduce his influence to the condition in which it stood before Major-General Fraser's arrival, it would be in effect the severest censure he could possibly pass on that officer's previous conduct—the greatest affront he could offer him, and the one of all others least likely to be forgotten or forgiven.

It would be in effect to declare publicly to the Governor General that (which we understand to be literally the fact) he had only shown so much deference and conceded so much influence to Mr. Dighton before in consequence of his being persuaded by the Resident's conduct that that officer had identified himself with that gentleman : but that, when once assured that he might do as he pleased in that respect, he had at once proved the extent of the constraint under which he had formerly laboured by immediately letting Mr. Dighton's influence sink to its former state of insignificance.

The Resident, we learn, has of late greatly softened, if not entirely abandoned, that system of minute, petty, and constant interference with the Minister to which we so often alluded ; and as quiet is all that the Minister wants, he will not be the person to trouble the quiet waters by pursuing a line of conduct so unequivocally condemnatory of the Resident as that to which we have alluded—indeed we believe the old gentleman would as soon face the Prince of Darkness as the burst of exasperation which such conduct would infallibly excite against him.

The Minister knows the Resident's private feelings and wishes in this matter ; he knows them from the Resident's *acts*, and no *word* that the Resident can *now* use will make him alter his purpose of securing Mr. Dighton's good will at any cost, to conciliate the Resident by this deference to his private wishes—a deference which will come with all the better grace if, as we learn, the Resident has been at length obliged to give a public denial of those wishes, or rather a denial that he entertains any such wishes in his public capacity.

We understand there is one way in which justice might perhaps be done, to a very partial extent, between Kishen Doss and Mr. Dighton, and as we are informed that there is a late precedent for it (we forget what it is and have mislaid our informant's letter) we will mention it, though we must at the same time reiterate our thorough conviction that so long as General Fraser remains at Hyderabad, none but British subjects will ever dare to do justice in any case where Mr. Dighton is concerned. What we mean is that a suggestion should be made, as on a former occasion, to the Nizam's Government, to appoint some of its own officers (we mean those commanding its own irregulars, not the British officers commanding the reformed troops) to inquire into the case and to enforce their award. As the (alleged) injustice in question (and most gross it was if there be a particle of truth in K. D.'s statements, or Mr. Dighton's letters and writings on which those statements are founded) originated in a great degree in the influence which Mr. Dighton was understood to enjoy with the Resident, and as both that officer and the Supreme Government (acting probably upon his suggestions, advice, or representations) have refused to make any inquiry themselves into this case, the least which the Government can do, disposed as we are sure they are to avoid even the appearance of sanctioning oppression towards the natives on the part of British subjects, is to inquire whether there be not such a precedent as that to which we have referred, and if so to recommend its adoption in the present instance.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *March* 12, 1846.—The Nizam's Government, we hear, are now unceasingly occupied with an endeavour to raise a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees. For what purpose this specific amount has been fixed upon does not appear, but we have reason to imagine that the demand refers rather to a general want of money than to any particular object in view, and that half a crore of rupees being sufficient both to clear off the liabilities incurred toward the British Government—about twenty-five lakhs in value—and to leave a balance which will afford a financial respite of some months' duration, the Hyderabad Executive have chosen it in preference to any lesser sum. As concerns a greater amount, they would never, we think, succeed in raising it.

The recourse of the Government for this accommodation is to the Aumils and Sahookars, but from the former it has become hopeless for them to expect money, as these already claim large balances against the State ; the Sahookars, however, are persecuted with importunity, and as they dare not openly resist the demand, their only alternative, except compliance, is to evade it by the best means within their power. They shrink from asking in what manner their debts are to be paid, or rather from requiring the assignments which the Government ostensibly propose to give them, being apprehensive lest the Nizam, who has no assignments at his disposal, should find himself driven into a corner and make them the objects of his resentment. This backwardness on their part opposes a barrier to improvement, for even assuming that the dignity and temper of the Sovereign would consist with his permitting the Sahookars to discuss financial matters with him,

• they would never dare to represent his increasing difficulties in their true light, or to point out the legitimate method of encountering and removing them. Faithfully warned by those on whom he reckons for assistance, His Highness might even now perhaps be roused to attempt the retrieval of his disastrous affairs, but none cares to make him acquainted with the worst, and so long as he can stave off the day of ruin by expedients like the present, he will not himself venture to look it in the face.

The Sahookars, like Shakspear's Master Dumbleton, hint at "security," but instead of devising ways and means for their contentment, and so of raising the money needful out of hand, the Nizam and his counsellors refer them to all manner of persons, whose arguments and assurances may be supposed likely to serve instead of more solid gratifications—as did *not* Falstaff's and Bardolph's bond for the matter of the satin short cloak and slops. Rajah Oojaghur Chund was the first referee mentioned, and he harangued the Sahookars regarding the high honour of the Sovereign and his own good faith toward them, but, like the mercer aforesaid, they doubted the value of such securities for the loan.

They were next handed over to Iktidar Jung, who called their attention to the thriving business driven by them under the Nizam's Government, and pointed out the necessity of their maintaining it if only for their own 'sakes; adding that as they were all embarked in the same boat, they should strive all to keep the craft afloat. The spokesman of the party then pertinently inquired wherefore these observations were addressed to the small number of Sahookars (about a dozen) present, instead of to an assemblage of their whole body, amounting to something near one thousand, who might be drawn together for that purpose. "Take this course," was the upshot of his rejoinder, "and we will then see what can be done." Of such an opening Iktidar Jung would have done well to take advantage, as the speaker evidently implied that the wishes of Government would in that case be, to a certain extent at least, complied with; but, from oversight or other causes, the opportunity escaped unnoticed, and although the conference has been since occasionally renewed, no advertence to the proposition of the leading Sahookar appears to have been thought of. This is the more singular because justice and common sense dictate the measure of making all contribute toward the public exigency, instead of devolving the burthen only upon a few. The above spokesman, however, made too narrow a specification when pointing out those who in his opinion should be made to share the loss; since every man who draws his subsistence from the State is as much embarked on board the vessel, and as clearly involved in the necessity of keeping her above water, as are the Sahookars themselves. For example, the class to which Iktidar Jung belongs, and the members of which are generally wealthy like himself, ought in all reason to furnish their quota whenever a public contribution is required. At page iii. section 224 of the new edition of Vattel, by Chitty, it is observed that "every thing in the political society ought to tend to the good of the community; and since even the persons of the citizens are subject to this rule, their property cannot be excepted. * * * The right belongs to the society * * of disposing in case of necessity * * of all the wealth contained in the State."

This is unquestionably a just view of the subject, and one which applies with considerable force to the case of those who derive their maintenance from the Government of the Nizam; had Iktidar Jung been made to understand the principle, he would perhaps have refrained from further attempts to convince the Sahookars of their duty to relieve the necessities of the Nizam. The Government officers at Hyderabad are, however, too ignorant to embrace any comprehensive idea of a political question, and too imbecile to carry it out although they did so. We must, however, add that the Nizam has no right to demand extraordinary contributions from his people, unless he is prepared to give them a sufficient guarantee for the better governance of his affairs hereafter, so as to preclude the possibility of similar exigencies happening again. The profligate mismanagement of its rulers has alone brought the Deccan kingdom into the embarrassments which are tending toward its overthrow, and as the Sovereign, who now administers his own affairs,

is obstinately pursuing that evil system of lavish expenditure commenced by a former Minister, whereby the foundation of bankruptcy was laid, he cannot plead any title to unusual public benevolences for the redemption of his exchequer. If indeed there was a prospect of future amendment, the citizens and servants of the State would do well to answer his demands, because they might in many cases be losers by a change of Government, and few of them, we fancy, are disposed to seek it. This hope was, however, altogether chimerical under the rule of the Nizam, since there is not anywhere existing among his servants either character, ability, firmness, or honesty sufficient to guarantee the completion of even one measure undertaken in a proper spirit and for the public good.

SPECTATOR, *April 14, 1846.*—In further explanation of the Hyderabad affair mentioned by us on Saturday last, we have since heard that Hussunooddeen Khan had taken possession of Rajah Ram Bux's house, with a company of about five hundred Rohillas, in order to enforce the payment of his debt; but on the Nizam's undertaking to give him assignments upon the revenue the bulk of his followers were withdrawn, and he himself remains at the dwelling of the Minister, attended by a personal guard of perhaps twenty of their number. With a view of protecting that personage against affront and outrage at their hands, the Sovereign despatched a party of Arabs, accompanied by certain of his disciplined troops—not they of the Contingent, however, for that is his no other wise than in name, but the least effective soldiers of any at his disposal—to act as a counterguard. Meanwhile the semblance of a friendly understanding subsists between Rajah Ram Bux and his importunate creditor, who, together with the people in attendance on him, is maintained at the Minister's expense. How the matter will ultimately be adjusted we have some desire to see, as Hussunooddeen Khan does not seem willing to accept any amount of promises in lieu of hard cash, which may not prove forthcoming for a while. It is greatly to be desired that both the Nizam and his servant should experience protracted and serious annoyance arising out of this transaction, inasmuch as they might perchance learn a lesson of economy and prudence from their humiliation and embarrassment.

His Highness, we hear, has given two thousand gold mohurs, valued at two lakhs of rupees, but marketable at a somewhat lower rate, to be put in pawn for the purpose of raising a sum of like amount, in part payment of an advance of five lakhs of rupees made by Pestonjee but a short time previous to the resumption of his districts, and which the Nizam had promised to refund, leaving the adjustment (or rather the clearing off) of his claims—estimated at about forty lakhs of rupees—to be dependent on the winding up of the unsettled district accounts. Were his ability commensurate with his good intentions, we believe that the poor Nizam would act honestly towards those who prefer claims upon him, but he has neither the means of discovering what is due to any party, nor yet capacity enough to penetrate the utter want of uprightness which characterizes all about him, and hence it follows that he is always found at fault. Supposing him even to attempt the examination of Pestonjee's or any other creditor's accounts, he would inevitably miss his proper mark; for if he manifested no hasty temper on the occasion, but was content to place confidence in the award of his deputed servants, they would assuredly accept bribes and collude with the party under trial to defraud their master; and if again he commenced his inquiry in a harsher and more suspicious spirit, the probabilities are that the individual concerned—whatever might be the justice of his claims—would meet with not a shadow of equitable dealing. Things have indeed arrived at such a pitch of demoralization that spontaneous improvement seems little less than hopeless. Pestonjee, it would appear, has, through the medium of the Nizam's pledged gold mohurs, been paid about four lakhs out of the five owing, but since His Highness's treasury is in a well-nigh exhausted state, the wheels of Government cannot, we should think, by any similar expedients, be much longer kept from coming to a standstill. Over and above all the other financial burthens of his State, the loan received by it

from the Company has now increased to twenty-seven lakhs, and is advancing at the rate of no less than three lakhs per month! Paid off, under existing circumstances, we see not how it can be, and the wisest course for the Supreme Government to pursue would therefore be to claim a right of interference whenever its amount has grown to fifty lakhs. The assumption on our part of some share in the domestic management of the country would save the overlaid machine of the Nizam's power from breaking irreparably down; would prove a God-send to his impoverished and suffering people; would place our own interests in the Deccan upon a far more satisfactory footing than they hold at present; and would afford His Highness the chance of becoming a wiser and a better sovereign than he has been, by teaching him that something more is necessary to support a Government than mere personal indulgence and the gratification of unworthy favourites.

SPECTATOR, *May 9, 1846.*—It appears that the Hyderabad Sahookars, whose dealings with the Nizam we mentioned in our last, are unaccountably desirous of making the loan required by His Highness upon their former guarantees, the daily decreasing worthiness of which they do not seem to have perceived. Can it be that the leading men among them are unable to forego the importance arising from their loans to Government, and therefore willingly encounter a risk which under other circumstances they would incur reluctantly, if they hazarded it at all?

The Nizam, we learn, remonstrated with the Sahookars upon the subject of their making difficulties about advancing money to his Executive, and observed that they lent it to the Company at four per cent. On this, one of their number, Hurree Das, a Sahookar who has been much in communication with the English replied plainly, addressing himself to the Nizam, that the Company were more Sahookars than themselves, and that *their* credit was such as to ensure any person getting his money if he only so much as hung their paper on a tree. If the Nizam possesses the faculty of deduction, this blunt answer must have been at once intelligible and unpalatable enough. The usage of the Deccan Court, however, like that of most other sovereigns, does not sanction personal remarks to the Prince, and the bystanders accordingly followed the common practice where any disagreeable topics are likely to jar on royal ears, of desiring the truth-spoken Sahookar to hold his peace. We do not hear that he provoked a rejoinder by his boldness, or that the Nizam manifested any token of displeasure at it. In this respect he proved more fortunate than the Persian Ambassador to England, of whose misadventure through similar uncourtier-like veracity Sir Gore Ouseley was an eye-witness. That functionary, it appears, had been received in the British capital with much courtesy and distinction, and carried home with him an answering sentiment of respect for the great people among whose magnates he had resided.

SPECTATOR, *May 12, 1846.*—Among our recent proofs of the evil effect of this system, we may observe that another humiliating dilemma of Rajah Ram Bux is included. That Minister, it appears, had become bound to an Arab, Sultan Ghalib, for the payment of a lakh of rupees due from other parties who had borrowed the money. At the door of the Rajah, therefore, this person took up his station; from which he would not be dislodged otherwise than by the payment of his debt, a process peculiarly difficult to the beset functionary, who has no lakhs of rupees waiting on the call of them that dun him. Finding himself thus perplexed, Rajah Ram Bux sought the aid of Abdoolla bin Ali, and was eventually ridded of the Arab's importunity, but upon what conditions we are not informed. It were needless for us to point out what must be the state of a kingdom when the Chief Minister is dependent for his quietness and freedom—perhaps for his life also—upon the good offices of a foreign mercenary, whose amount of control over public affairs will be of course measured only by the interest or inclination of the tribe to which he appertains. The lamentable feature of the affair is that this state of things should exist under the very noses of a body of British troops, and natives British officered, sufficient

to restore order and to sweep the mercenaries out of the country, but who absolutely effect nothing towards either end, because of the fatal estrangement subsisting between the Government which nominally retains them, and that which they are really made to obey.

SPECTATOR, *May 14, 1846*.—The Nizam, we hear, has required Iktidar Jung either to pay three lakhs of rupees into the treasury or to give up his appointments, an alternative which, though something arbitrary, is not very much to be found fault with, considering the destitute situation of His Highness's Government. Iktidar Jung is understood to be an honest officer, but his receipts, like those of every other functionary at the Deccan capital, are on an extravagant scale, and since to cut them down regularly would involve a thorough remodelling of the whole system—about as difficult an achievement as was any of those performed by the son of Alcmena—the Sovereign has no other resource than to levy occasional contributions. We do think, however, that His Highness would have shown more shrewdness and better taste had he, instead of mulcting his upright servant, come down upon some of those unscrupulous and roguish ones who are worthier of the screw, and who would have given forth richer abundance under its pressure. Another official, who bears likewise a good reputation, has been dismissed by the Nizam, but for what reason we are not aware. He offers a lakh of rupees as the price of his restoration, but it is quite impossible to say whether the purchase will be accepted, inasmuch as he was too scrupulous to soil himself in the common sewers of low intrigue which taint the moral atmosphere of Hyderabad. His emoluments, as was the case with all granted under Chundoo Lal's administration, have sufficed to render him a wealthy man, and the impoverished Soubah may therefore probably endeavour to make merchandize of him to a greater extent than he at present offers. Iktidar Jung's perplexity will no doubt terminate in a compromise.

SPECTATOR, *June 30, 1846*.—It appears that the Minister of the Nizam has got himself into another pecuniary difficulty, by his neglecting to fulfill the obligations taken upon him. He had borrowed a lakh and twenty-five thousand rupees from one of the Sahoo-kars, named Jankee Dos, the payment of which sum he from time to time evaded on various pretexts, keeping his creditor meanwhile in good humour by the expedient of employing him as his Shroff. In this capacity Jankee Dos was entrusted by the Rajah with a sum of Rs. 1,80,000 for payment into the treasury of the British Resident; it so happened, however, that by the time forty thousand rupees had been thus disposed of, the house of Jankee Dos failed, and he accordingly arrested the balance remaining with him as a set-off against his own unliquidated debt. This course was consonant with the usage prevailing among Hindu merchants, who have, we presume, some law for it, and is to a certain extent authorized by English legal practice also, a regular conveyance of the money having been made to the Sahoo-kar, who became consequently entitled to arrest it until Rajah Ram Bux took measures for discharging his debt. We say this under the impression that the Rajah, whether in the borrowing or paying portion of the business, acted only as the agent of his master, because if the former transaction was a private arrangement of his own, it must be evident that the Nizam's money passing through his hands to reach the Resident could not properly become liable for the subtraction of the sum due on that account, public finances not acknowledging any responsibility for the personal obligations of those by whom they are administered. It is probable, however, or rather certain, that the loan had been obtained to accommodate the Hyderabad Government, and in that case the Government funds were clearly open to seizure on the failure of repayment, more especially since the bankruptcy of the Sahoo-kar may have proceeded chiefly from this injurious occurrence. Leaving these points aside, however, we must continue our narrative of what has taken place. The Resident, under the protection of whose flag Jankee Dos resided, was addressed by Suraj-ool-Moolk, the agent for English affairs, in order that the defaulting

Sahookar might be sent into the city for the purpose of adjusting his accounts. To this requisition General Fraser gave an assent, but no sooner had Jankee Dos been forwarded to the Minister by Suraj-ool-Moolk than that personage proceeded to confine him, without even intimating his intention at the Residency. Thereupon an application for the release of the prisoner was made, and orders to that effect, which accomplished their object on the 20th instant, went forth, an apologetic reason being likewise assigned for his incarceration. According to this statement the Sahookar had retained some thirty or forty thousand rupees more than were his due, but the poor excuse did not avail Rajah Ram Bux much, seeing that Jankee Dos had voluntarily promised to pay over any balance that might remain after a settlement of affairs between the Minister and himself, pending which the former had no possible right to make a prisoner of him. What further steps are likely to be taken in the matter our information does not enable us to conjecture.

It is said that Eusoof Khan has returned to Hyderabad, bringing with him one of the assassins before mentioned by us, and that the expulsion of the Rohillas and Pytans continues to be a subject of debate; we cannot, however, speculate on those points at present.

SPECTATOR, *July* 9, 1846.—Sanguinary events tread so closely upon the heels one of another at the Nizam's capital that we are almost afraid to weary our readers with the recital of them.

Moostyd Ear Jung, one of the two brothers who fought lately across the streets in the suburbs of the city, was murdered on the 30th ultimo under the following circumstances:—

The deceased person owed a sum of money to a Sahookar named Goormannee Ram, which money he conveniently forgot to repay. His creditor accordingly engaged a band of fourteen Pytans for the purpose of coercing him. These mercenaries gained access to Ear Jung under pretence of desiring his service, and succeeded in making him their prisoner. One of his servants, an Arab, and a creditor of his (those people when advancing loans usually obtain employment as a condition), took him by the hand and desired him to quit the place. Moostyd Ear Jung rose for the purpose of complying, when he was first fired at and wounded in the leg, and afterward put to death by being poignarded. His nephew, Peer Khodadad Khan, seized the ringleader of the Pytan assassins, by name Aboo Meean, residing within the precincts of the Residency, and shot him dead. This done, he, with the assistance of the Arab and two Rohillas who were present, attacked the mercenaries and put six of them to death, beside killing the Sahookar and mortally wounding other of his agents. This was a just and wholesome retribution, and if these military pests were oftener so treated when they traffic in bloodshed there would be fewer outrages committed by them.

It is said—but we know not how to credit the story—that the whole of these Pytans dwelt under the shadow of the Residency, and that the six survivors of the fray have gone back to their homes, two of the wounded actually seeking assistance from the Surgeon there attached. If such be the case, General Fraser owes it to himself and to his Government to purge his precincts from such sanguinary intruders. We consider it indeed the bounden duty of the Police Magistrate to apprehend them as murderers, and to see that they are handed over to the Nizam's servants for punishment accordingly. British justice cannot wink at the perpetration of these crimes on account of debt, and neither may the neighbourhood of the British Resident be converted into a sanctuary for the marauder and assassin.

SPECTATOR, *July* 18, 1846.—Our late accounts from Hyderabad are more interesting than common, as they appear to indicate a probability of some benefit arising from the co-operation of General Fraser, which has been sought by the Nizam. We have already mentioned the circumstances of Hussunooddeen Khan having been sent for and interrogated as to the reason of his not obeying the order given for his departure, as well as the reply made by him to the Resident on the subject of his pecuniary claims, which are under-

stood to amount to two lakhs of rupees upon the Nizam's Government and ten upon the subjects of His Highness. It now appears that the Rohilla justified the imputed misbehaviour of his people, alleging that their excesses had been sanctioned by Rajah Ram Bux, from which we infer that ministerial permission was given for the personal restraint of their debtors—a measure seldom unattended by cruelty at Hyderabad.

SPECTATOR, *August 8, 1846.*—It is not unsatisfactory to find that ocular demonstration of the cruelties practised upon their debtors by the Hyderabad leaders has been afforded to the Resident. The Jemadar of Rathores, a body of foreign mercenaries in the service of the State, who had been imprisoned for debt by the Rohilla Chief, complained to General Fraser of the severe treatment he had undergone, and exhibited the copious traces of it on his body. He was tortured, it appears, for the sake of recovering money lent to him at an exorbitant rate of interest.—Personal acquaintance of this nature with the actual occurrences taking place in the city will enable General Fraser, now that his interference in affairs of State has been requested, to make forcible representations on the subject to the Nizam's Government; and we do heartily trust that he may improve to the uttermost the favourable opportunity thus placed in his power, arousing the slothful Sovereign to a sense of what is needed for his kingdom and himself.

SPECTATOR, *January 19, 1847.*—We have further accounts of the pecuniary embarrassments which environ Suraj-ool-Moolk's administration. He is understood to have borrowed a lakh of rupees from a banker, from which it would appear—and the more especially because the Seikhs and Aligholes continue still unpaid—that the revenues of the State, notwithstanding the resumption of most assignments upon them, have not kept pace with the demands arising, and that the bankers or treasurers extraordinary either cannot or will not afford the requisite supplies. On no other ground than that of these alternatives can we account for the fact of arrears being still permitted to accumulate with reference to disbanded troops who are rendering no service to the State. It will become a question between them and the Executive as to whether they are entitled to receive pay beyond the date of their discharge.

Circumstances induce us more and more to fall back upon the unfavourable estimate which we formed in the first instance of Suraj-ool-Moolk's Ministry. It is likely to eventuate in a grand failure.

SPECTATOR, *January 23, 1847.*—All those of our readers who take an interest in Hyderabad affairs must be familiar with the name of Pestonjee, whose pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's Government and ultimate resistance to it have given him a degree of celebrity not usually attaching to men of his class. We do not, however, remember to have seen any consecutive history of his career in the Deccan, and as it is somewhat out of the common run of experience, the following sketch may be acceptable to the public, more particularly as a clue to that future position which he is likely to attain.

Pestonjee was a Bombay banker, and in that capacity he has, we believe, held contracts from the Company's Government, toward whom his behaviour generally was such as merited their approval. He became a resident at Hyderabad during Chundoo Lall's administration, in consequence of an invitation from that Minister, and undertook to make extensive loans to him on account of the State. The Nizam was openly averse from this arrangement, presuming that he should be compelled by the British, as in the case of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., to repay such moneys as were borrowed from Pestonjee by his Dewan. Chundoo Lall, however, proved too powerful for his master and carried the point. His great want was that of money, and he would not permit the Nizam's wishes to defeat a measure upon which he had based his calculations for a large supply. Foiled in his attempt to exclude Pestonjee from the country, His Highness next issued a mandate

• forbidding him to enter the capital. This was preposterous in its application to an unoffending man, although not perhaps at variance with the letter of International Law,* and constituted a direct breach of the provisions of the commercial Treaty; because the (assumed) right to refuse admittance to merchants was tantamount to an abrogation *in limine* of the effects of the entire compact. The question underwent discussion, we believe, with the Resident and his officers, but nothing was done for the vindication of the Treaty; partly perhaps on account of Col. Stewart's supine habits, and in part because he was reluctant to incur a responsibility which the fluctuating views of his own Government might render disagreeable. From another source, however, the Minister received advice as to the manifest impropriety of the Nizam's proceeding, and made use of it to obtain the revocation of that Sovereign's command. Whether or not he misled His Highness into supposing that the adverse opinion came from the Residency is a matter of dispute, but in all likelihood he did so, and thus achieved his end. From that period, at any rate, Pestonjee received permission to dwell within the walls.

There appears to have been no direct authority given by the British Government for his thus connecting himself with that of the Nizam, but he was presumed to enjoy especial favour at the Residency because he found admission to the parties there given, a preference then shown but for two or three Natives beside himself. We do not enter into any account of his subsequent pecuniary transactions with the Hyderabad Minister, because they were too numerous and intricate to admit of their being considered here. Suffice it to say that on Chundoo Lal's removal from office he claimed a debt of more than thirty lakhs of rupees from the Nizam's Government. The very first act of that Prince, however, on assuming charge of the conduct of his own affairs, was to direct that Pestonjee and Mr. Dighton should restore their districts to him. They both resisted this order, and the consequences were somewhat singular, though diverse. As dwellers at the Residency, it would have been easy for His Highness to procure their obedience, through the interposition of the Resident, which he had a right to call for, if he was averse from exercising his own undoubted authority over parties who had taken service with him. He, however, abstained from seeking British interference, partly perhaps because he did not understand his ground for demanding it, and partly through apprehension lest he should thereby seem to recognize an appellate jurisdiction in the Resident. But be this as it may, His Highness allowed Mr. Dighton to resist his mandate for a period of some months, and contented himself with obstructing by his influence the collections made in that gentleman's districts; so that the latter realized no more than eight lakhs during as many of the most productive months of the year, whereas he should have collected double the sum out of a revenue of twenty-two lakhs. He was eventually paid thirteen lakhs of rupees upon unadjusted accounts. Pestonjee's claim for thirty lakhs, however, it passed the Nizam's ability to meet, and he was therefore obliged to effect a compromise with him, whereby he accepted that creditor's submission and fealty, and allowed him to retain his districts upon condition of his advancing a new loan of five lakhs of rupees. It is palpable that this arrangement must have been a mere measure of expedience with the Nizam, for he no sooner understood his own position relatively to Pestonjee, than he set aside its terms and insisted that the latter should relinquish the districts held by him: under the proviso, however, that the last loan of five lakhs was to be repaid him, and that the settlement of the outstanding balance in his favour, which had then reached the extent of forty lakhs, should be made contingent on a proper adjustment of accounts.

This mode of dealing reawakened Pestonjee's opposition, and he proceeded to levy Rohillas in the capital, for the purpose of encountering the troops sent to expel his deputies from their districts. A pitched battle ensued between the parties, which Pestonjee describes in his memorial to the Supreme Government† as having been maintained by him until some fifty or sixty persons were killed and wounded. Ballaspore, a fort held by one of his deputies, also underwent a siege.

* Vattel, book II., ch. VII., sec. 94, Effects of the Domain.

† Quoted by the *Englishman*.

Thus foiled in warfare, Pestonjee proceeded to address the British authorities as above mentioned, and described his measures against the Nizam's agents with more of honesty than discretion. Possibly he may have wished to draw attention to his valour, or else he followed the counsel of the European who is thought to have framed his appeal. However this might be, it passed into the hands of the Resident, and was by him promised transmission to Bengal; but preparatory to despatching it thither, General Fraser submitted the document to the Nizam, acquainting His Highness at the same time that he should wait three days for any observations which the latter might think proper to make. No advantage was taken of his notice by the Nizam, and the play accordingly went forward. Among the English community it became current that the Resident had spoken in strong terms of Pestonjee's amenability on account of his rebellion; but his memorial was forwarded nevertheless, and his nephew (if not himself also) continued to be a guest at the Resident's parties, so that the words of General Fraser, in Native esteem at any rate, were contradicted by his acts. While censuring the recusancy of the man's behaviour, he bestowed seeming marks of approval on the man.

The Government of India made answer to Pestonjee's memorial that they had nothing to do with his affairs, but he found an ally in the present Minister, Suraj-ool-Moolk, in whose house he was domiciliated at the time. Through the advocacy of this personage, he obtained a reiteration of the promises before made him. Money was given, in part repayment of the conditional loan of five lakhs advanced to the Nizam, and an honorary present was likewise made to him. These proceedings, but more especially the last one, were tantamount to a grant of indemnity for past acts, and in that light they ought to be regarded and adhered to. Whatever faults or offences are chargeable against Pestonjee, he is not generally a bad man, nor yet deserving of harsh treatment. The old adage about setting certain folks on horseback applies to his case, and the open warfare waged by him with his master cannot be defended; but neither should it be forgotten that he had heavy cause for discontent, and that the injustice of the Hyderabad Government often drives men to do that which they would fain avoid. It might prove advantageous possibly if resistance were oftener successful than it has been. The Executive would then acknowledge that restraint by fear which principle can never impose on it. The position of Pestonjee is now as follows.

He has received a free pardon from the Nizam, and Suraj-ool-Moolk was, under a former administration, the advocate of his claims, in which office it is to be supposed that he (the advocate) was recognized by General Fraser, since he had no other plea for interference with the matter than that which rested on his character of (virtual) Minister for English affairs. It thus appears that the present and late Governments of the Nizam were agreed in suffering him to fix a large amount of debt upon the State, and having done so, they cannot escape the consequences of their admission. The party now in power is, indeed, more fully committed than was his predecessor, and he will find himself obliged to abide by his acts. He is the rather necessitated to take part with Pestonjee because another individual similarly situated, and who has obtained no indemnity for his refusal to yield up the districts held by him, is now being—according to popular belief—indirectly vested with the care of districts which are to receive an extension to the amount of thirty-two lakhs per annum, or about one-fourth of the entire revenues of the Nizam! Under these circumstances, the claims of Pestonjee must be entertained, and although we do not desire to see him again in his former position, it were better that the Nizam should borrow money of the Company than leave his claims unliquidated, and hanging like a burthen round the neck of the State. The wisest course would be for His Highness to mortgage a portion of his territories, and leave their management wholly to the Supreme Government. He would thus readily obtain extrication from his financial difficulties, and at the same time confer a vast benefit upon his people. European superintendence can alone restore the Deccan, and that it will never obtain while his own Government rules it. Mr. Dighton's alleged employ is no argument to the contrary, for he can

take no open part in the control of his districts, which are given to the care of Natives formerly employed by him ; and even although the case were otherwise, we should not hope much from him. The British power must exercise direct and sole surveillance over the revenue concerns of the country before they can be brought into a state of wholesome order. No man, however able and well-intentioned he might be, could achieve any substantial or permanent improvement in his districts so long as he was liable to be thwarted and overruled by the ignorance, jealousy, and caprice of the Hyderabad Sovereign and his ministers. Moreover, Mr. Dighton's appointment, if it has really taken place *sub rosa*, lies open to serious objections ; because, the private nature of it demonstrates the existence of non-consent on the part of some superior authority—either the Supreme Government or the Nizam. Were no such obstacle presented he would assume charge openly as he did before, and in the face of dissent by one or both of those parties Suraj-ool-Moolk ought not to have selected him for the office. The appointment wears an unpleasant appearance.

ENGLISHMAN, *February* 13, 1847.—We have another letter from Hyderabad, which mentions that Suraj-ool-Moolk lately gave a party to the Resident's family and staff, at which no friends of General Fraser were present except Mr. Dighton, Mr. Dighton's moonshee Azim Ali Khan, and Pestonjee. This, it is remarked, augurs well for Pestonjee's claim of forty lakhs of rupees, which is considered fairly his due, and ought to be adjusted. The Resident waited on the Nizam on the 1st instant, at whose desire is not known, but the Resident was dismissed the instant after going through the usual ceremonies of a reception. The party in power expected that he would have gone into numerous topics connected with their objects.

SPECTATOR, *March* 16, 1847.—Some further particulars* have reached us relative to the singular case decided by a military court of requests at Hyderabad, in the matter of the mortgaged jaghire, and from them we learn that a few corrections in our former statement are necessary. The cause should have been stated as between Amcer-ood-Dowla and Ram Lal, the agent of Poorun Mul, who was the party principally interested in the business; and instead of naming Moulvee Kiramul Ali, the criminal judge, we should have spoken of Mahomed Fyzoola, the civil judge, before whose tribunal the appeal came. These trifling discrepancies arose from the imperfect nature of the account which first reached us, and are not material to the merits of the case.

Mahomed Fyzoola decided, as before given, that since an English military judicature had already pronounced upon the question, it was not competent for his court to entertain it. In this form the matter went up to the Resident, who at once perceived its real bearings, and said that as the point at issue involved a territorial mortgage, the Nizam's court could alone have jurisdiction in it. (Our readers will remember that it arose out of a loan of Rs. 40,000, on which the debtor had agreed to pay a lakh of rupees in ten years, upon a calculation of interest made at 24 per cent. per annum.)

Mahomed Fyzoola has not yet disposed of the suit; but he has incidentally broached an opinion that the interest should undergo a reduction to the rate of 12 per cent. per annum.

We do not perceive the congruity of this ; for although it be indisputable that 24 per cent. is an exorbitant rate, we can see no reason for setting aside a bargain regularly entered into, and consistent with the usages of Hyderabad. The court of English officers affirmed the validity of the claim for 24 per cent., but the Nizam's judge—because, probably, that judgment emanated from the English cantonment—decides that 12 per cent. only shall be given : in the face of the notorious fact that Azim Ali Khan, as the organ of Government, is now allowing a charge of 18 per cent. interest on Pestonjee's accounts, and that Mr. Dighton's demands on the exchequer were understood to have been cleared off with interest calculated after the same pattern. Hitherto there has been no limitation of usury in the

Deccan, and it is therefore not fair to make an *ex post facto* law for individual cases. If the Nizam's court would provide a rule for transactions of this nature, they should make it general and bring the Arabs within its scope.

ENGLISHMAN, *March 24, 1847*.—It is stated that the friends of the Minister, in order to accredit his administration, have discharged their Arab retainers, but that numbers of people are still seen with Arab escorts forming part of their Suwaree. The time given, it is true, has not yet expired, but no expectation of entire compliance with the order is expected. The Minister has been trying to negotiate a loan of nine lakhs, for which he offered exchequer bills, but he had not succeeded in raising the money at the date of our advices. The merchants were not satisfied with the security offered, and the negotiation consequently failed, with the exception that Hurree Das, Kangier, and Sheo Lal have each advanced 75,000 rupees, supposed to be on assignments upon the Treasury. They are three of the five persons whom the Minister contemplated making the Treasurers of the State, and they owe him some return, and have still high expectations from him. Two other Sahookars of the Resident have each advanced fifty thousand rupees, for which assignments have been given them on Akote, to which Ghees-é-Khan has lately been appointed. One part of the reformation projected was the abolition of assignments upon districts, but as no provision was made for carrying the project into execution, it has broken down. A further sum of fifty thousand rupees is said to have been lent by some of the smaller capitalists of the Resident's bazaar, but this is not certain.

SPECTATOR, *March 30, 1847*.—Suraj-ool-Moolk perseveres in his hand-to-mouth financial policy, instead of invoking the Company's assistance to place matters on a permanently improved footing. The exchequer should be relieved of its embarrassments by a sufficient loan, and then measures taken for restoring the revenue collections to their old figure; these things, however, pass the genius and courage of Suraj-ool-Moolk. He has asked the bankers for a loan of nine lakhs of rupees, but their temper is not encouraging. They are offered orders on the treasury, but an empty treasury possesses little credit with them. Assignments on districts would be thought preferable, and it is said that the Minister's necessities are likely to force him into a breach of the rule which he has made against the grant of them to Sahookars. Had they received aught on account of the debts due to them by former administrations or his own, or upon his personal responsibility, these capitalists might have been more compliant, but we hear nothing about payments made, and the dislike of the Nizam to his Minister is speculated on as a ground of additional insecurity in loan-making to the latter. One Sahookar made the sensible observation that Suraj-ool-Moolk's refusal to admit the obligation of the debt incurred by Rajah Ram Bux to Sultan Ghalib for the pay of the Khas Rissala had established a precedent which would affect the credit of all his own loans. They want the Nizam's guarantee, but fear to displease the Minister by sending for it. When matters have come to such a pass that the personal security of the Sovereign is needed to assure money-lenders, we may safely presume that the credit and efficiency of an administration are near their lowest ebb.

SPECTATOR, *April 8, 1847*.—We hear of much speculation regarding the low state of the public finances, which will not even suffice for the payment of the disbanded soldiery, or of the civil establishments. There ought to be enough for immediate demands, notwithstanding the impoverished condition of the exchequer, because Suraj-ool-Moolk has made a sweeping measure of his recall of the assignments. Twenty lakhs assigned for the monthly pay of the Contingent, and due for advances, have thus been resumed. Ten lakhs of assignment were taken from Poorun Mul, and about as much more from other Sahookars, creditors of the State. Then, fourteen lakhs of debt have been relinquished by Sher Afghun Jung, while sixteen lakhs due to Cumurood-deen Khan, and eleven more to Bishun Chund, may be practically looked

upon as wiped away, since there exists no chance of their ever seeing the day of reimbursement. Moreover, the moneys which Rung Rao and Ruffeejee-ood-Dowla (since dispossessed of their districts) were wont to withhold, for payment of their demands on the treasury, will now flow into its coffers, so that Suraj-ool-Moolk should be gathering enough for present necessities together. Beside all this, he has borrowed money without repaying it, and yet are the finances in so miserable a position that unless a further loan of twelve lakhs of rupees, which Mr. Dighton is said to have undertaken, be speedily forthcoming, the embarrassments of the Executive may be expected to occasion mutinous outbreaks! So much for the successful administration of the new Ministry! We really fear that the task of restoring the Nizam's affairs to a tolerable condition, is one which neither Resident nor Dewan, nor yet both together will ever accomplish under the present system. Great and thorough changes must precede success.

SPECTATOR, *April 27, 1847*.—The Nizam sent a message to Suraj-ool-Moolk that he had to pay 13 lakhs of rupees from his private treasury to detach Mr. Dighton from his districts. When Suraj-ool-Moolk knew from that circumstance how averse he was to Mr. Dighton's having districts, how came he to appoint him, and that too in disobedience to his order?

Suraj-ool-Moolk has given Abdoollah bin Ali an order for Rs. 8,500 on the Rajah of Goormutkal; and in defiance of the protection guaranteed to him by the Resident, and of the proclamation which prohibits personal importunity and duress, to the Arab creditor especially, the Rajah of Goormutkal is kept in durance by them.

ENGLISHMAN, *June 29, 1847*.—We have further advices from Hyderabad. Our correspondent says it was understood that the differences between the Minister and the subscribers to the Bank had been adjusted, but it now appears that there are seceders to the extent of twenty-five lakhs of rupees, in consequence of the arbitrary decisions which Suraj-ood-Dowla seems inclined to come to in regard to their transactions, and especially as he is pleased to quote the opinions of the Resident as regulating, or rather as compelling, his conduct towards them. They say that while he has the pretext of the Resident's name and authority, which he thinks as completely justificatory as if it were the mandate of his own Sovereign, for the invasion or infraction of any engagement, they can have no security unless the Resident himself become a party to the agreement. If he holds the power of the keys, he must bind as well as loose. The contractors thought that the Minister had agreed to receive the forty lakhs at the rate of five lakhs a month. He now demands six lakhs down on the nail, and the remaining thirty lakhs in three months. He besides claims Poorun Mul's investment in excess of the fifty lakhs, which is very plainly indicative of his wants not being limited to that sum, and of the consequent insecurity of the lenders; whilst Azim Ali Khan claims the privilege of holding Poorun Mul's six lakhs as a portion of the twelve which he had engaged to provide, being the party who negotiated with him, at once showing that he had undertaken more than he could effect, as the Sahookars insist upon having Poorun Mul exactly in their own position, that is, standing independent of coalitions in the engagement.

"The parties who adhere to the agreement are Hurree Dos three lakhs, Lukh-mee Dos three lakhs, Goorud Ram three lakhs, Ramaswamy one lakh, Futteh Chund one lakh, Mootey Ram 50,000, Luchmangeer one and a half lakhs, total thirteen lakhs; besides Mr. Dighton, and the effete understanding with Azim Ali Khan, the others having reduced their investment from seven to five lakhs.

"The Sahookars are going to ask Suraj-ool-Moolk to furnish them with a specific statement of the districts to be assigned to them for payment of the 80 lakhs, and to show them accurately how the Government establishments are to be provided for, which will necessarily require an exhibition of the entire revenue. This will be unpleasant, but they will be deceived. The agreements will be exhibited as they are still extant on the Government books, and the heavy defalcations

of several past years will be kept back. They construe the second, or rather that which is called the first article of the Wajeb-ool-Urz as giving them a right to this explanation. They say that respect prevented them from asking this more explicitly, and an honest Government can have no motive for refusing compliance even were there no agreement to give this information.

"Whatever may come of it; it will be seen that the Bank has broken down from distrust, if it be reconstructed it will be the effect of fear. It would not have been so with old Chundoo Lal; he would have had the power to persuade; and he would have been trusted.

"The Rathores are not dismissed, but they have been reprimanded by the Cutwal for slaughtering men who were only trying to escape."

"The following are the debts due by the different administrations; if the figures are not quite accurate, they approximate sufficiently near to the real state of the accounts to show the position of the Government":—

<i>Rajah Chundoo Lal.</i>									
To Ummersee Soojan Mul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,00,000
" Motee Ram Soorut Ram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,50,000
" Hurree Das Luchmee Das	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,50,000
" Luchmungeer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,00,000
									19,00,000

<i>Rajah Ram Bux.</i>									
" Shew Lal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,00,000
" Hurree Das Luchmee Das	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,00,000
" Kangeer Oomraogur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
" Kirpa Ram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
" Luchmungeer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
" Ramaswamy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
" Soorut Ram Motee Ram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30,000
" Ummersee Soojan Mul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30,000
									21,60,000

<i>Suraj-ool-Moolk.</i>									
" Shew Lal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,75,000
" Kangeer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,50,000
" Govind Ram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,00,000
" Hurree Doss	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75,000
" Kirpa Ram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	95,000
" Ram Dhun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50,000
" Girdharee Lal Futteh Chund	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,00,000
" Ramaswamy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,00,000
									12,00,000

To Poorun Mul, aggregate	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23,00,000
									Total claims... 75,00,000

SPECTATOR, *July 12, 1847.*—We apprehend that Suraj-ool-Moolk's financial embarrassments, connected with the loan transaction before described by us, are not yet at an end, the Sahoo-kars having turned crusty and suspicious, and with very good reason. He has informed them that the Governor General's approbation of the so-called bank—that is, of the terms made by him with the money-lenders—has been signified to the Resident; the bank, however, is nevertheless not progressing. In what manner Lord Hardinge may have discussed the project, and by what process of reasoning he arrived at his favourable conclusion, the world will never know, and yet this knowledge is essential to a right appreciation of his Lordship's views. Whether the Sahoo-kars credited the statement of Suraj-ool-Moolk does not appear, but we imagine that they would scarcely do so until it had received confirmation from the Residency; and since the measure is one of ostensible public utility, it becomes desirable that Lord Hardinge's opinion should be fully made known, so as to facilitate the Minister's arrangements.

There was a meeting of them at the Dewan's Palace by order on the 23rd ultimo, when they proposed several very stringent stipulations. Among the number, that Suraj-ool-Moolk's assignments should not be limited to eighty lakhs,

but be enlarged sufficiently to cover their debts, outstanding as well as present, and that the Nizam, by his seal and signature, should become personally a partaker in their engagements, it being avowed by them that they could not trust his Minister, who had failed in the performance of his previous contracts with them. Suraj-ool-Moolk acceded to these demands, hard as their terms were, so far as lay in his own power, excepting only that for the obtaining of the Nizam's guarantee; and had the fulfilment of his undertaking to procure it been destined to follow *after* the execution of the Sahookars' bargain, instead of preceding it, he would doubtless have promised satisfaction therein also, however desperate his chance of success. As an alternative to making that promise, he dwelt on the cordial co-operation of the Resident, stating that General Fraser had put him in office, and that there was an identity in their views: "Suraj-ool-Moolk *ko* *Burra Sahib sumjho*, *Burra Sahib ko* Suraj-ool-Moolk *sumjho*."

To this the Sahookars acutely enough replied, "We will in such case dispense with the Nizam's signature and accept that of the Resident." The Minister then, in conformity with his representation touching the agreement between himself and General Fraser, undertook to sign the engagement, but the Sahookars were too cautious to rely upon his assurance of what the General would do, and declined proceeding until the signature was actually obtained. Suraj-ool Moolk threatened to send them to the Residency, but took nothing by his motion, for one of their number replied in defying tones that he was quite willing to go. On this the Dewan replied, "See how you use me, and yet in what manner the Governor General has written!" An English letter, with a Persian translation appended, was then produced, which the Sahookars believed to have reference to the despatch before described, wherein Lord Hardinge was said to have conveyed his approval of what had been done at Hyderabad. This letter was accordingly given to Purtaub Bahadoor and Rajah Indurjeet, brothers of the Minister of Finance, who were instructed to read the English portion of it, but there was no translation made for the Sahookars, nor did they have its purport explained to them.

The Sahookars were to assemble again on the 24th, but we have not yet heard the result of their deliberations. It is said that they were asked, through Purtaub Bahadoor, who had conducted the preliminary negotiation, wherefore they now showed a disposition to recede, when their circumstances remained just as they had been at the time of the execution of the Wajeb-ool-Urz. They observed that they had then the word of an Englishman, on which they placed reliance, but when it was inquired whether they would wish to have Mr. Dighton sent for to satisfy them, they declined the overture, alleging that they had been disappointed in their expectations from him, and did not wish to make further engagements.

SPECTATOR, September 3, 1847.—We learn from Hyderabad that the bank, which was struggling into existence, has again had an arrest put on its progression. The arrangement was that orders should be granted to it on the treasurer, Rajah Shumboo Purshad, which most respectable gentleman declines the office. Hearing this, the shareholders solicited that the assignments on the districts might be given to themselves in default of the treasurer, who should have received for them, but the Minister would not consent, alleging his inability to disobey the Resident, by whom the giving of assignments was forbidden. Money being, however, urgently required, the difficulty is to be got over by an expedient—that, namely, of issuing orders payable to the treasurer, with a blank left for the name. These the Talookdars will accept, promising to produce the receipt of the Sahookars as a substitution for payment to the treasurer, which personage does not exist. Thus the case stands at present. The Resident will not allow the Nizam's Government, which cannot raise money without security, to borrow upon that of the revenues, *id est*, upon its own exchequer bills; a circuitous mode of evading his prohibition is therefore devised, with the understood allowance of General Fraser, who sees no other quiet way, it may be presumed, of removing the clog of his impolitic command from the vital action of the State, and is therefore glad to have it virtually got rid of without his being obliged to recall his mandate altogether.

If he were to exert himself to establish that credit for the Deccan Government, which results from the observance of good faith—or, in the absence of it during a time of trial, to devise some other mode of raising money than that of ruinously anticipating its resources—he will effect good, but not through his present measures. Relief for the day must be had by an Executive embarrassed on every side and without providence at present or plan for the future, but General Fraser has laid an embargo on the only resource immediately available, and dangers multiply in consequence of the delay.

ENGLISHMAN, *September 16, 1847*.—Disputes are constant, so that they hardly deserve remark. On the last demand for advances from the Sahookars, viz., 20 per cent., an agreement was entered into that Raja Shumboo Persaud, as Treasurer, should accept orders from the Minister. This condition was given in writing, and the advance was made. They have since been told, having demurred to a further advance of ten per cent., that Shumboo Persaud will not accept the Treasury. They then asked to receive the assignments themselves, which were to have been given to the Treasurer to meet their demands, and the reply was that the Resident would not permit the assignments to be given to them. The remarkable points are, first, that Shumboo Persaud refuses the Treasury, one of the highest and most lucrative offices under the Government; next, that the Resident has debarred the Government from resorting to the only security it can offer for its loans.

Since this affair there has been an altercation between the Sahookars and the Minister. He charged them with intending to complain against him to the Nizam. He added, "You may complain against me, I shall bring the Resident to my defence." Mr. Dighton gives out that the Nizam will lose his dominions, and as he is supposed to be in the confidence of the Resident, this has a great effect upon the Nizam's timidity, and the Minister is saved because it is supposed that the Resident will stand by him to the last.

ENGLISHMAN, *October 22, 1847*.—"The Government was necessitous, it could not go on for a day without the assistance of the Sahookars. The mutiny of the Linewalas, which caused the calling in of the Subsidiary Force to the assistance of the Minister, gave birth to the notable project of the pseudo-bank even while General Fraser was at the Minister's palace. As a preliminary to it, the accounts of the Sahookars were signed by the Minister. No money was otherwise forthcoming, and if there was a pretended examination of the accounts, it was closed in less than ten days. There was then no claim for a refusal. The accounts are signed, but it is not to be understood that the plea of necessity which caused the signature may not be urged to invalidate it. We have ceased here to be ashamed of such things."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 23, 1847*.—We continue the extracts from our Hyderabad letters :—

"Another mandate given by the Resident to the Minister was that he should have no dealings with Poorun Mul. There was obvious impolicy in this, for Poorun Mul is the large capitalist, the Rothschild of the Dekhan. The Bank was not completed, it could not be formed without Poorun Mul's aid, and Azim Ali Khan, who had undertaken to procure 17 lakhs to complete the capital of the Bank, negotiated with Poorun Mul to join the shareholders, and undertook to obtain the Resident's consent to the Minister's dealings with him. He succeeded, and Poorun Mul joined the Bank. The Resident's objection is unintelligible, whether it rested on public or on private and personal grounds. If on the former, it is difficult to say what persuasion could have been urged, except the necessities which might have been foreseen by the Minister and Mr. Dighton for completing the Bank. If on the latter, the Resident did not pursue the direct course to his object. It is very questionable whether the Sahookars expect to realize fortunes out of their undertaking, whatever the projectors may have done.

"It was not wise to prevent the Government from resorting for supply to the source which could most largely afford it, and where example would be most influential to other capitalists. Poorun Mul not only commands a monied coalition by his weight, but he must also necessarily command the market to some extent, as other large capitalists do, for good or evil. The Sahoo-kars with one exception sought his alliance, although he brought a large addition of old debt to diminish their dividends. They sought his junction with the greater avidity when they became dissatisfied, as they soon did, with the conduct of Mr. Dighton and Azim Ali Khan. They sought his monied weight, because a disjunction with him would have given the Minister a preponderating influence over those with whom he had dealings, and they sought him also from some notion that the services which he had rendered personally, or by his son and partners and gomash-tas in the Company's territories to its Government, which services had been acknowledged by several testimonials from the English officers of that Government, would give facilities, would secure access for their petition to the Supreme Government whenever the occasion for making it should arrive !

"But though Poorun Mul was thus accepted by the Minister, the proscription under which he had previously laboured was not entirely removed ; there was still interdiction, perhaps for appearance' sake. Mr. Dighton by a curious process of examination and reasoning had pronounced his accounts invalid. One of these reasons was that Poorun Mul had lent eight lakhs and had received ten in payment, this being while the accounts were unsigned, the Minister declining to sign because he was interdicted by the Resident. But urgent want overcame obedience. The Sahoo-kars having once got Poorun Mul among them, and having repudiated Mr. Dighton and Azim Ali, would not move without him, and Suraj-ool-Moolk signed his accounts, and after a time obtained the Resident's sanction. Considering prevailing practices, this might have been, after all, a State trick on the part of the Minister to obtain credit with Poorun Mul for his friendly exertions for him, and with the public for the influence he possesses over the Resident.

"Kummeer-ood-deen Khan's accounts were commenced. Poor Pestonjee's accounts (the friend of the Resident, who had the Minister for his advocate with the Nizam before his own appointment to office) were commenced, perhaps sanctioned, because they were examined by his friend Azim Ali Khan, one of the ministerial cabal to which Pestonjee himself belongs. What can have become of these accounts ? Progress is made in all things, but nothing comes to an end !"

ENGLISHMAN, November 4, 1847.—"The fate of the parties who entered upon the Bank speculation is melancholy. Instead of appearing as coadjutors who lent aid to the Government in time of its need, a spirit of hostility towards them has sprung up because, being hopeless of recovering what they have already lent, they are unwilling to lend more, or to sanction the interception of the monies coming to them upon assignments. They were asked to forego their claims to the first monies coming in, now overdue. They declined agreeing to the proposal, as Suraj-ool-Moolk told them that General Fraser insisted upon a thorough examination of their accounts, and that a commission (using the English word) would be brought from Madras for the investigation. The Sahoo-kars replied that they were protected by his own adjustment and signature. As this plan would not take, they were next informed *en grand homme* that it wanted only four days to the end of the lunar month, and that by that time their affairs should be put in order by Raja Shumboo Persaud, and the money paid to them ; but they were informed at the same time that as there was litigation between a Sahoo-kar in Hyderabad and a partner of his at Jeypore, he had been desired by the Resident (again using the English word) to issue a *warrant* to arrest any payments being made to the Sahoo-kar here ; that consequently he would deduct the amount of dividends appropriated to the payment of his loan to the Sirkar. Raja Shumboo Persaud—to give force, it may be supposed, to the Minister's proposal—told the Sahoo-kars with whom the latter held his conference

that this injunction to withhold payments had come in a private unofficial note from General Fraser. This has been the subject of loud complaints, and the whole bazar grows every day more distrustful.

"The Sahoo-kars observed that they were all partners in the speculation, and that they were bound by their partnership to pay the Sahoo-kar referred to, his portion of all the monies they might receive on the partnership account; that there was no occasion for withholding payments to him to secure the property for his partner, as they would be responsible for any amount; and finally that as they could not imagine the English Resident using his influence to cause a bankruptcy, they would wait upon him in a body to represent their case. Nothing has since been heard of this, it was only meant as an intimidation. Suraj-ool-Moolk may possibly conceive himself at liberty to conduct his dealings as he pleases, but will it be tolerated that he should fix upon the English Resident the odium of his own injustice? How long will the Resident permit this? The facts must be within his reach. Surely he cannot design to compromise his own name as well as that of his Government to sustain the administration of Suraj-ool-Moolk."

SPECTATOR, *November 17, 1847.*—Another of those curious proceedings connected with money matters which are so characteristic of the Deccan capital has recently occurred. The private Treasurer of the Nizam came down in great tribulation to the palace of the Minister, and, putting his head into that functionary's lap, besought him not to ruin him by withholding the performance of an engagement which had been made. The facts of the case, it appears, are these. Suraj-ool-Moolk had prevailed on the Treasurer, Rajah Toolja Purshad, to tell the Nizam, under a promise of immediate payment by his Minister, that a sum amounting to one lakh and fifty thousand rupees had been actually paid by that officer into the exchequer. His Highness, however, having probably got an inkling of the arrangement, required his Treasurer to produce the balance in his hands; and on the Rajah's hesitating to do so, he threatened him with dismissal. In this dilemma, the latter betook, but we cannot learn that the money has been paid over. If not, it is to be hoped that the Nizam will execute his threat, since Toolja Purshad richly deserves to be made an example of, for his connivance at the disgraceful deception practised on his master. The poor Nizam is deceived by every one around him, and if he were to deal severely with a few of his unprincipled servants, it might have a salutary effect upon the rest.

Another pecuniary embarrassment at Hyderabad is worth mentioning. Kummer-ood-deen Khan, a person of the Muntozaee tribe, who had proved a debt against the Government amounting to 12 lakhs, having in vain solicited payment from the Minister, at length took post, about the end of October, at Suraj-ool-Moolk's residence, declaring his resolve not to depart thence without his money. He was presently joined by two other Pytan chiefs, Nuseeb Khan and Boodhun Khan, who are presumed to have intended making common cause with him. The Minister on this sent for a son of Hussan Khan Muntozaee, the head of the tribe, and uncle to Kummer-ood-deen Khan, with a view of inducing that party to accept certain terms through his mediation. The nature of the arrangement is not known, but popular belief runs that he was bought off with an order on Rajah Shumboo Purshad, which may or may not be paid, for two lakhs of rupees. If such was the bargain, Kummer-ood-deen Khan has gained something by his move, for he may transfer his importunities to the latter party, who can and will pay the sum from his own hoards, if driven to do so by being goaded, while Suraj-ool-Moolk could not.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *November 19, 1847.*—Our last number contained an account of some monetary troubles at Hyderabad, and we have now another record of the same kind to lay before our readers. There was a great commotion on the 4th instant at the palace of Suraj-ool-Moolk, arising from these circumstances. Sultan Ghalib, an Arab jemadar, who claimed a debt against Rajah Ram Bux which the present Minister, under orders from his Sovereign, promised to pay (without performance), entered the palace accompanied by an armed party of his tribe, variously estimated at from 50 to 200 men, and

possessed himself of its first enclosure, the gates of which he was prevented from shutting only by the entreaties of Suraj-ool-Moolk. Although to obtain his money through the influence of a demonstration was the sole cause of his thus intruding on the Minister, it appears that apprehensions were entertained lest offensive measures should be had recourse to, with a view of coercing that functionary, whose house was in consequence guarded at all points, and presented a scene scarcely inferior to what it wore during the late memorable British invasion of the city. Various descriptions of people assembled to do service, or, more strictly speaking, to display their zeal, and auxiliaries were so much wanted that Captain Boardman moved to the rescue with his recruits, as yet an undisciplined and unarmed rabble. The passages of the building were at the same time barricaded. At length, however, about eight o'clock in the evening, a truce was effected, by Suraj-ool-Moolk's securing the intervention of Abdoolla bin Ali, the principal Arab Chief, on his promise to pay within fifteen days. We do not know whether the mediator has guaranteed the fulfilment of this pledge, but should he have done so, Sultan Ghalib's manoeuvre will have gained a great advantage for him, or rather for the Arabs, who are said, notwithstanding Abdoolla bin Ali's apparent co-operation with Suraj-ool-Moolk, to have prompted the commission of the outrage by Sultan Ghalib; the promise of the Minister being exacted through Abdoolla's interference, and as it were on his responsibility, for the purpose of enabling him, as the head of the Arab mercenaries, to make common cause with Sultan Ghalib in the event of Suraj-ool-Moolk's non-fulfilment. This secret understanding appears probable enough, and as the money will not, we imagine, be forthcoming at the prescribed period, it is likely that the Dewan may find his difficulties hereafter aggravated by the very means of his temporary escape from them. If the accumulation of embarrassments should precipitate the downfall of his administration, they would be anything rather than suggestive of regret.

ENGLISHMAN, *November 25, 1847*.—We continue our extracts from our Hyderabad letters:—"Suraj-ool-Moolk denies receiving advances from his Talookdars. It is positively known that he has received advances from Oomur bin Adoz, an Arab Chief, who probably ought not to have been allowed to preside over the Nizam's territories, and from Koorban Ali, a recent appointment. Suraj-ool-Moolk denies to the Resident giving assignments on the revenue of the country. The following is the history of one of these, for the Resident's information. Suraj-ool-Moolk has given that party of the Sahookars who coalesce with Umurzee Soojan Mul an order on Sher Affghan Jung for 2,36,000 rupees, to be paid quarterly, 59,000 rupees per quarter, but, lest his assignment should travel abroad or be known to the Resident, the Sahookars have been prevailed upon to deposit it with Lala Bahadoor, on whom they place great reliance, for the purpose of preserving secrecy. Now if the Resident should raise any objection to this act, the Minister might tell him that the spirit of the engagement is that Sahookars should have no right of control over Talookdars by holding their acceptances, and it being found necessary to give the Sahookars assignments, as they would make no loans without them, he has provided for this, by getting the Sahookars to consent to place their assignments in the hands of a Government officer, and to receive the value from him instead of the Talookdars. The evasion will serve when there is every motive for credulity, but will not the Resident perceive a flaw in the circumstance that explanation is only given when the clandestine affair is brought to light?

"The Resident understands that neither $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., nor any other percentage, is any longer allowed to a Talookdar for his management. Will he ascertain from Mr. Dighton and Pestonjee whether, though the above is the stipulated allowance, they have not charged an extra percentage for guarding the crops when they are cut, lest the proprietors should steal them, and whether this has not commonly amounted to about six per cent. more? But the question we have to deal with is whether a percentage is continued. There is a strong fact known that the percentage to a Talookdar was reduced to 9 rupees 6 annas per cent., and hastily

restored to 12½ on his making an advance. People begin to be afraid of their names appearing in the papers, and there is a great want of information in consequence."

"The Resident is not informed that Poorun Mul had joined the Bank; could he not have obtained the information from his friend, Mr. Dighton, who was at the head of it? Is there no reciprocity of confidence between them? Or has the fact been evaded by General Fraser being told that Poorun Mul had come to the aid of Azim Ali's seventeen-lakh share? This is stuff, but words seem to be no bad substitute for facts with Government."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *December 27, 1847*.—We hear of a new agreement with the Sahookars, for the purpose of raising the wind; a principal condition of which is said to be that Suraj-ool-Moolk shall give them assignments on the revenue for twenty-seven lakhs of rupees. Examination, however, shows that it is barely possible to rescue assignments to the extent of twenty-two lakhs from the hands of parties already holding them from the Government, or having liens on them, so that the negotiation will no doubt break down. It may be further mentioned, as an illustration of the state of financial affairs in the Deccan, that although there are eight months of the current Fuzly remaining, the whole amount of revenue which can be freed from the clutches of alienators, by any method, for the disbursements of the kingdom, is no more than that above mentioned, or twenty-two lakhs of rupees; and for the whole of this sum even it is not yet certain that Government will prevail against the holders of assignments! Suraj-ool-Moolk's successor will have a heavy task.

ENGLISHMAN, *December 27, 1847*.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad of the 13th instant:—

"The combination of the Sahookars has prevailed, and Suraj-ool-Moolk has paid them the two lakhs and fifteen thousand rupees, to obtain which they had invaded the house of Lala Bahadoor. The Resident, who had made an official application for two lakhs and a half of rupees in part payment of the debt of the Nizam's Government to his own, in accommodation to Suraj-ool-Moolk was pleased to postpone his claim.

"The above was written some days ago. I have not had leisure to conclude my letter.

"11th.—The circumstance of Suraj-ool-Moolk paying the Sahookars through Lala Bahadoor for a debt contracted to them by Ismael Khan brings the matter to a hostile issue between Suraj-ool-Moolk and Ismael Khan. The former has his lieutenant Gheesé Khan with troops near Ismael Khan to coerce him into giving up his district. For, the eight or ten months that he has been in his post, without making any other effort but that of requiring the aid of the Contingent, may by possibility, much as the last-mentioned circumstance would refute it, be imputed to his love of peace and an expectation of an adjustment. But now it has come to the issue, which leaves no alternative but that Ismael Khan shall meet Gheesé Khan in the field, who, I presume, will be ordered now to take his final measures, or, if his treasury will admit it, offer other gratuities to the Government and those who represent it. If it come to a fight, we shall have some forty or fifty persons slaughtered, but we are used to it. The want of justice has made us look upon killing as a necessary evil, as a correction of injustice."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 30, 1847*.—Suraj-ool-Moolk has again shifted his position, and has renewed negotiations with the Sahookars on other grounds. The prominent condition was that for the twenty-seven lakhs a party (that of Umurzee and Soojan Mul) had already lent him, they should receive assignments on the country under acceptances from the Talookdars, and for the next twelve months lend him three lakhs of rupees a month, to be paid by assignments on the following year. So powerful is the dread of arbitrary

power, so reluctant are the Sahookars to come into collision with a reckless Minister, especially in the belief of his receiving a decided support from the Resident, that they were disposed to entertain the proposition, although the same undertaking to pay three lakhs of rupees a month refundable in the following year—for the revenues of one year could not cover both the advances and maintain other establishments—would have been required at their hands for the following and progressively for succeeding years. Before closing, however, with the Minister, they desired to ascertain their exact position in regard to the assignments, and resorted to the Minister of Finance, who professes a total inability by any expedient to supply the assignments. This is the position of the Government, but no Government, whether constitutional or arbitrary, need ever stop for want of funds so long as there is property in the country. England can raise money by taxes, Suraj-ool-Moolk by dipping his hands into people's pockets, *id est*, by extorting forced loans.

ENGLISHMAN, *January 11, 1848*.—We have letters from Hyderabad to the 30th ultimo, of which the following are extracts :—

“I had informed you that there were negotiations between Suraj-ool-Moolk and the Sahookars for further loans, and other modes of payment of what was actually due. The negotiations were on the part of Suraj-ool-Moolk to introduce alterations in the former terms, with a view to his accommodation. The Sahookars on their part required the performance of the terms already made, and desired no change if those could be followed out. In fact they wanted their money to be paid them, and did not desire to carry on further transactions with the Government. But as they are in its hands, both as to the payment of the money they have already advanced, and for their good and evil in other respects, they attend to every proposal made by the Minister, and endeavour to bring it to bear. There is one condition they always insist upon, and the Minister finds some difficulty in meeting it. That is contingent security.

“The last proposal was that the Minister would pay by orders on the revenues of this year twenty-seven lacs of rupees, which they had lent to himself, on condition that the Sahookars would advance him three lakhs of rupees per month for 12 consecutive months, making 36 lakhs of rupees to be repaid with interest, by orders on the revenues of the following year, and in common with it, one-fifth of the debt contracted by the Government in Raja Chundoo Lal's administration, and one-third of the debt contracted in Raja Ram Bux's administration. The Sahookars agreed to the arrangement, but required that Suraj-ool-Moolk should in the first instance give the orders, and procure for them the acceptance of the drawers, *id est*, the Talookdars, and they presented him with statements which exhibited their demands on Government, inclusive of the 36 lakhs to be advanced, as being for 54 lakhs to be paid from the revenues of the following year, and 27 from those of the present year. Suraj-ool-Moolk accepted the terms in this specific form, and desired that three lacs of rupees, the first instalment of the 36 lakhs, should be paid now, and that the arrangements according to the deputation would be carried into effect before the second instalment would become due, and that the payment of that sum might be arrested till the arrangements were entirely completed. The Sahookars refused moving a step without receiving their securities, and General Fraser having in the mean time written to Suraj-ool-Moolk to be informed of the nature of the engagements he was about to make, Suraj-ool-Moolk, who could not have given the required securities, has made General Fraser's letter the pretext to cancel the negotiation—not by reverting to the engagements subsisting, but by the insinuation that since General Fraser had been informed of his purpose, he could not pay them at all. He observed that he was labouring for the interests of the Sahookars, but they defeated his plans by giving information to General Fraser; of course this is meant to convey that General Fraser was opposed to his paying his debts to them. As Suraj-ool-Moolk is disposed to smuggle his measures into effect without conveying any intimation of his intention to General Fraser, he has endeavoured to deter people from conveying information to General Fraser, by having twice informed the Sahookars that General

Fraser in communicating with him on those points had given him the names of his informants. This is not likely, though Suraj-ool-Moolk was correct as to the parties, but that is only a proof of the correctness of his espionage.

"You must not suppose the Sahookars so unwary as to be deceived by the tricks of the Minister, which are now directed to gaining a present advance of three lakhs of rupees. The Sahookars know that he can neither provide orders for 27 lakhs of rupees for the present year, nor of 54 lakhs for the next, and they perfectly understand that his negotiation being defeated in its object of getting a present advance of three lakhs of rupees, a pretext for breaking it off was to be found, and no better could be found than the employment of the Resident's name. The objection of the Resident was fatal—so he (Suraj-ool-Moolk) would desire to have it understood, as far as he was concerned—to the carrying out his plan, that which was on the tapis, and it closed one of those portals upon the Sahookars through which they might have attained redress. It is no such piece of minor policy to let the Sahookars understand that from the first to the last the Resident has not been their friend; and Suraj-ool-Moolk has pursued that course with unusual steadiness."

22nd Dec.—"The above information belonged to the day before yesterday. Yesterday Suraj-ool-Moolk declared to his confidential Sahookars that the Resident's letter precluded his paying them any part whatever of his debts; that, as he wishes to do well by them, he would, notwithstanding, carry on business with them, and that if they would lend him three lakhs of rupees monthly he would look to their being paid. The Sahookars are to meet, and the crisis has arrived.

"The Resident, I think, might fairly ask Suraj-ool-Moolk what there is in his letter which prohibits the payment being made to the Sahookars, or leads to the preclusion. I think he might fairly ask him, too, what objection Suraj-ool-Moolk has to his obtaining information of his financial arrangements. I presume to hope that the Resident is not so ill informed as to consider these details vague rumours, nor so little acquainted with Suraj-ool-Moolk's habits as to consider his denial as conclusively contradictory of them.

"I have omitted to say that in his first communication with the Sahookars Suraj-ool-Moolk had observed, talking of his own unpopularity, that the Nizam was averse to him; the troops, whom he could not pay, dissatisfied with him; and the Sahookars by conveying information to the Resident had brought him down upon him.

"If Suraj-ool-Moolk's declaration be correct, it is tantamount to proclaiming a bankruptcy, not only in the relations of the Government towards its creditors, but towards its establishment, and one universal ruin will be the consequence. If the Government, which will not pay the Sahookars, do not pay its establishments, those establishments, which have been maintained, whilst they could get nothing from Government, by loans from the Sahookars, will not be able to pay those Sahookars, and the Sahookars, failing of their dependencies from Government establishments, will also stop payment. The crisis is come. When the British Government interferes, let it take the territory, absorbing it in its own, and not admit of a vicious irresponsible Resident or Commissioner General to eke out the private partialities or prejudices of the person conducting it."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 12, 1848*.—"Suraj-ool-Moolk has again promised the Sahookars that he would adopt means to pay them. It is due in justice to Suraj-ool-Moolk that I should say this promise was made before this last outbreak, and is not influenced by it, but that does not deprive it of the characteristicness belonging to Suraj-ool-Moolk's line of policy; he has tried intimidation and has failed to procure money from them; he tries cajoling now; and although that should fail to procure him money, negotiation will defer the day of contention."

ENGLISHMAN, *February 29, 1848*.—"Meer Hydaet, one of three brothers very much in favour with the Nizam, and who has the reputation of being an honest

speaker and a man of decision, was desired by His Highness to convey an order to Raja Shumboo Purshad, that he should either transfer the district of Meduk, which he holds as one of those to which Mr. Dighton was appointed, or that he should release 13,000 gold mohurs from mortgage (Rs. 2,60,000) which the Nizam had pledged to Sahoo-kars, to complete a sum for the disenthralment of Meduk from Mr. Dighton when he formerly held it, and continued to hold it against the Nizam's orders, on the plea that monies were due to him for advances made on the revenues of the district. Meer Hydaet was so importunate with Raja Shumboo Purshad to yield obedience, that nothing was left to Shumboo Purshad but a resort to the Minister's power and influence to evade compliance. Meer Hydaet accompanied Raja Shumboo Purshad to the Minister's, who in the first instance used entreaty and persuasion to Meer Hydaet to forego his importunity; but finding them unavailing, he said petulantly to Shumboo Purshad, 'This man can effect no more against you than Humeed Khan' (a former employé of the Nizam, on the same occasion), 'let him do his worst.' Meer Hydaet observed that he would not, till the Nizam's orders were obeyed, quit for one instant the presence of Raja Shumboo Purshad: his tones appeared so decisive that Raja Shumboo Purshad wrote out his formal resignation, and was about to present it to Suraj-ool-Moolk to shift the responsibility from himself, when Meer Hydaet declared his intention of arresting the paper to prevent its passing into Suraj-ool-Moolk's hands. Evasion was the object, and the paper was withheld; but as Meer Hydaet would not give up his importunity, Raja Shumboo Purshad, who, notwithstanding some slips he has made for the Minister, is yet trusted, engaged to pay the Rs. 2,60,000 in two days, and Meer Hydaet has somehow so much confidence in the promise that he has engaged his personal responsibility to the Nizam for Shumboo Purshad's performance. I have no such expectation; the promise to pay will be renewed time after time; a negotiation will be got up to recover the gold mohurs for the Nizam; all the parties concerned will engage in a plot to deceive the Nizam, and the whole thing will end in smoke.

"The Minister is raising the wind for his present occasions by requisitions upon the Talookdars to make him advances, to be repaid to them from the revenues of the succeeding year, 1258. Sher Afghan Jung has advanced him three lacs of rupees, and complains of further demands; his brother, Ali Nuckec Khan, has advanced him on the same account nearly half the assessed revenues of his districts; other Talookdars are much in the same position.

"A question is just raised, I understand, upon the suggestion of a talented and capable native gentleman of high distinction, as to whether any Minister succeeding Suraj-ool-Moolk would not be compelled to withhold payment from the creditors of the State till the establishments were paid up and the affairs of Government put in order. To be sure he would. If it become an alternative to paying the creditors that the establishment should remain unpaid, there can be no question as to whom the preference should be given; and Suraj-ool-Moolk must unavoidably do that which other and better Ministers would do, but there would be this difference between him and others, the last would make efforts to arrange the affairs of the State. Suraj-ool-Moolk will care very little for the rights of others, provided depriving them of it do not invade his case, as in the case of Kumur-ood-deen Khan, a powerful Pathan chieftain, the only sort of creditors of the State whom he pays.

"The case of Pestonjee is opposite to this; he not only will not pay him any part of something between twenty and thirty lacs decreed as due to Pestonjee, but he will not pay him a sum of one lac odd thousand rupees, for which he had passed his bill on the treasury for payment at sight, which Azim Ali Khan, the then treasurer, had accepted, promising to pay the next day, obtaining from Pestonjee a receipt as a preliminary to the payment, which he engaged to make immediately, that is, the next day. It is now some seven or eight months since Pestonjee gave his receipt; no money has yet been paid, but they had the honesty about three or four days ago to restore his receipt. If the question were put at Hyderabad why Kumur-ood-deen Khan was getting paid and kept pacified, and in common with

him Arab and Pathan creditors, when no other class of creditors were, the invariable answer would be that these men were powerful to exact their rights, whatever they might understand them to be."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 1, 1848*.—"I send you a list of several of the Jaghires of Jaghiredars mortgaged to creditors, principally Arabs. I furnish the list, and will go on adding to it. I expect to increase it numerically five-fold, because I understand that in the face of Suraj-ool-Moolk's declaration that all mortgaged Jaghires had been resumed, the fact that Jaghires are still held in mortgage is not believed at the Residency.

"The Jaghire of Syf Jung has just been mortgaged to the sons of Abdool Wahib, an Arab, in the name of Bheem Row, their factotum.

"The Jaghire of Nooroolla Khan, mortgaged to Abu Bedr, commonly called Boobuk, an Arab.

"The Jaghire of Hafiz Gar Jung's sons, mortgaged to the sons of Abdool Wahib.

"—————Surfuraz Ali Khan, mortgaged to Oomar Chaoos, an Arab.

"—————Kumur Meean to Oomar bin Aooz, an Arab.

"—————Amceer-ood-Dowla to Poorun Mul, a Sahookar.

"—————Ashrufoon Nissa Begum, in the Talooka of Patoor, to Oomar bin Aooz.

"—————Wuzeer Ali Khan, in the Pergunna of Uzulpore, to Oomar bin Aooz.

"—————Umjud Ali Khan's sons' to an Arab.

"Luchmungeer's Jaghire to Mustoo Jummedar, of Arab descent in the first generation.

"I wonder that in all the new-fangled systems of improvement it has not been devised to turn out the Arabs neck and crop. Such an undertaking would be an excellent stage for the exhibition of the qualities of the soldier, the general, and the statesman, and if well executed would have redeemed a multiplicity of errors. The alternative, the destruction of the Nizam's capital and the shedding of royal blood, were too insignificant for consideration. But here was the hitch. We had failed to expel the Rohillas, a weak body; could we have prevailed better against the greater strength of the Arabs?"

ENGLISHMAN, *March 6, 1848*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 19th ultimo:—

"I give you a list of other mortgaged Jaghires; I shall hear of innumerable others, but, as the fact given with so much particularity cannot be questioned, and as the purpose was to show that Suraj-ool-Moolk had in this instance also deceived the Resident, if the statement already made be not satisfactorily conclusive upon that point, nothing that can be adduced will ever be so.

"Condapulkul, Jaghire of Ghoolam Seyad, mortgaged to Chand Saheb.

"Mullungoor Fort, mortgaged to the son of Mirza Mohsun.

"Chagoor Mimere and Mudée Koonta, Jaghire of Jafur Yar Jung, mortgaged within the last six months to Kundee Kishna Row and Greedeepetty and Daempetty.

"Jaghire of the sons of Luskur Jung, mortgaged to Thakoor Sing.

"Kesooputtun, another Jaghire of the above persons, mortgaged to Syud Ali Sheerazee.

"Moorputta, Jaghire of brother of Bunde Ali Khan, mortgaged to Oomar bin Aooz.

"Roodrarum, Talooka of Intolee, Jaghire of younger son of Munsoor Khan, mortgaged to Bin Mukfooz.

"Suraj-ool-Moolk's veracity is not questioned, it has gone much beyond that, and the Resident knows him, as others do, to be entirely destitute of veracity. It becomes rather enigmatical, then, why information given to him in contradiction of Suraj-ool-Moolk's statement is conceived on the very threshold to be false, why

that is not believed by the Resident which everybody else knows, and some English gentlemen by inspection of the documents themselves, that Poorun Mul's accounts have been admitted under Suraj-ool-Moolk's seal.

"Some papers have been put into my hands, which are masterpieces, to exhibit the total carelessness as to character and credit with which the Minister pursues his course.

"The first is a deed of confirmation to retain certain districts given to Bishun Chund, dated 27th Yeead, 1262 Hegira, in consideration of a lac of rupees (the money of course is not adverted to in the document), which were resumed fifteen days afterwards.

"The next is a draft signed and sealed for Rs. 1,97,244, given to the same party on the last day of Jummadee-oos-Sanee, 1263 Hegira, nine months ago, but deficient in the one essential purpose of naming the party who is to pay it, and though it has all the formality of being signed and sealed, and is given to the party, it is drawn upon nobody.

"Bishun Chund claims against the Government, for advances made to it in anticipation of revenues, near ten lakhs of rupees. Of this Rs. 5,26,000 being connected with the department of Lala Bahadoor, he has procured the Minister's signature to the accounts of Bishun Chund. There would be no understanding the means by which he had effected it, or the motive which influenced him to advocate the claim, were it not that he is understood to have guaranteed Rs. 3,66,000 of the above debt, to obtain payment of which Raja Jywunt Ram, the son of Bishun Chund, has been using great importunity daily at Lala Bahadoor's house for the last two months."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 11, 1848*.—"The Nizam has promised Kumur-ood-deen Khan that his accounts shall be adjusted in two months, and his balance paid him in four instalments (the period of the instalments is not given), but that the plunder of Oodgur by his soldiery on some former day, some three years ago, shall be an offset to his claims. An examination of accounts here is another word for not paying, and in this instance had the promise not proceeded from the Nizam, in whose word everybody places an implicit reliance, it would have been understood as evasion. The Nizam has done justice, and justice is mercy; if the money is to be restored to the suffering parties, Kumur-ood-Deen Khan will gain nothing by his motion, his claim will in all probability be extinguished. But then it becomes a heavy charge against the Minister that he should have authenticated under his seal and signature a claim of Kumur-ood-Deen Khan against the Government for 12 lacs and 60 odd thousand rupees. Such documents if given by Ministers possessing no regard for the welfare of the State, and destitute of fidelity, or even good-will towards the Sovereign, constitute the right—a most dangerous and offensive right—for re-opening and examining accounts howsoever authenticated."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 3, 1848*.—"The Minister's credit is aground, not so the Nizam's. He required a Sahookar, Poorun Mul, to lend him 2,62,000 rupees, a portion of the pay due to the Seikhs, which was immediately done without any demur. The Seikhs are now the peculiar charge of the Nizam, having withdrawn themselves entirely from the Minister, in consequence of the bad treatment they had received at his hands. The Nizam has undertaken to pay them, and, towards effecting it, has taken away from the Minister the district of Meduk, yielding about three lacs a year. If the Nizam should pay the part of the troops under his charge with greater regularity than prevails in the Minister's department, there will be a general defection from the Minister, so far as the Nizam will permit it, with a proportionate alienation of revenue.

"The Sahookars waited in a body upon the Minister to know if any means of paying them had been devised; he selected two of their body, Oomraogeer and Hurree Dass, to convey his reply to them—he professed utter inability to pay the debts contracted by his predecessors. This was so far honest, but we know the

opposite thing too much to regard it as a promise of future integrity ; it was a mere display, but proffered a willingness to pay those debts which he himself had contracted, towards effecting which he had devised, he said, the dismissal of all his old revenue officers and the appointment of fresh men. It will be unintelligible to you how such means can possibly effect the end proposed. The project is, the revenues of the districts being engaged to the Talookdars towards the discharge of their advances, by appointing fresh men, to withhold payments of those advances, and to appropriate the money so saved to the payments of the Sahookars. He demanded a week's time to make his arrangements, and ended with proposing that the Sahookars should pay seventy thousand rupees of a certain currency, which he did not possess, into the Resident's treasury, for which they should be reimbursed by an order for cash payment on his own treasury. A Sahookar was referred to to make the payment, as known to hold large sums in that currency; he escaped by declaring he had disposed of them. They were then required conjointly to make up the money; face to face they could give no refusal, but they evaded compliance till they were put in funds, or rather till they obtained an accredited bill upon a Sahookar, named Kirpa Ram, for the money. The Sahookars do not believe that the Minister has any intention of paying them, but nothing is more likely, if he remains in office, than that he should dispossess the old Talookdars; as it will be an evasion of payment to them, it will be a gain to the Government; but the Minister will feel that any portion of what is gained need not go to discharge other debts whilst the soldiery and every department under the Government is in a state of extreme ferment, and, but for the English, prepared to revolutionize the Government. The Minister has been enabled, besides the payment of the 70,000 rupees to the Resident, to pay the Nizam 1,30,000 rupees. He has not derived this fund from the regular resources of the State; but by a nuzzerana from Bheekoo Meean, on condition of restoring to him a portion of the district of which he had been dispossessed on the particular recommendation of General Fraser. On General Fraser's return, the Minister will have a capital pretence, by using his name, to dispossess Bheekoo Meean a second time, to which he can have no objection, as I presume he may realize a second nuzzerana of the same amount by transferring the districts to another party. To Bheekoo Meean he will justify himself by saying he favoured him when he could, that is, when General Fraser was absent, and the resumption has been forced upon him by a power he dare not resist. These are the good effects of our partial interference, sure in most instances to enhance the evil, and to multiply the injustice it is employed to correct."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 19, 1848.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant :—"The Government as to the execution of any measure is at a stand-still; but there is never-ending projection. I told you before that a scheme of borrowing was revived; but, as if the creative faculty had been lost, it was a revival of the old scheme. The Sahookars, in consideration of their advancing a sum of twenty-seven lacs intermediately, were to be paid on subsequent dates ninety-four lacs, the aggregate of all their demands, without going into details, which never would have had effect given to them. There is no mistaking that it would have terminated, like all preceding schemes, in the Minister obtaining as much as the folly of the Sahookars would permit, and then breaking off the engagement.

"The most opulent Sahookar here, Poorun Mul, was thrust forward by his fellows as opposed to making any engagement with the Minister; and, as a last resort, the Sahookars were called together, and Poorun Mul was informed that the Minister understood him to be inimical to him, notwithstanding the favour he had shown him, and that he would no longer acknowledge the debt due to him, but in obedience to General Fraser would submit his accounts of forty years' standing to an examination from their commencement, and also Luchmungeer's; that he had hazarded General Fraser's displeasure by passing his accounts under his signature, and meant to retrieve his position with that Resident by recalling what he had done. Poorun Mul's son very properly replied that the validity of his father's

claim had been admitted by the signature of the four persons concerned in the Government since the formation of his contract—Raja Chundoo Lal, Raja Ram Bux, the Nizam, and finally by Suraj-ool-Moolk; that did the Minister choose to violate the sanctity of engagements, amongst the rest his own, made under seal and signature, he had undoubtedly power to do so. But then, if those signatures were not considered valid, he could have no chance of proving his account, for they all rested upon documents deriving their validity from the signatures of the parties named, which might be disallowed with equal justice. That, however, he said he did not expect to obtain from any officer of the Nizam, who might be intermediately employed on the examination of the accounts, but he would cheerfully submit to the proposal if English gentlemen were employed on the part of the Government of India in the settlement of accounts, and payment according to their adjustment were guaranteed to him. Suraj-ool Moolk replied that he was without any choice in the matter; he would not put himself at issue for Poorun Mul with General Fraser, who he knew had taken an active part against him, and had been strenuous with Raja Chundoo Lal and the Nizam not to pay him. Poorun Mul's son denied the fact of the part against his father imputed to General Fraser; but that I conceive to have been merely for argument's sake, as he cannot mistake the tone of the remonstrances made by General Fraser to the Nizam to arrest the adjustment he was about to conclude with Poorun Mul in regard to the amount of his debt and its progressive payment. Suraj-ool-Moolk, however, like even cleverer people than himself who adopt false premises, had fallen into an obvious contradiction; if the motive for examining anew Poorun Mul's account was to follow the direction of General Fraser's judgment, another motive must be found for pursuing the same line of conduct towards Luchmungeer, in regard to whose accounts General Fraser is not known to have taken any interest. The combination of the two persons to be dealt with by the same process is to be found in the fact that these two persons were recusant, and declined to entertain any proposal for a loan from Suraj-ool-Moolk. The discussion ended in the employment of expressions of much courtesy and kindness towards Poorun Mul. The negotiation has evaporated for the present. It has perhaps obtained the only object for which it was produced, that of reminding people that General Fraser is with the Minister, and will soon come to his aid, and of evincing the Minister's conviction, by a seeming activity in promoting the affairs of the Government, that his own administration is not yet to have an end. All these appearances used to frighten the Nizam; it augurs well and indicates a new posture of affairs that the Nizam is not now intimidated, inasmuch as he utters no complaints.

"The Minister is anxious to make it appear that his credit with Sahookars is not lost, and a resort is had to the poor trick of putting certain of the Sahookars who adhere to his interests, though they will lend him no more money, in funds, and using their agency to pay the Resident for the Contingent, as if the resources were derived from the credit of the Minister. It is an expensive process; money does not ordinarily pass through bankers' hands undiminished, and the Sahookars are no tyros to let slip any opportunity of acquiring a profit.

"The ordinary procedure in regard to Sahookars residing within the Residency Bazaar is to subject them under authority from the police officer, acting in the name of the Nizam's Government, and under subordination nevertheless to the Resident's commands or to his views, to a Punctaet of Sahookars. This course was not adopted in regard to this gentleman; if it were because he refused the jurisdiction no alternative was resorted to; in the case of a Sahookar, the authority of the Nizam's Government would have been called in to coerce him, or if it were referred by the authorities at the Residency to the Native Courts, it would be infinitely worse for him, for they have only one mode of adjudicating cases in which they understand any interest is felt at the Residency. This last recourse would not have answered the purposes of justice in this gentleman's case, for he is considered to be highly favoured by all the parties in power.

"P.S.—I believe, I had informed you, about three months ago, that Gheesé Khan was then dispossessed of his district of Akote, which had been consigned to

Ghoolam Nukee Khan, in consideration of an advance of a lakh of rupees, Gheesé Khan has turned the tables upon Ghoolam Nukee Khan, and in consideration of seventy-five thousand rupees, has had Akote restored to him. Ghoolam Nukee Khan's chance of a reversal is not lost, and if he again trust the Minister, we may see him in possession in about two months more. So discreditable is the course of proceedings here, impolitic to the last degree, for it must end in so general a distrust as to preclude entirely money bargains with the Minister.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *June 20, 1848.*—Our accounts from Hyderabad continue to represent the state of financial matters there as growing worse. The exchequer is empty and can no longer be replenished, in consequence of the Sahookars having declined to engage in any new transactions. Their foreign correspondents restrict their credit, and the exchange business, which forms the staple of that done by them, is very considerably restricted. Only one purchaser could be found the other day for a good bill on Madras. Pestonjee's bankruptcy has added to the previous distrust, and there no longer exists a hope of obtaining improvement through the measures of Government. The creditors also are too much disunited to render it probable that any course of action adapted to the exigency of the times will be entered on by them. Suraj-ool-Moolk is unable to pay the Contingent even, and other parties and departments are of course left destitute. As if wearied out by his vain undeaivours to procure money, he has at length ceased to seek after it, and negotiates no longer with either Talookdar or Sahookar. Under these circumstances an outbreak among the claimants on him might be expected, but they are at present more than commonly forbearing. An impression that better times may be at hand, consequent on the hoped-for interference of the Governor General, is probably the real cause of the quiescent state of the soldiery.

ENGLISHMAN, *June 30, 1848.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 16th instant :—

“Cumurood Deen Khan's accounts, the adjustment of which the Nizam had assigned to a party of his Ameers and Mutusudies, under the direction of Ghoolam Hydur Khan, have just been settled, giving a balance in his favour of 55,000 rupees, with an offset against it, subject to a further investigation of the plunder of some considerable places in the Nizam's dominions committed by his troops acting for him on his private affairs.

“Cumurood Deen Khan, though not in express terms, admits the justice of the settlement. He has conveyed to the Nizam that all his possessions have proceeded from the bounty of His Highness, and that he offers them up willingly, but as the Minister had passed his accounts for twelve lacs and sixty odd thousand rupees, he begs to be permitted, holding the Minister's acknowledgment, to exact payment from him out of his private means, but if it be not permitted him to do so, on the ground that it is not a fair claim, he solicits the Nizam to look to the misconduct of his Minister, who, out of fear or favour, was about to sacrifice twelve lacs of His Highness's revenue.

“It would be charity to the Minister to suppose that it was neither fear nor favour, nor ignorance and incapacity,—for these disqualify entirely,—but a temporary aberration of his proper intellectual faculties.

“The Sahookars, creditors of Messrs. Pestonjee and Viccajee, are split in regard to the manner in which to share amongst themselves the assets of the estate. Each man is striving to scramble for his own, and almost the whole united body here desire to exclude distant creditors from obtaining dividends.

“The Minister who has lent himself to work out the views of the creditors, not at all considerate or fair towards Messrs. Pestonjee and Viccajee, has prevailed upon the creditors to carry a complaint into the Nizam's Courts of Justice, the decision of which will be directed by himself.

“He is pledged by the Nizam's orders to pay Messrs. Pestonjee and Viccajee

a sum of about Rs. 1,27,030, and it is expected that the Nizam will enforce the payment whenever the matter is submitted to him.

"The Minister has devised a project of making the most of this payment for himself, and offers to account in his bonds for the monies due to them by Pestonjee and Viccajee to such parties as will lend him an additional sum. As yet only one man, Himmur Ram, has undertaken the speculation; he has lent the Minister sixteen thousand rupees on his bond for Rs. 25,000, inclusive of Rs. 9,000, his claim upon Pestonjee and Viccajee, and has obtained the guarantee of an order on Oomar bin Aooz. This is a capital mode of opening a credit to a certain extent, as far as the Rs. 1,27,000 will go, but that the justice of it towards Messrs. Pestonjee and Viccajee and his creditors is questionable, I presume, according to the men of the day, is of little consequence.

"The Sahookars, who suffer by Himmur Ram's acts, I hope will trounce him. At all events, Suraj-ool-Moolk, who dispenses justice towards his co-adjutors and accessories as another party is described to do, will not fail Himmur Ram, and we shall see him, I hope, losing the whole of his present loan, or by being drawn into a new coalition, and encouraged by large profits, a larger sum on some future day. Himmur Ram's injustice to his fellows entitles him to no better fate."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 3, 1848*.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, dated 18th ultimo :—

"Some comments belong to the adjustment of Kumurood Deen Khan's accounts, which I omitted to make in my former note. Since Suraj-ool-Moolk's accession to office this is the only account, whilst almost all have been passed indiscriminately, that has undergone examination, and has given the extraordinary result of more than 12 lakhs of rupees being cut off by the audit, out of a claim of about 12 lakhs and Rs. 60,000 which the Minister had passed. This instance justifies the belief (but where all is corruption the instance was not wanted) that most of the other claims will be found to be of a similar description. It could not have been imbecility in the Minister which disposed him to sign the accounts, and one does not know where to look for the motive unless the Minister has sought his office as a seat of pleasure, and best attains his object by avoiding its duties.

"General Fraser insisted, and with the last degree of peremptoriness as it regarded Poorun Mul, that the accounts of the Sahookars should not be admitted without a minute scrutiny into them from their very commencement. The repeated adjustment of these gave to the reopening of the accounts a character of injustice, while the retrospection of 30 years also made the task of examination, if it were meant to deal fairly by them, very arduous; a difficulty would have also been felt in the outset of directing by fundamental rules the mode of adjustment. Much could be challenged in point of strict fairness that had been sanctioned by the Government; things intrinsically dishonest had been more than tolerated by especial sanction and by prescriptive usage; they had been claimed as a right in open day, and had been admitted under specific written engagements. Each part and parcel would have required a distinct adjudication. Most Sahookars had besides been indirectly concerned in district accounts, bringing greater intricacy to an adjustment, and the result, if it were resolved to admit of nothing but according to market rates,* to proceed without variation upon fixed rules, would perhaps have not only been to have annihilated the claims of the Sahookars, but to have brought them in debtors (I do believe undue profits were made so as to justify it) to the State. This if it induced, as it nearly would, a general bankruptcy of the Sahookars, would have been no considerable revolution. Perhaps it were better that there should be this revolution in the commercial world of Hyderabad than in the general affairs of the State, only too likely a conse-

* This will not be intelligible without explanation. Most of the transactions of the Government with Sahookars have been conducted by bills, whether the Minister has received or paid money, and he has been made to pay exorbitantly on account of exchange. A Sahookar charging him 18 per cent. interest on a loan has besides exacted a premium of ten or twelve per cent. on the pretence or fact, it does not signify which, of having had to sell Company's paper to find the funds with which he accommodated him. On reinvesting he in all probability obtained a profit by the rates which prevailed. Overcharges of this nature have been monstrously high, and their audit would unveil the accounts of the Sahookars.

quence if affairs are not better managed. But, then, how are these accounts to be settled? From what class of intellect here is a fair judgment to be expected? and where is the integrity to be found that would have dealt equal justice, without taking into the balance the Resident being presumed to be a party to the question, the power of the State on the one hand, and the douceurs of the Sahoo-kars on the other. Whatever came out of such an examination at this late date would be rank injustice.

"It is, however, not to be understood why, having suggested that the Sahoo-kars' accounts of long standing should be reopened and examined, the Resident did not think fit at the same time to desire an adjustment of the account of the Talookdars, which is of a recent origin, which stands in open account, and by which a greater latitude for the commission of fraud, untolerated by especial sanction or prescription, is embraced. The settlement of Kumurood Deen Khan's accounts has given the example of what may be expected from the settlement of the accounts of other Talookdars. But let it be remembered that the settlement was made under the special authority of the Nizam. Kumurood Deen has subscribed to its justice by his representation to his Sovereign, which cannot be mistaken as to its import. I have not seen a man who does not rely entirely upon the integrity of the judgment, who is not convinced that the Nizam only desired a fair settlement. No such opinion would attend upon any undertaking of Suraj-ool-Moolk, and in this one fact of an universal preliminary distrust there are a thousand arguments for placing the administration in other hands.

"It is, again, but too curious a fact that such an account as Kumurood Deen Khan's should have been signed by the Minister if done in an unwary moment. Why was the document not recalled to be readjusted, as in the case of Ismael Khan of Ellichpore, with whom agreements were twice signed and twice recalled within the twenty-four hours? Attestation of anything against the Minister is scarcely procurable, but as Eusof Khan, a most respectable gentleman, was a party to the first engagement, and in consequence informed of all that passed, I presume the fact in that one instance is distinctly ascertainable; the other matter lies with the Vakeel, Hurree Kishun. As several accounts have been signed without examination, have they all been accredited under circumstances similar to that which affected the execution of the two written engagements with Ismael Khan?

"The history of the first engagement is, but I am not so certain of my fact, that it was obtained through Futeh Ali, the Minister's Khansamah, who got the Minister to sign it at night, when his attendance upon the Minister's private parties at that time, and, as it is said, admitted companionship, afford him better opportunities for the exercise of his influence.

"I believe Azim Ali Khan was a party to some sort of examination of Kumurood Deen Khan's accounts, which had been before ordered by the Minister. If so, I presume Azim Ali Khan did not like dealing with a powerful Pathan Chief, and must have carried into the investigation a vast deal of consideration for him,—consideration overbalancing his regard for his friend the Minister, and the desire to do service to the Nizam, who hates him, which he professes to render disinterestedly and gratuitously.

"The Minister asked his friend Oomar bin Aooz, the Arab Chief, to lend him Rs. 90,000, which he declined. He then asked for Rs. 75,000, promising to give him charge of districts that he might pay himself. The Arab said he required no more districts; he has charge of several, yielding revenue more than 10 lakhs a year, all of which are mortgaged to him, and would not lend the money. The Minister desired him to relinquish the districts he holds; he said he would most gladly do so, but expected to be first paid the monies he had lent. The matter is dropped.

"Has the Resident no schedule of the districts held by Arabs, and the sums they have advanced the Government? On the day of their expulsion all this must be taken into account. Perhaps the easiest way of settlement, if one could get rid of all moral obligations, would be to cut their throats. We should have some of our own cut, but the balance would be in our favour."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 7, 1848.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, of the 20th June :—

“ I have written you (perhaps) too many letters lately, and I write now principally to correct a misstatement. I had told you that Himmut Ram had, in consideration of being paid by Suraj-ool-Moolk Rs. 9,000 due to him from the estate of Pestonjee Viccjee, lent Suraj-ool-Moolk a sum of Rs. 1,60,000. This is found to be a mistake to this extent, that the transaction, though so arranged between Himmut Ram and Suraj-ool-Moolk, is not yet completed, in consequence of Omar ben Aooz having refused to accept the order drawn upon him by Suraj-ool-Moolk for payment of this sum. Himmut Ram reckoned upon the guarantee of Omar ben Aooz's acceptance for his security; that having failed him, the contract is still depending, and will probably be concluded whenever Himmut Ram is put in mind that 1,000, out of the lost 9,000, given to Omar may procure his acceptance. He is too powerful as an Arab Chief to fear Suraj-ool-Moolk's evasion of his claim. There is one pleasant feature in the transaction—the practical acknowledgment of Pestonjee's claim on the Government.

“ It is now understood that Bheekoo Meean, for restoration to all the districts formerly held by him, and to his military command, pays the Minister 5 lakhs of rupees in advance of the accruing revenues. This sum, with 2 lakhs of rupees which Sheer Afghan Jung, another Talookdar, has agreed to advance, the Minister intends giving the Sahookars in consideration of another loan which they are to make him.

“ He has received 5 lakhs of rupees from the above-named Talookdars, which he has paid the Sahookars upon the understanding that it goes to the payment of their former balances, and has received from them bills for Rs. 4,70,000 to defray a portion of two months' pay to the Contingent, 4,50,000 of which constitutes part of a new loan, the remaining Rs. 20,000 being to be repaid immediately to the Sahookar.

“ The first part of the condition is to pay 7 lakhs to the Sahookars in account with their former loans, and to receive consequent upon that payment Rs. 6,75,000 from them on a new account. This carries a benefit of Rs. 25,000 to the Sahookars, besides the benefits to be derived by the exchange on the bills they have given. The benefits to the Sahookars are substantial, and to the Minister they are imaginary. He desires to have it reported to the Supreme Government that he has credit with the Sahookars. I presume the *quo modo* will be reported too.

“ You shall hear the bargain in the terms of its construction. There is an unnecessary involvement in them, but they are not otherwise stated by the parties concerned. The Sahookars, four months after the expiration of Mohurram, agree to lend the Minister 2,25,000 Rs. a month, commencing with that month, for twelve months, and the Minister undertakes to pay them 14 lakhs on their old account in the first six months, and 15 lakhs on each of the three succeeding months of the year.

“ The first 14 lakhs are paid by remitting to the Sahookars the three first payments which they were to make, and by giving them 7 lakhs in the three succeeding months, for which, as before described, they make a return payment of Rs. 6,75,000.

“ What the advantage of old and new accounts may be, besides the stopping General Fraser's cavilling about the examining of the old accounts, I cannot tell. If there be no advantage in it, then there is a most unnecessary involution in the mode adopted for paying a sum of Rs. 25,000 towards a debt of 43 lakhs contracted by former Ministers, which is all that is to be effected within the first six months.

“ Prospectively the Minister is to pay 30 lakhs, and to receive Rs. 13,50,000. This will be a substantial refunding of the old debt, but the day of accomplishment is still distant. The prospect to the Sahookar of receiving after the three first months 15 lakhs and disbursing within that time Rs. 6,75,000 is tempting. But it is said they do not forget that their advances come first, and the payments subsequently.”

ENGLISHMAN, *August 7, 1848*.—"Proceeding upon the hypothesis that the orders are given for 1259 Fuslee, and that the entire body of Talookdars accept their own quotas, in reliance upon some reformation introducing protection for them, and that be not produced, payment being entirely out of the question, the scene that will then ensue, unless the Sahookars be fools enough to be intermediate in the transaction—that is, to discount these orders,—will be importunity and exaction on the part of the Nizam towards his Talookdars, and evasion on theirs, in collusion with his Minister. The Nizam's fears will hardly deter him from enforcing by coercion the payment of their acceptances, and either the Talookdars will be subjected to duress, or they will derive protection from the Minister forcibly repelling his master's power. It remains but to see this last act in the drama at the capital—the physical collision of the Nizam's and the Minister's partizans. In the country instances of this sort have occurred, and have been reported in your paper."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 15, 1848*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 3rd instant :—

"Unless I describe murder, spoliation, robbery and oppression, which are constantly occurring, and have an unvarying character both in the act and the result, I have very little to say from hence.

"The financial embarrassments are as before. The Nizam's family, which have not received their allowance, or rather a considerable portion of them, for two years, are, you may imagine, in great distress. The Nizam has been importunate with his Minister to pay them, and has received from him on their account assignments on the revenues of the country for twenty-eight lacs, a part, a small part, to be paid in the current Fuslee year, the remainder in the following year. The Talookdars were required by the Nizam, on proffering acceptance of their orders, to discount them. They evaded it upon some pretext ; there never is direct denial here towards persons in power. The Minister was next asked by the Nizam to procure for him seven lacs and a half of rupees on the credit of these orders. The Minister professed his inability to do so, declaring he had no credit with Sahookars. As a last resort, the Nizam has invited Poorun Mul's son, Poorun Mul being ill, to a conference, and is going to employ his own personal credit to raise a sum of money upon these orders.

"Considering the state of parties—the little (rather the no) reliance that is placed upon Suraj-ool-Moolk's faith—the apprehension that the Nizam will not maintain his own by the exercise of his authority whenever the question becomes a contest, for Suraj-ool-Moolk is always believed to have, if not the open support, the good wishes of the British Government, the Sahookars have little encouragement to lend money ; but still I believe, so much are they attached to the Nizam, that something will be effected, and a temporary relief afforded, such as will give an appearance of quiescence for some time to the affairs of this State."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 8, 1848*.—"Sultan Noaz-ool-Moolk has paid the Minister six lakhs of rupees as a consideration for having his former districts restored to his management. It is not given as a nuzzerana ; Suraj-ool-Moolk professes it to be a loan ; but he keeps back the condition of the loan ; which is, that in consideration of an advance of six lakhs of rupees, districts shall be assigned to the lender, with a view to the payment of his loan being secured to him from the revenues of the districts. It is, in fact, a loan upon the mortgage of those districts. That the mortgage may be violated now or on a future day will be no proof against that having been the condition of the loan.

"I hear the Resident sees the Nizam to-morrow."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 27, 1848*.—"Suraj-ool-Moolk resorted to the body of the Sahookars living under the protection of the Resident, and who, from their position, have been enabled, with two or three exceptions, to keep clear of loans to him, for a loan of five lacs of rupees. This bazar is only less opulent than the Begum Bazar, having agents in it from almost all the large Marwaree foreign

houses, and able to cash up, upon short notice, a crore of rupees; they declined making any loan without the Resident's written guarantee. (Query—Was any verbal guarantee proffered by the Minister, and could the Resident have given it in his private capacity?) I am putting no idle question, for Mr. Dighton can give the proof that assurances have been so made by an acting Resident. It was a hazardous undertaking, and marks the strenuous reliance placed by those officials upon their influence, private if you will, but necessarily derived from their official position.

"There is a story not very credible, as proceeding from a man named Modena Sahibit, that Mr. Dighton has prevailed upon Nusub Khan, Boodhun Khan, and Ramaswamy Moodeliar to lend the Minister sixteen lacs of rupees. There is just a chance of there being some foundation for the report, as Mr. Dighton's recent recovery of a portion of three lacs of rupees lent by Nusub Khan through him to the Minister, and holding assignments on the districts called his own, and yet in some degree under his subjection, for the remainder may have given some expectation to the parties of being able to restrict Suraj-ool-Moolk to the performance of his engagements made through Mr. Dighton; but, however that may be, the story assists my purpose. If such alone be the means of Suraj-ool-Moolk for meeting the exigencies of the State, why, it may be understood, upon the common principle that debt is only involvement, that it is no provision to obviate a want. The Nizam is said to have made this very observation when Suraj-ool-Moolk proposed to borrow on the revenues of 1260 Fuslee; this being 1253—'It was no relief,' he said, 'it was further involvency, but if Suraj-ool-Moolk ever did make such an offer, it was cajolery; he cannot borrow, which he has essayed to do, upon the balance remaining of 1259, nor upon that of 1258; who would have lent upon the more distant income of 1260?' "

ENGLISHMAN, *October 20, 1848*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant :—

"The progress of Suraj-ool-Moolk in the conduct of the affairs of the Nizam's Government succeeding his confirmation to office, on the recommendation of General Fraser, has become a matter of more than ordinary interest.

"The first object with him, seeing that General Fraser has told the Nizam his Minister is entirely at his disposal, and that he cannot (how much soever he may be privately biassed in his favour) maintain him in office by any official interposition, has been to pay up to the Nizam the arrears of pension due to his family, the payment of which has been a leading point with the Nizam, and the ostensible cause of his defection from his Minister, and consequently the Minister's resources are now entirely applied to the object, and the payments to the Contingent, formerly his first great object, are left to be made by the British Government, which has already supplied to the Nizam about 60 lacs of rupees. This sum will form the basis of a debt which will become too large for redemption, but by an alienation of territory upon similar arrangements to the resignation of the Paiskush paid by the Company's Government to the Nizam, which was relinquished to the Company in consideration of a money payment in 1823 or 1822.

"The Minister since his apparent reconciliation with the Nizam has paid him one sum of two lacs of rupees, which was effected partly from a nuzzerana, and partly from an advance of revenue; one portion of it, Rs. 50,000, was actual revenue. He has recently paid His Highness another sum of two lacs of rupees, of which one lac of rupees is a loan from Abdoolla ben Alee, the principal Chief of the Arabs, in consideration of which, and a former loan of Rs. 1,26,000, a part of the districts now held by Ghoolam Nukee Khan are to be assigned to him, necessarily in mortgage.

"Ghoolam Nukee Khan is the brother of Sher Afghun Jung, the first man among the talookdars in the State. The family is opulent, and possesses almost unbounded credit amongst capitalists. It may then be understood that the reason why Ghoolam Nukee Khan did not himself pay the money and secure the district is that he has been overdrawn, and could not be covered by the revenues of his districts in any reasonable period, and that if he ever did rely upon the Minister's

engagements, his reliance had ceased from the unceasing demands made upon him for money, without any regard to the adjustment of former balances.

"Though it may require explaining to you, it is made no question here why Abdoolla ben Alea should have lent the money which Ghoolam Nukee Khan would not. I have said the former is a powerful Arab Chief, he is powerful to maintain his own and more than his own; it is such persons alone that will now have money transactions with the Minister, and as these even will not deal largely without the security of territory, we may expect soon to find the dominions of the Nizam mortgaged to them to a considerable extent. The pernicious results of a resort to the powerful clans for loans were acknowledged from the first, and we perceive, in their now being resorted to, that the Minister is ready to make any sacrifice of the public interests of the State to enable him to continue in office."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 25, 1848.*—"The Minister, I hear, has carried up a proposition to His Highness that the Cutwal has incurred, on account of the disbursement of the State, a debt to Poorun Mull of ten lacs of rupees. Would His Highness but pay the money the jagheers would instantly be resigned. Suraj-ool-Moolk's denial, which he will certainly make, that any such proposition had been made, would derive its chief strength from the impudence of the proposition. The style of reasoning amongst ourselves is—"Could he dare to do so? Is the Nizam such a fool as to permit it?" Assumptions go very little way, not any, against facts, and in regard to the present occurrence we might satisfy ourselves by precedents: Mr. D. would not resign his districts—he was supposed to be protected by the Resident—unless the Nizam paid him the accounts, although unadjusted and unexamined—thirteen lacs of rupees!!! The Nizam paid the money to get his districts.

"If the Minister have stated that the ex-Cutwal owes Poorun Mull ten lakhs of rupees, I pledge myself to procure His Highness an acquittal, in full of all demands, without his paying one rupee."

Hyderabad, 16th October 1848.

ENGLISHMAN, *November 9, 1848.*—"On the 21st a party of five or six opulent Sahookars waited upon the Resident with a note from the Minister. The purport of the note was that the Resident should adjust a claim which they make against him as holder of a bond (from another party by purchase) for the payment of which the Resident is guarantee, through the authorised act of a subordinate officer.

"It was an often-discussed subject, the payment of the bond as to its entire amount had been negatived, and the Resident very properly did not see these Sahookars, who were dismissed by him with this communication, that he would at his own proper time send an answer to the Minister's note. As the Minister did know that the Resident had before disavowed the right of the party to whom the bond was given to claim the whole amount for which liability was expressed in the bond, there was a something impertinent in so putting these people upon the Resident. The Minister must obviously consider that justice is not with the Resident, otherwise the seeking to confront the Resident with the Sahookars could serve no purpose. But so far the Minister is right that a great deal may be said on his side of the question.

"The history of the bond on which these parties claim is worthy of attention from its various bearings. The officers presiding over the affairs of Shorapore were allowed at one time to countersign the bonds of the Shorapore State in guarantee of payment on the part of the Company's Government to the holder of the bond, and accordingly Captain Geo. Lee by his signature verified and guaranteed a specific loan, which was made, with his cognisance, by Luchmun Geer Gosaeen, to the Shorapore State. This bond was subsequently in the market, and was purchased by a third party or parties. These now claim payment on the bond, and their right is denied on the extraneous ground that on a subsequent settlement of accounts with Luchmun Geer it was found that he had not credited the State with

a previous payment, which would have reduced the amount of his claim, and consequently entitled him to a bond for a less amount; in consequence of this, payment is offered by the Resident to the holders of the bond, not of its amount, but of the sum which according to accounts is now ascertained to be due to Luchmun Geer. This after-settlement is nothing to the third parties. They have purchased the bond in reliance upon the guarantee, which is bound to secure them full payment, else these guarantees become deceptive, and tend to establish what not a few people concur in believing, that our honour and integrity are only sound where the law compels.

"But another question is raised to invalidate the bond, and that is (it is upon no proof) that the bond is vitiated by the after-interlineation of a specific rate of interest, *viz.*, two per cent. per month, which formed no part of the original writing; it is not said to have altered the conditions of the bond. This in authoritative places is assumed to be forgery, and the right to claim upon the bond is denied.

"I also am very much disposed to believe that the interlineation is no part of the original writing. But circumstances connected with the loan would show that the introduction of this rate of interest, although interpolated, was no fraud, and was, as to effect, without import.

"The terms of the bond are that a certain sum of money was advanced for a certain period by discount (by which I mean that the entire interest for the time that the loan was to run was deducted in the first instance), but that failing of payment at the stipulated time, interest (without specifying the rate, so it is presumed,) would be paid. No specification of interest was necessary, for it was intelligible without it that the rate of discount would be the criterion for the rate of interest, that was two per cent. per mensem; and besides this, as the dealings of Luchmun Geer with the Shorapore State had never been conducted at a lower rate of interest, the rate of discount in respect of this bond and of their ordinary dealings in other respects being one and the same would have formed the basis of the award of any Court. It is also to be kept in mind that after the expiration of the time fixed for payment the creditor repeatedly demanded payment and was refused.

"Captain Lee was, or ought to have been, cognisant of the entire transaction. If he labours under any mistake, or was deceived by the contracting parties, the third parties to the transaction, the purchasers of the bond, are not to be made to suffer by his laches.

"I shall be glad if either you or some other competent person would discuss this subject, as a fair understanding of the merits might lead to justice being done. There is no motive for the authorities to do injustice, and there is no third party to which the case could be referred. If justice is to be done to the holders of the bond, it must proceed from the conviction of the parties guaranteeing the loan. The questions are—

"1st.—That although value be not received for a bond, whether there is not liability to pay third parties the full amount according to the bond who have given value for it.

"2ndly.—As to whether a bond being essentially correct in its general conditions, it can be rendered invalid as to those conditions by the unauthorised interlineations of other words, and whether if a question could arise from that interlineation, it would not be limited by its purport, and not made to extend to the annulment of the whole.

"It can never be abstractedly a rule of justice that a debtor shall not pay an acknowledged debt according to admitted conditions to a third party entitled to claim, because the second party had committed an offence. The offence of the second party is no exemption to the debtor.

"Lastly.—As to whether it can be permitted to persons in authority upon their own *ipse dixit*, or in Council chambers, to pronounce extrajudicially that a forgery has been committed. They may upon such a supposition refuse to pay, provided the forgery be with the intent to commit a fraud, and the aggrieved parties have their remedy at law. But what is the remedy at Hyderabad, where there is no law? The guarantee given by Captain Lee is directly a guarantee of the Company's

Government, and for the credit of that Government it ought not to be shuffled off authoritatively. I dare say a competent Court to decide the question could be formed out of the Subsidiary Force.

"I hear upon good authority that the Sahoo-kars who clamour for payment have no lien upon the bond, which is in the hands of the family of the late Hussenood-deen-Khan as mortgagee. But the statement need not be altered, as the identification of the proprietor has nothing to do with the merits of the case.

"I also hear that the payment called into account against the bond was not a previous payment, but one made subsequently expressly in discharge of the bond.

"As this payment was not described on the bond, query, does it abstract from the right of the mortgagee to claim the full amount expressed by the bond to be due?"

ENGLISHMAN, *February 2, 1849.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad of the 21st ultimo :—

"I have been able to trace the whole course of an action to an end, which may be taken as a type of others constantly occurring.

"Just preceding Suraj-ool-Moolk's removal from office, Oomraogeer, a large banker, advanced him two lacs of rupees, in consideration of his assigning certain districts to Meer Quorban Ali; before he could take possession the Minister was dismissed, and the incumbent refused to secede. Oomraogeer sent troops to dispossess him, and was foiled.

"The Nizam desired that Oomraogeer should be made to answer for his conduct, and Meer Sirdar, a servant of the Nizam, was deputed to take cognisance. Oomraogeer was held in durance for three hours and was released. If it be asked why he was held in durance, it was for the eventual purpose of his release; it is to be presumed that that was Meer Sirdar's object, and was not unprofitable to him. During Mr. Martin's residence his Moonshee was notoriously corrupt, and was dismissed by the Government of India for corruption. Then the instances were but too frequent of injunctions, of exhibitions and obstructions, but all tending to no direct end but to profit the Moonshee, and this is the course that events would take if the Nizam acted without a Minister of sufficient weight and authority to repress corruption in the subordinates.

"Oomraogeer, hopeless of effecting anything by physical vigour, next resorted to a negotiation with Meer Sirdar, and promised to pay him the sum of fourteen thousand rupees, to which effect a deed was drawn up and assigned to the party, if he would introduce him to the Nizam, and as a means of procuring the Nizam's sanction to his introduction Oomraogeer professed to have been in the confidence of Suraj-ool-Moolk, and undertook to betray it. He told Meer Sirdar that he would put the Nizam in possession of the false charges against the State, which Suraj-ool-Moolk, in conjunction with the Duftarwala, Lalu Bahadoor, had inserted in its accounts, naming one specific instance, that eighty thousand rupees which were due to himself by Gheen Chund, a private individual, had been paid to him by Suraj-ool-Moolk from the revenues of the country, and had been placed in accounts at the debit of the State; he also professed to be able to specify acknowledgments of claims against the State which were given by Suraj-ool-Moolk, and antedated to appear valid, subsequently to his having ceased to discharge the functions of Minister. So far all was proper. But he undertook besides to communicate the subjects of General Fraser's private intercourse with Suraj-ool-Moolk. This was a trick; all he could honestly communicate would not be worth twopence; the whole matter of the conference could refer to nothing but what was salutary, as well to the State as to Suraj-ool-Moolk's personal interests. The hook was, however, well baited. But it ceased to be of effect, for whatever estimate Meer Sirdar might have made of such a proposition, he was to be influenced by nothing but his own interests. Oomraogeer understood his engagement to Meer Sirdar to be to pay him a sum of Rs. 14,000 on having the districts reassigned to Meer Quorban Ali. Meer Sirdar understood himself to be entitled to receive it when he introduced the banker to the Nizam, and the bargain is at an end for the present. However, I hope to see it resumed before your paper comes to us.

"Now, as Suraj-ool-Moolk could possess no confidence from General Fraser which might not see daylight, Oomraogeer was holding out a futile expectation of something important, to be disclosed, or, what is more likely still, was possessed of matters fabricated by Suraj-ool-Moolk to give himself importance, and confided to Oomraogeer under a pledge of secrecy in the full expectation that it would be useful to him by being betrayed. Oomraogeer has disappointed him in all ways, by keeping his secret at first, when its betrayal would have been useful to Suraj-ool-Moolk, and by betraying it at last, when it possibly may be pernicious. The secret is all stuff. The misfortune is in the prevailing opinion that it might be possible that General Fraser's attachment to Suraj-ool-Moolk was of a character to give the slightest room for the imputation of secret dealings between them."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 28, 1849.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 14th instant :—

"Suraj-ool-Moolk has been so upheld as to his conduct and character, that general statements will establish nothing against the high authority of his upholders ; but facts—written facts—are stubborn things, and as these, since his removal from office, will be poured upon the public very profusely, I purpose from time to time furnishing you with some of them, such as will tend to exhibit the capacity, the fidelity towards his Government, and the integrity towards the public good, with which he pursued his measures. He will be found committed towards his Government to a deep extent, and if he find indemnity for his acts it will be because he has found favour with the Supreme Government, whose fiat, nay, whose leanings, although unexpressed, are law to this wretchedly subservient Government of the Nizam.

"The paper I send in the original Persian, and a translation for insertion in your paper, professes to be authority to a jemadar of Arabs from Suraj-ool-Moolk to raise troops and to dispossess an incumbent Talookdar of his districts. The history of the affair is that on or about the 7th Zehig, corresponding to November last, Suraj-ool-Moolk, whilst his removal from office was in contemplation—which actually did occur seven days afterwards, on the 14th Zehig—took from Meer Koorban Ali two lacs of rupees, which he borrowed from Oomraogeer, an especial friend of Suraj-ool-Moolk, for which he agreed to give him charge of the districts of Amba Jogae, then held by Kundee Kishun Rao.

"Now the condition of these large loans by Sahookars to Talookdars for appointment to districts, though not acknowledged, is understood between them, and is equally understood by the Government, to be that the Talookdar is not virtually but nominally Talookdar, the real Talookdar being the party who risks the extensive capital on the speculation.

"It was felt at the time when the appointment was made that the incumbent, aware that a change was about to be made in the Ministry, and that obedience to the mandates of the then Minister would be disapproved by the Sovereign, would not resign charge, and consequently Meer Koorban Ali's naibs moved out of the capital, at the head of a new levy of Arabs, to take forcible possession. That they did obtain possession of part of the districts, and have maintained their position against the troops employed by Kundee Kishun Rao, is at once a proof of their maintaining troops, and of their having employed them in the first instance to get possession.

"Now it appears inconsistent that Oomraogeer, aware in common with Kundee Kishun Rao, that there was a great likelihood of Suraj-ool-Moolk being removed from office, possession of the districts being resisted, should nevertheless have ventured to speculate so largely, when the risk of loss was imminent. There is no answering for men's motives, but Oomraogeer was an especial friend. Oomraogeer was favoured in ways that have not yet seen the light. Suraj-ool-Moolk had impressed upon him that whilst General Fraser was his friend the Nizam would not have the audacity ('Aliquis,' being of the same opinion, has called it 'pluck') to turn him out, and Oomraogeer played a hazardous game. He bowed to the god in his adversity, in hopes of what he might obtain in his

returning prosperity, and he hazarded his money, and risked the fate of battles on this speculation. Now it will hardly be credited that Suraj-ool-Moolk could have propagated opinions so little to be believed (but why not, since 'Aliquis' has professed them) ; but the fact is unmistakeable, for General Fraser on a recent occasion is said to have observed that 'Suraj-ool-Moolk lost no opportunity of intimidating the Nizam, and of endeavouring to make him believe that he would be restored to office by the aid of the British Government.' Such opinions as I have described were believed, and continue to be believed ; they are still propagated with considerable assiduity."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 13, 1849.*—"The prominent events of the day have been that the section of the Sahookars in the interests of Suraj-ool-Moolk, and said to be under his direction,—about eleven of them,—went to the Nizam's palace to complain that the Minister had made no satisfactory arrangement about payment of their debts, and that they were aggrieved by his confiscating the jaghires they held in mortgage from the Nizam's servants. The Minister's reply was simple : when he could effect his retrenchments, he would arrange a plan for the liquidation of the entire debts of the State, not of the Sahookars especially, but he would acknowledge no debt without informing himself of the base of its contraction, and of its correctness. In regard to the other, he said the jaghires were assigned for services prospectively, or were held in endowment of shrines, tombs, &c. That the jaghires were part and parcel of the Nizam's territories, and the ryots located on the jaghires the Nizam's subjects. That the mortgagee had committed an offence, as well as the mortgagor, in presuming to hold the Nizam's estate in mortgage, and to exercise an authority (it is supreme) which had not been entrusted to him by the Sovereign over his subjects. This explanation might have been satisfactory to the Nizam. I question whether he comprehended, or cared to comprehend, the rights of the question. However this might have been, the Nizam was true to his habits of occasional mistaken benevolence : though he refused to see the Sahookars, and pressed upon them to go to the Minister, which they declined doing without receiving satisfaction, he complimented them with a gratuity (a *zeafut*) of five hundred rupees a day for some seven or eight days, when at length, wearied with their persistence, though still soothing them with kind words and fallacious promises, he ceased to make the daily allowance, and posted chobdars over them to urge their return home. The Sahookars seeing, when they had remained at the Nizam's fourteen days, that their importunity could accomplish nothing with His Highness, and that the Minister's apathy, not moved to notice them, gave no promise of success, inasmuch as they had failed to frighten him, they made a sort of compromise with their own dignity, and it was settled between them and the Nizam that the latter should call them into the presence, receive their *nuzzar*, and make them assurance that the Minister in two months would look to their accounts ; and they were permitted to send a deputy from among themselves to be in daily attendance at the palace. The only points which have any certainty are the audience and the *nuzzar*. The other matters are neither definitive nor certain of any result.

"The Nizam's Government remains in debt to the Company for monies advanced to the Contingent when Sooraj-ool-Moolk relinquished office, in the sum of fifty-four lacs. The Minister proposed to pay the interest of this sum monthly, and five lacs a year in discharge of the principal. The Governor-General has declined the offer, and has directed that, if immediate payment cannot be made, country equivalent to the amount may be ceded. A sum within four lacs of rupees per annum will cover the debt, and the Nizam cannot make a better bargain. But the cursed pride of the Mussulman, degraded as a sovereignty by fears or subjection throughout the globe, is opposed to this. The Nizam objects to relinquish territory, as degrading to his ancestry. This, to say the least of it, is bad historical knowledge. For this Government for the last hundred years has suffered degradation and humiliation under every one of its sovereigns. It sought the protection of the French, and then of the English, paying for its acquisition. It paid black-mail to

the Mahrattas. It had the Northern Sircars wrested from it by the English, and its Lieutenants of Madras, &c., despised its authority, and usurped independence and the governments entrusted to their charge. Finally it has been compelled, from not performing the provisions of the treaty, to raise a permanent force to serve contingently with the British troops, and to allow the whole authority over it, although paying it near forty lakhs of rupees annually, to go into the hands of a foreign envoy, to this extent, that it cannot be employed for the uses of his Government till the Resident is satisfied that the service demanded from it is not to promote an unjust measure. The Government is hence curbed in its policy, and the demand for the services of the Contingent is more or less frequent, dependent upon the views of the Resident, and the degree of favour which the Minister might enjoy with him.

"This Government is called bankrupt; it is bankrupt in abilities, in capacity, in vigour, but in regard to assets no government in the world is more solvent. If its accounts were fairly adjusted, its debts, if they amounted to so much, would not be more than two crores of rupees. To meet its present disbursement, it might procure from the Nizam the restoration of country yielding thirty-eight lacs of annual revenue, which the Nizam holds partly in payment of his household troops, and partly in mortgage to reimburse his loans made from his private treasury to his own Government; from this an excess of revenue of about twenty lacs would be brought to his Government. Personal jaghires are alienated to the amount of about twenty-five lacs of rupees (and are mostly mortgaged by the jaghirdars); the recall of these after defraying every just claim would give another saving of fifteen lacs. The suppression of fraud, and deduction of management allowances in the talookas, would yield a saving of about ten lacs more at the least. The reduction of paper troops, of amount of salaries, and other economical arrangements—for instance, the reduction of the salaries of the Princes—would give another saving of at least thirty lacs of rupees. Shums-ool-Oomra is willing to curtail his own estate whilst he dispensed with the Ministerial salary and perquisite in the sum of seven lacs. The aggregate of these gives eighty-two lacs, the savings being moderately computed. The debt (I have not included that to the Company) might be entirely cleared in three years, although assets did not fall in to Government by the audit of false accounts, and each following year carry an ample income to the private treasury of the Nizam, sufficient to reimburse him over and over for his advances.

"There is but one thing wanting—the man to do the work. They say the Nizam is impracticable. The Minister should have a lucid statement drawn up, take the Resident with him to Court, urge the necessity of economy upon the Nizam to save his independence, quote Lord Ellenborough's circular letter as to his assertion of the paramount authority of the English Government, and the sacredness of the obligation it involved to interfere to prevent injustice and misrule, and finally to impress upon the Nizam that the English, to the discredit of their name and a proper regard for justice, had been already too long forbearing. It is absurd to say the Nizam is impracticable; he is so because the fortitude is wanting to approach him in the language of truth, and to point out his dangers to him."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 17, 1849*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 3rd instant :—

"The Resident has written a fourth letter without receiving any answer regarding the payment of the Nizam's debt to the Company. The Nizam comes to no decision, and I do not hear that he is efficiently instructed as to the course he should pursue. We hear of project after project for paying the debt, all and each of sufficient efficacy if they were carried out, but all and each obstructed by such slight impediments that it is a wonder they are allowed to prevail. Of time there seems to be no reckoning made, but too apparent by the ineffectual urgency of the Resident, ineffectual wholly; as not even to procure an answer, but when the time of reckoning comes its rapidity will appal.

"I do not know whether I told you that the Minister, relinquishing his first project, had fallen into the old device of sustaining the disbursements of the day by

obtaining advances from the Talookdars of a quarter's revenue. This was altogether a bad scheme, of the defects of which the Minister was sensible, and had effaced it from his system of administration ; but as it was revived, it was still more miserable to see that it was ineffectually proposed. The Sahookar distrusted a Government which was not retrenching, and no credit with them was open for those whose resources for payment were dependent upon the Government. The new Talookdars were either favoured, or could raise no money. A recent act, however, of the Minister gives the promise that the exaction will be carried out with vigour. You have been informed that the faction of the Arabs is sufficiently powerful to control the Government in every measure in which it chooses to take a part ; hence it was conjectured that the exaction of an advance would not be urged upon the Arab as upon other Talookdars. We are glad, however, to see that the Minister has not been wanting in this instance in vigour. A large and powerful Talookdar and Chief, Oomar bin Aooz, has been required to pay two lacs of rupees in advance, and has paid it. He stipulated as a condition that his back accounts should be immediately authenticated by the Minister's official signature. This was peremptorily denied, and the Arab was desired to relinquish his districts, or to pay the money. He conceded the point, and paid the money.

"In respect to the Arab, it is a measure of no small vigour ; it implies that the Minister will not sign his account without scrutiny, and that he is prepared to bring the question of the restitution of the Nizam's districts from his Arab Talookdars, on his mandate, to immediate issue. The friends of the Arabs say his back accounts are signed. I hear not, I hope not, (there is no believing assertions of any sort,) for then it will be evinced to all that the Arabs continue powerful enough to prevail against the Government, and to command justice, in the form they shall understand it to be justice, against its subjects.

"The Resident asked the Nizam what his orders were in regard to the payment of the debt due to his Government. His Highness replied that his Minister had offered to discharge it by an annual payment of five lacs. He disapproved of the proposition, and would have stipulated to pay twenty-seven lacs the first year, the remaining twenty-seven in two subsequent years. The Resident must have felt that little weight could attach to the performance of a stipulation for which the means were wanting, and replied to His Highness's question as to whether the Governor General desired the whole amount should be paid at once that he had communicated His Lordship's instructions to His Highness. The Nizam is not yet aware what practical difficulties are ; he has some money left in his treasury, and unless some opulent persons (there are such) die to add to his store, that will be soon consumed, in a year perhaps, and then the necessity for constructing a good Government will be felt, but whence is it to come? There is a sad, sad destitution of abilities, and whilst there is now hopelessness, perhaps it will be best to allow the Nizam to ruin the State with his own hands. I rather think we should no longer take account of the structure of his Government, or of the Minister whom he may appoint to conduct it. The sooner it comes to that point at which reform, for the sake of its very existence, must be made, the better."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 24, 1849.*—"The great affair of Government is to provide money, and arrangements of the former character are contemplated for effecting it. Besides the debt of 54 lacs to the Government of India, which the Nizam professes his ability to pay immediately, a monthly supply of about Rs. 3,25,000 is required for the pay of the Contingent and certain other disbursements which are made through the Resident. About or a little more than two lacs are required to pay the expenses of the Nizam and the pensions of his family. The Minister of Finance has arranged with a section of the Sahookars that they shall pay Rs. 1,75,000 monthly to the Resident (more than that they decline advancing), for which they are to receive orders on the revenues as before, and the rest is to be supplied by Talookdars. Amongst them Sher Afghan Jung, who is to be restored to his districts, paying a nuzzerania of five lacs, and advancing five lacs, for the restoration, pays one lac monthly (always an advance from the revenues), Ghoolam

Nukee Khan fifty thousand, and Mookib Ali fifty thousand, and so on, till the sum required is completed. Now this plan contemplates no improvement; it is in the last degree vicious, for it leaves out of the question entirely payment to other parties, and is no improvement in finance, for all that it does is to borrow upon its own resources. It can only, then, be considered as bringing an accession to the resources of the State. If the Dufturdars, like Suraj-ool-Moolk, resolve upon not paying the Sahookars, there will be a collision of wit between the Sahookars and the Dufturdars, and it remains to be seen which party will carry its object.

"The Nizam has a notable project for paying the fifty-four lacs of rupees; it must succeed, for so long as there is wealth in the country how can any project of the Nizam fail? His Highness is besides said to possess twenty-two lacs of rupees in his treasury at Golconda, and twenty-five in that of the city. But there is one incomprehensible part of his project: he is negotiating with the Sahookars to receive from him in cash (it will bring so much more money into circulation), ten lacs of rupees of their former debt, and to lend him twenty lacs of rupees, a new loan, at six per cent. per annum, for which His Highness gives orders on his revenues payable in the year. This will not take effect; the Sahookars contemplate a gradual advance of the twenty lacs, upon the calculation that having received ten lacs, before they have paid away the whole of that sum on account of the loans, payment on their orders of Government will be sufficiently early to secure their further advances, and so on to the last stage of their advances. Their project is so to graduate their advance as not to pay the Nizam at any time more money than they receive from him, the ten lacs forming the basis. The project will fail, for the Nizam requires an immediate loan to contribute to the payment of his debt to the Company. If the project be ever carried out, the Sahookars must suffer. The Nizam is decidedly honest in his intentions, but the honestest man in the world without resources cannot pay. The Nizam instead of paying to the Sahookars thirty lacs to get twenty had better pay the extra ten to his starving troops.

"P.S.—Sher Afghan Jung has negotiated a change of the original terms on which he is to be restored to his former districts: he pays a nuzzerana of four lacs, receiving credit for a lac and a half which he advanced His Highness during the interval between Suraj-ool-Moolk's removal and Shums-ool-Oomrah's appointment to office; and instead of five lacs in advance of the revenues he pays six lacs by monthly instalments of one lac of rupees.

"Lalu Bahadoor knows best why this change has been made. General Fraser's reply to the Minister's communication respecting the annulling of Ramaswamy's contract was, that as his contract for five years had been sent through him, he desired to know for what offence it was to be annulled. Why was not a similar movement made in regard to Pestonjee's contract, which had more than passed through his hands? it had received by express desire an authentication; then how unwary it is to let these contracts pass through his hands if they bind him to interference."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 3, 1849*.—The following is from Hyderabad letters of the 19th ultimo:—

"I wrote to you two or three days ago that the Sahookars had advanced the pay of the Contingent on an understanding with the Dufturdar, Lalu Bahadoor, that the Talookdars would reimburse them in eight days.

"One of these accidents has occurred, which, though constantly occurring, yet most extraordinarily they have not contributed to give these Sahookars the benefit ordinarily derivable from experience. The section of the Sahookars running concurrently with Lalu Bahadoor and Suraj-ool-Moolk, who were to find the funds—something more than two lacs—not agreeing amongst themselves as to their respective proportions, Lalu Bahadoor applied to Prem Sookh Doss to make up the deficit. This Sahookar declined entering upon a joint transaction,—they had choused him in the affair of Mr. Dighton's bank,—but said he would advance, if Lalu Bahadoor so directed it, the whole required amount.

"The other party, having their jealousy aroused, in their precipitation to prevent their competitor taking the lead and gaining credit with the Nizam, paid the money without securing themselves by procuring engagements from the Talookdars. The Contingent has been paid and the usual laxity of the Government, which pervades all things, embraces the carrying this into effect; nay, more, the Talookdars decline furnishing engagements to pay in eight days, and will only engage to pay in one and two months, and then only if they retain charge of their districts.

"The Sahookars have been urgent with them not to recede from their first engagement, but have used bad special pleading for their object. They have said the revolutions here are so constantly occurring, and the engagements of the one Minister are so invariably broken by his successor, that there can be no reliance upon their holding their districts so long. The Talookdars have made correct deductions from the argument and have said, 'Then there is the greater reason why we should not embark our own funds.'

"It will be somewhat curious if Lalu Bahadoor should have put the Talookdars upon receding from their engagement. So they say, and it is certain if Lalu Bahadoor insisted upon the agreement made through himself being carried out, the Talookdars would not dare refuse compliance. Lalu Bahadoor prefers the interests of the Talookdars; his hands are often in their pockets, rarely in those of the Sahookars."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 8, 1849*.—The following are extracts of letters from Hyderabad of the 24th and 25th ultimo:—

"The Nizam, called on, besides maintaining his Government, to provide monthly the pay of the Contingent, and to discharge a debt of fifty-four lacs of rupees to the Company's Government, has developed his financial plans, which are of the character of the former times; they are to consist of advances from Talookdars, of confiscations from certain parties, and of the sale of jaghires.

"Shums-ool-Oomra is required to pay a sum of money variously stated at anything between eleven and thirty-five lacs of rupees. This system will necessarily, from the wants of the State, if not now, on a future day, be extended. The Talookdar Sher Afghan Jung pays about ten lacs of rupees; ten lacs of rupees—the long-neglected offer—are to be immediately called in from Ellichpore; Sultan Nuwaz-ool-Moolk, Moohib Ali, Ghoolan Nukkee Khan, and Kunder Kishan Rao are required to advance money, with a host of others. Suraj-ool-Moolk, who has been honoured with the restoration of a jaghire for some political purpose known only to the Nizam's mind, has paid a lac of rupees for the restoration. With Raja Ram Bux there is a negotiation to restore him his former jaghires, yielding an annual revenue of about four lacs of rupees, for a fine of five lacs, and Fukhuroon Moolk, to whom his jaghires, yielding something more than two lacs, were restored on a promise to pay three lacs, has returned the grant, being either unable or unwilling to pay the money. I believe the last, for he is reputed to be rich, and there is good sense in his conduct.

"It is not difficult to see that with renewed embarrassments there is nothing to relieve the Government from their recurring the more quickly because of these financial measures which remove, by the dispensing of the jaghires, a considerable amount of revenue from the State; resort will be had to the same course, and will be repeated till the system dies of exhaustion. These measures bring no relief—I mean those of advances and sales of jaghires; it is a reconstructing upon the same old rotten base, becoming less stable with every coming day; not so the measure of sequestration. Individuals possess exorbitant wealth of which they have plundered the Government; the recalling of this would be a new source, and conducted with consideration towards parties in consideration that plunder in every shape has been tolerated, even to the acquiring right by prescription, need be no very great hardship. The amount recovered would be considerable, both in the actual handling of the coin and in the annihilation of claims; and it is quite

Impossible the Nizam should not come to it at last. But the misfortune is that the employes of the Nizam are, to a man (Ghoolam Hyder Khan excepted), sordid, and, in all the meaner affairs of life, of desperate enterprise. Of that which the Nizam would draw from the plunder committed on him by other parties more than half would go to those whom he employed to receive his moneys, the demand, of course, as the consideration for payment to the intermediate parties, being considerably reduced. The measure of an audit of the accounts in every department of the State was contemplated by Shums-ool-Oomra, and in conjunction with such aid as he intended to bring to its affairs, and with the retrenchments he would have made, the State would have been effectually relieved. I now hear that his plans were matured, drawn out upon paper, and were to have been submitted to the Nizam. They have been sent in since his removal, but, whatever they might have been they are now waste paper. The Sahookars who had offered to advance the Nizam eight lacs of rupees a month on condition of Shums-ool-Oomra being sent out of office now deny, well attested as the fact is, that they ever made such an offer. But though the Nizam may fail to procure money from this source, yet if he carry out his measure of sequestration vigorously we shall have an over-abundant treasury. Some portion of it will drop into the Sahookars' wallets, we shall be all alive and kicking for a time, but it is the last flickering of the lamp.

"If the Sahookars could have got Suraj-ool-Moolk, the eight lacs of rupees' bargain would have been made; but they would then have turned the wheel, prizes would have fallen in to them, and accelerated the financial ruin of the State. The only counterpart is that the Sahookars might have been committed to a part of the amount of the first advance.

"It is time we should hear from His Lordship, but there will be no want of right policy if matters are left alone for a time, though I hardly expect the Nizam, loving this state of abeyance, will show his plans. The question may be asked him, and an explicit answer extracted."

SPECTATOR, *September 14, 1849.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad :

"The rumour of which I had apprised you regarding Suraj-ool-Moolk's reappointment to the Ministry has entirely subsided. The prevailing opinion now is that His Highness, if he be permitted, will reappoint Raja Ram Bux. I very much fear that the false positions which His Highness will adopt will involve him in perplexity, and betray him into measures not of his own choice; however that may be, if he appoint Raja Ram Bux, or any other person, the administration will not be conducted as before. The office will now be held at the Nizam's palace, instead of the Minister's house, and the greater facility of access to the Nizam which this will afford will be an advantage. It is, however, another question as to whether His Highness's superintendence, &c., &c., will be productive of any good.

"He gives up a great deal of his time to the affairs of his Government, and instructions are issued on most occasions at the time, but the functionaries of Government seem to exercise their discretion not unfrequently as to the carrying them into execution. There is always this reservation, that His Highness, inexperienced in the affairs of State, may possibly correct his decisions upon obtaining further information and having other views presented to him upon the subject. This would be a salutary state of things if the functionaries who exercise their judgment on His Highness's acts were honest, but as the case is quite opposite, the counteraction which proceeds from them is referable not to their fidelity to His Highness's interest, but to some purpose of private advantage. With his taste for conducting in detail the affairs of his Government I do not see what hope is left to the country. Perhaps the opportunity would be rightly and properly afforded His Highness of exercising his own judgment in the construction of his Ministry and in the administration of his affairs if the alternative—the only alternative—to a bad Government be interference on our part or absorption. In that case neither His Highness nor his advocates could have anything to complain of."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 25, 1849*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 5th instant :—

"The Nizam, as I foresaw, has extended his confiscations, but it has not yet become a system—I presume, more from want of arrangement and information than inclination. It might possibly be good policy to direct the confiscations against individuals insulatedly, so as not to raise up factions, but I am not disposed to think so. The Nizam is too much assured of his power and his strength to fear any combination in his Government; he has the power of your Subsidiary, and with it that of your whole Government eventually, with him. But whilst I believe that no factions will rise up against the Nizam—for, in despite of mismanagement, which by the bye is attributable to past times, he is beloved, understood to be benevolent, and to desire the welfare of all in his State except those against whom his mind is temporarily poisoned by unfavourable reports from his minions—I apprehend there will be constant insurrection directed against the powerful chiefs and the heads of departments of the State. His Highness desired the attendance of the grandsons of Rajah Chundoolall, and directed them to pay to the Government the hoards of their father and grandfather (the last had been notoriously poor), which His Highness understood to amount to five krores of rupees. Now as nothing of this amount was traceable His Highness might have understood that his informants had deceived him, and might with it have distrusted the sound sense of the party who could credit the possession of so much wealth by any person at Hyderabad. His Highness is no man of business, or he might have understood that it was impossible, however it might have been vested, to conceal so immense a sum entirely. There could not be commercial credit for it in his dominions and not known. It must have gone to add to the dealings of some opulent banker in too marked a manner for mistake. So large a sum could not have been remitted, though at certain intervals, without being detected as to the fact of remittance by the fluctuations it would occasion in the market; neither bullion nor jewels could have been purchased by it without equally exciting attention, and the money could not have been buried without employing a host of bildars, who must have been confidential indeed to have been so employed. Besides if we take into calculation that the interest, two per cent. per month, which Raja Chundoolall paid, doubled the capital every three years, there is something monstrous in supposing, admitting the Nizam's revenues to be two and a half krores a year, that a fortune of five krores could be reared when the three years' purchase of the fee simple of the whole revenue of the State would only amount to $7\frac{1}{2}$ krores. Chundoolall was improvident, Raja Ballapursad, his son, parsimonious of his hoards in bullion, in cash, and credit with houses of business; his father extorted ten lacs from him, and the Nizam fifteen. His opportunities did not permit him to acquire more, and if he have any property concealed—not unlikely—it will be under five lacs.

"No money was forthcoming, and His Highness in consequence took a penalty bond from these young gentlemen, and desired that the resumed jageers, which had been restored to their father, should be again resumed, and an allowance of Rs. 18,000 per annum for their maintenance made from the treasury. The intention exists, but who will pay it, or who will ever press upon the Nizam's necessities the propriety of carrying his grant into effect? The English Government has acknowledged Chundoolall's services; it had gone the length, in consideration of them, of pledging support to him. Would not political considerations justify the exercise of some intervention on the part of our Government in favour of his sons, or is our security such (*vide* Lord Ellenborough's speech on the prize property of Lahore) that political considerations for the future no longer exist in our councils?

"The Nizam had agreed to receive, besides an acquittance for two lacs and a half of rupees which Sher Afghan Jung had advanced during the last vacancy in the administration, a sum of Rs. 1,75,000 for restoration to his former districts, and measures had been taken to put him in possession of them, but being informed that Sher Afghan Jung had offered nine lacs of rupees to Shums-ool-Oomra, His Highness ordered Goolam Hyder Khan to demand that sum.

Goolam Hyder Khan proffered on the part of the Talookdar a payment of a nuzzurana of three lacs, and five lacs in advance of the revenues. His Highness rejected the offer ; he considered the advance as no special accommodation, since any other Talookdar would make it, and declared his intention of not receiving less than six lacs for the nuzzurana, giving an aggregate, with the advance, of $8\frac{1}{2}$ lacs."

SPECTATOR, *October 3, 1849*.—"The Nizam has confined Raja Toolja Purshad, the contractor for city customs, for declining to pay two lacs of rupees, which His Highness claims as due to his Government. The contractor refers to accounts and to the testimony of Shums-ool-Oomra, but His Highness's exaction excludes all reference. Other necessities will produce other exactions. If the money coming from insulated parties at distant periods were pulled in in an aggregate sum—I believe the better word is 'in a lump'—it might, indeed it would, go a great way to do the State service, always provided it were applied to a right purpose.

"The condition of the Government has nearly reached its acme. Sahoo-kars will not lend it money. The powerful clans hold back, and Talookdars will make no further advances. Raja Ram Bux, who literally subserves the Nizam, is nothing but an executive officer. He has no power to change, none to bestow nor withdraw, consequently he has no control, whatever of credit or discredit may result from his ministry ; he is no further a sharer in it than that he ought not to have undertaken an administration upon these terms: The Nizam is obviously partial to him ; results have shown that he prefers him as Minister to any other person, but I doubt whether Raja Ram Bux has the influence with the Nizam which others around him possess. Their constant access to him, and long-established connection, would give predominance to their views over the ministry, and the Minister must be content, if he retain office, to preside over a Government nominally, which, whether it be ill or well regulated, can affect him but as being too subservient, as sacrificing character from ambition, worse still if for money. But I question whether anybody besides Shums-ool-Oomra would dare to resist the Nizam from motives to do him service. Suraj-ool-Moolk did so from believing the Nizam's cowardice—'Aliquis' called it want of pluck—placed him beyond the reach of his power. He now affirms he has no happiness separate from his Sovereign's favour.

"*Hyderabad, 26th September 1849.*"

ENGLISHMAN, *October 3, 1849*.—"The Talookdars have reimbursed immense sums, but as all this was paper money the remission of the debt of the Government, which they never expected to recover, their wealth is not impaired ; thereby the Sheristadars and Jamadars will supply funds to the Government whenever to its need it can add vigour."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 5, 1849*.—"The following is from Hyderabad, the 21st ultimo :—"It is said that the Minister means not to refund immediately the advances which were made to the Government by Shums-ool-Oomra's new nominees to the collectorates. A party complain of this proceeding making a distinction between the measure as adopted by Shums-ool-Oomra and as now contemplated by Raja Ram Bux. They allege that Shums-ool-Oomra's measures affected old Talookdars notoriously fraudulent, whilst these new men can have no pecuniary claims on the part of Government against them. The question of what is just and proper on these occasions is difficult to decide. If the payment of debts is to be postponed, I do not see what character of a debt or how its age can be made to admit a distinction ; none was admitted by Shums-ool-Oomra (as in the case of Meer Koorban Ali, who had received a new appointment, and had within the preceding fifteen days advanced two lacs of rupees), and I think very properly so. The disadvantage of admitting any debt formed by a preceding ministry would be only to shackle the succeeding administration, and policy would suggest that such claims should by no means have a preference, as the tendency would be to encourage a system of fraud of which I consider it to be the parent ; and as ministers have been seen to resort to it under the pressure of their exigencies, and

are not likely under similar circumstances to discontinue the practice, the Nizam might find his advantage in so prejudicing these claims as to prevent their recurrence, by withdrawing the lenders from making engagements found to be unprofitable.

"One conclusion is certain, when Kumur-ood-deen Khan is disallowed twelve lacs of rupees which he claims against Government; when Sher Afghun Jung remits to Suraj-ool-Moolk a balance of twelve lacs of rupees claimed by him against the Government; when Bishun Chund has a balance of ten lacs, as part only of his accounts, withheld from him; when Sher Afghun Jung had offered Shums-ool-Oomra nine lacs of rupees to have his districts reassigned to him; when Rung Row offers to receive Rs. 2,75,000 in lieu of a balance of eleven lacs of rupees which he claims, and his proposal is refused by the Minister, who affirms that a sum of eight lacs surplus beyond this balance will be established against Rung Row—that the gains of these and such persons are inordinate, and that they are not honest gains. I should say that although there is no mistaking the fact that Sher Afghun Jung had offered Shums-ool-Oomra nine lacs of rupees for the restoration to his charge of his resumed districts, the Nizam has been betrayed into giving them back to him for a sum of about four lacs of rupees, or three, I am not certain which.

"It is affirmed that Raja Ram Bux has offered the Nizam the aid of sixty lacs of rupees, thirty lacs to be paid immediately, and that he is in negotiation with Arabs to lend him the money. It follows that he thinks the credit of the Government exists now with persons of that nation alone, as honesty in point of morals makes no distinction of the parties it deals with. If the Government find the credit with the Arabs and Pathans which its other servants and subjects deny it, it will be only because those nations have greater power to enforce their rights, which they will secure by having liens or mortgages, possession being assigned upon districts, or, if concealment of that position be designed, by getting their own creatures appointed to the charge of those places from whence payment is to proceed to them. These people have been heretofore intermediate to the dealings of the Sahookars, conducting the transactions in their own names as affording them greater security, and have thence appeared large capitalists. It was impossible that persons possessing the power they did should not have grown rich under this despoiled Government; and they are rich, but not to the extent which was assumed, judging from their former dealings. The whole wealth of the country is centred in Talookdars, in Arab and Pathan Chiefs, and in Hindoo Sheristadars; the Sahookars are now comparatively poor. Besides these persons very few possess wealth.

"The Governor-General reads the Nizam a lecture about his frequent changes of the administration, tells him that it requires time to correct abuses, claims a right to advise him, and says that if the debt to the Company be not paid till the end of 1850 the Governor-General will take his own measures for the interest of his Government. His Lordship has been lenient in the time he has given, and the whole tone of the letter implies his unwillingness to interfere in the Nizam's affairs. I wish the Nizam could be made to understand that circumstances may often wrest an individual, more frequently a Government, from its purpose; and when such as the following disquisitions are on the records of Government, that which has been before advised and acted upon may be again brought into operation. The principle is to let the Nizam's Government walk its own course, but if it totters on the way and can't complete its journey it will be neighbourly to lend it a hand.

"I have argued that the Government is right in postponing payments to its creditors. Not to be misunderstood, I must explain that I mean to say there can be no measure more justifiable to the Nizam's Government than suspension of its payments for a time, since it can only by adopting that course retrieve its affairs, and, though late, do justice to all, unless indeed by borrowing it consolidates its debts into one account. In default of that, indeed, if not to be accomplished by its credit, it ought to resort to the only method left to it, of employing its resources to retrench, and using the surplus which that may leave to the discharge of all its obligations. It can so retrieve its affairs and redeem its character. But if a Minister do not take his measures with that end in view, the postponement to pay will be

but the symptom of dishonest intentions, or rather, as I shall believe, of incapacity or want of energy, for there can be no possible motive, unless personal fear influence it, to oppose retrenchment. It is very legitimate to a government to declare bankruptcy. The Nizam's Government must inevitably, for want of immediate resources to assist it in retrenching, resort to that as the alternative to a suspension of payment.

"19th Sept.—I hear that Ram Bux has not yet gone the length of making proposals to Arabs and that sort of persons for loans ; his application has yet only been made to Sahookars for a loan towards completing a sum of five lacs of rupees, and has been entertained upon the condition of good assignments on the revenues being made to them. This sort of arrangement will bring no financial aid to the Government, and it has professed its inability to give the required security. These five lacs, if lent without the required security, will test in some degree the credit of the Minister.

"The Resident, whose treasury is low, in reliance upon the abovementioned payment being made to him according to engagement, postpones drawing bills, and hence the payment, to be in time, must be made within the next ten days.

"Raja Ram Bux yesterday attended the Court for the first time since his appointment, as the attendance is not daily. I do not conclude there was error in my information, but that the intention is changed. The two leading Arabs have declined lending money, though demand was made for only five lacs of rupees. I understand the Arabs and Pathans were reckoned upon for thirty lacs, and indeed one of the latter, Boodhun Khan, offered to lend Shums-ool-Oomra ten lacs, which the latter declined."

SPECTATOR, October 15, 1849.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad :

"The financial credit of the Government seems to have broken down entirely. A sum of eighty thousand rupees is paid on the 1st of every month for the Contingent. This, which has been paid for several months past with punctuality, and which the Sahookars, under the completion of certain terms to be arranged for each separate loan, had engaged to pay, has not been paid by them this month, nor has the treasury of the State paid it. The Government has not been able to give assignments, from their preoccupation, to the Sahookars, which is the probable cause of their drawing back, but why the treasury does not pay it can be explained in no other way than by the supposition that the Nizam, who expected to find a resource of 60 lacs extra from Raja Ram Bux's administration, is kept ignorant of the state of the credit of his Government.

"There was also an engagement to pay the Resident a sum of five lacs of rupees, part of the debt of 54 lacs, during the last month. Strong assurances that the engagement would be kept must have been made to the Resident, for in reliance upon this money coming in time to meet the demands upon his treasury he postponed drawing upon his Government till the last moment, and necessarily drew at a disadvantage. A demonstration, however, was made of promptness to pay this money: a large boutique was hired in the Resident's bazar, a lac of rupees on six elephants escorted by guards was brought to it, and there was a sensation and excitement throughout the bazar and city as if this boutique was shortly to overflow with wealth. This occurred six days ago. The boutique is *in statu quo*, and it is now understood that the money was lent by Boodun Khan with a peremptory injunction that it should not be paid into the Resident's treasury, its ultimate destination, until the Government had executed the conditions—the assigning territory to him in mortgage, and the acknowledgment of a former balance, in consideration of which a present loan was to be made. The Nizam fortunately understands that loans raised upon present revenues are no relief, and he has withheld his consent from his Minister's bargain, and the money has only come to go back again, effecting nothing towards showing that the Minister possesses credit, which was its main object, but the rather manifesting, to his prejudice, that he could only borrow from powerful men, and from them only upon the most stringent of all conditions, the mortgage of territory, and then only upon the most ruinous terms, by acknowledging, in consideration of a present loan

of seventeen lacs, a suspicious debt of former days of twenty-one lacs, and, to crown the whole, acknowledging the debt, as a preliminary measure, without any examination of accounts. That the purpose of the Government is honest is to be seen from its tergiversations, its difficulties in accepting the loan; but Suraj-ool-Moolk would have calculated better—rather, as he did not ever calculate, he would have discovered by an intuitive faculty—that, make what terms he might, the loan would be advantageous. The loan was a present matter, the payment prospective, and as these Afghans (two parties were concerned to make the loan), Nuseeb Khan and Boodun Khan, had not been paid the twenty-one lacs which they claimed, their prospect for the payment of the thirty-eight lacs could only be improved in an inverse ratio. The Afghans and the Government both want wisdom, the one in desiring to lend upon any terms, the other in not accepting the terms, whatever they might be. It would be no very great hardship to add these Pytans to the list of the numerous unpaid creditors of the Nizam's Government. I continue to assert that let the Government get its money where it may, and how it may, from its own servants, it is merely a measure of restitution.

"The people about the Nizam begin to say that he is quite changed in mind, that he formerly forebore to make pecuniary demands upon his people, but that he is now seeking to obtain money where he can. It was to have been expected as the consequence of his necessities. But unfortunately he is looking to the wealth of Ram Bux and the sons of Raja Bala Pershad to prop up his Government. Raja Ram Bux professes to have paid away to the Nizam's Government all the wealth which had descended to him from his father. Bala Pershad paid twenty-five lacs of rupees to the State,—ten to his father and fifteen to the Nizam,—and if there be any left it must be a mere pittance, but the Nizam's expectation is of krores of rupees: he will find an abundance of money if he knows where to seek for it.

"Hyderabad, 5th October 1849."

SPECTATOR, *October 17, 1849.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad:

"My last letter requires correction. Instead of a negotiation for a loan of seventeen lacs with Boodun Khan and Nuseeb Khan, and the acknowledgment of a former balance of twenty-one lacs, I now understand that Raja Ram Bux's negotiation was with Boodun Khan alone, for a loan of five lacs, for which his former balance, said to amount (on his claim) to no very large amount, was to have been admitted. In the days of Raja Ram Bux's first administration an application was made by the Nizam's Government to expel Boodun Khan from his districts, which he refused to cede upon His Highness's orders, and Colonel Tomkyns was employed to dispossess him. This being the situation in regard to Boodun Khan, the Resident remonstrated against his appointment, it is said, to this effect, that the Nizam's Government was at liberty to appoint him, but that it would not a second time receive any aid from him to dispossess him. Before this remonstrance was made, Boodun Khan had proceeded, upon the strength of his expectation, to send a lac of rupees into the Resident's bazar, as the precursor of four others which were to follow, and Ram Bux had apprised the Resident by an official note that the lac of rupees sent was designed for payment to him, and was only held back till a sum of five lacs of rupees could be completed. Boodun Khan has since ordered the return of his money, which the Resident will not sanction till he receives Ram Bux's requisition to that effect. This is very proper, but Raja Ram Bux fears to write, apprehensive of the heavy load of strictures which he is doomed to bear.

"9th October, 1849."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 16, 1849.*—"I believe I told you that in reliance upon a sum of five lacs of rupees coming from the Nizam the Resident had declined drawing to cover the expenses of the coming month; nineteen and a half per cent. was offered for bills and declined. The promise of payment on the part of the Nizam's Government has been fallacious, and the Resident drew yesterday for two lacs of rupees on Bengal at eighteen per cent.; he will draw again on Monday for

two lacs more, but the Talookdars will give only seventeen per cent. It would not be quite accurate to say that between the first offer and actual sales a loss of eight thousand rupees will be incurred by the Government; for with the offer to give bills to a larger amount prices might have gone down. The first loss of three thousand rupees is certain; the next will probably be about the same. I wish the Nizam's Government could understand the mischief they occasion by idle promises."

SPECTATOR, *October 22, 1849.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad:

"The Nizam is at war with everybody, and thinks he has received ill usage from all: so he has, but not in the way he understands it,—he is now seeking for money vainly; as his efforts are so ill directed that everybody almost who has anything to lose is getting apprehensive. I can hardly believe what is said, that Munje Mean having gratified a servant of the Nizam with a present of five hundred rupees, for being the bearer of the grant of Kotpul Bahadoor Bunda, His Highness, on his servant reporting it, ordered the money into his own treasury.

"The Treasurer is ordered to return money which had been given to redeem gold mohurs that had been mortgaged, and which were redeemed and returned to His Highness. Other gold mohurs which were given him for the pay of the troops are remanded: certain other payments actually made by His Highness's orders are recalled. All these recalls are made because the transactions are of a recent date, and within His Highness's recollection, or perhaps because His Highness has discovered that the gold was redeemed by his Treasurer's money, and his orders yet unpaid can be recalled. But, whatever the meaning may be, His Highness will not obtain much in this way; the pretexts by which the call is made are totally senseless; but then how strong the indication of need, and how very manifest that money will be extracted on any terms! 'Needs must when the devil drives.' The regret is that the action is not systematic in accord with justice, which admits of its pursuit both in the carrying out of the measure, and in the end to which the product is to be applied."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 29, 1849.*—"A proposal is abroad for a loan of thirty lacs for the Government, for which the Minister will lodge fifteen lacs as part security with the lender; then there is a demand simply for a loan of fifteen lacs, to which an attempt is made to give a commercial character by producing a capital of fifteen lacs. This could only be so far security to the lender if he expected to be paid fifteen out of the thirty he lent. But when the thirty lacs are lent to the capitalist who invests fifteen there is no enhanced security. The proposal is too foolish to make, but it may be accepted upon the understanding that some other security which is good will be given. Whilst the condition of the Government is such as it is, no security is good; they will be all forcibly annihilated for the maintenance of the Government.

"The above account (I have it authentically) I should only have considered so far correct as that the proposition had been made, without Ram Bux's participation in it, to Sahoo-kars by some intermeddling person, but that I fear from an authentic source that Raja Ram Bux has promised money and jewels from his family. I intended to have given the events of one entire week, but my paper is filled, and there is matter enough, if true, to make a pandemonium of Hyderabad.

"*Hyderabad, 16th October 1849.*"

ENGLISHMAN, *October 22, 1849.*—"The other great matter, the budget, is in a still more extraordinary position. There are immediate demands upon the Government for money, produced by a stupid spirit, a desire to appear as if independent of circumstances and position, which has led to engagements with the Resident for immediate payment of money. The Nizam's Government has failed to perform its undertaking, but, what is worse still, the whole financial arrangement has broken down. It is not a matter of complaint that it has not been carried out, but that no better project should have been formed than one from which the ruin of the State could only be avoided if the intention

of the Nizam's Government from the first was fraudulent. In Suraj-ool-Moolk's hands the Government would not have suffered under this project, for he would have borrowed not to pay; the evasion to do so would have waited upon some remonstrance of the Resident if that could have been obtained, or upon the defection of zemindars and ryots, which is easily effected, and is a practice known to the Nizam's Government. These, with a variety of other pretexts, might have been devised to defraud the creditor of the landed security, which could be replaced by nothing equally solid. Assignments upon revenues are no better than promises, and promises are nothing.

"But I have not yet described the project. When the Sahoo-kars or Talook-dars refused to lend and to advance money, the resort of the Minister was unavoidably to the capitalists of the powerful clans, and Boodun Khan and Nuseeb Khan undertook to make a present loan of seventeen lacs of rupees on condition that a balance of twenty-one lacs of rupees claimed by them on former accounts was recognised, and an acknowledgment to pay forty lacs (two lacs were made up of some items which I do not recollect), given them, and territory yielding a net revenue of ten lacs a year placed in their hands for payment of the debt. The proposal was yesterday carried up to the Nizam; it was scouted by him, and the Minister was subjected to heavy censure. He properly threw the odium of the arrangement upon the Dufferdars, and the Nizam had the good sense to see and to express that he believed his Minister to be a mere tool in their hands, and that they were improperly prominent in conducting the affairs of his Government. It is a pity His Highness did not go further and inquire into the causes of their prominence; it would have been found in the high degree of confidence which His Highness, in prejudice of his late Minister, reposed in them, and in the delusion which he allowed them to practise upon him of having secured a monthly loan of eight lacs of rupees. Then, again, there is no influence with the Talook-dars which can at the present time be mentioned against theirs, and the Minister is necessarily subordinate to them for the succour which they can bring from that source. Were he devil enough he might kick them off when he had obtained all he could from them, but then this would not be Ram Bux, and the power to achieve it would still be doubtful, for no one can tell which way the wind might set at any particular time with the Nizam. An extraordinary farce has been got up here. You should know our community believe these things. If I am not wearied out, I may give you some anecdotes by way of illustration. A broker, Girdharee, probably a good man, but certainly of no credit upon 'Change, has been employed—it is not known whether by Raja Ram Bux or by Nuseeb Khan and Boodun Khan—to establish what is to be called a kothee, after the example of Mr. Dighton's kothee, at the Resident's, and to exhibit ostentatiously a lac of rupees brought into it by six elephants. The object of this display is variously understood, but in being so discussed the purpose is swamped. It is supposed to be intended, like Mr. Dighton's giving his name to his bank, to invite commercial confidence and partnership. Then the project would be Nuseeb Khan's, who was a sharer in that bank. It is supposed that it is intended by setting up Girdharee as a capitalist to engage commercial confidence for Girdharee separately from Nuseeb Khan; and, lastly, it is said that this display of money coming in is to satisfy the Resident that he need not have any fears about his money, or that the Government is in earnest to pay it.

"I rather believe that the money has been sent by the lenders, who are not supposed equal to making so large a loan, to exhibit their promptness to the Nizam, and the money has been lent under the understanding that neither this nor other sums which the lenders may supply shall be paid to the Resident till the conditions upon which they lend are secured to them, and to obtain, if possible, aid by the junction of other parties to the loan. If these men can of themselves provide 17 lacs whilst they have an outstanding balance against the Government of 25 lacs, their gains must have been very large indeed in their employment under the Government—strongly indicative of the necessity for retrenchment and reform."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 26, 1849.*—The following are extracts of letters from Hyderabad :

"This is the 7th October. I begin my letter not to lose the recollection of occurrences, though I do not mean to send it till I can fill a sheet. The Governor-General in his letter said—I have a right to make representations to His Highness's Government, because I do not see the likelihood of its debt to the Company being soon paid. His Highness would deprecate interference in his affairs only less than dispossession, and yet that which the Governor-General alleges as giving him a right to interfere His Highness's Government takes no pains to obviate. Of the money which should have been paid to the Resident on the 1st instant something more than a lac of rupees is yet unpaid. The Governor-General's latest instruction, contrary to that which before directed that the Resident should from his own treasury pay the troops (Contingent) with punctuality when the Nizam's failed to pay them, enjoins him not to pay them, but to demand peremptorily the pay from the Nizam's Government. This obviously implies that the Governor-General will lend no more money to the Nizam, but as the troops cannot be allowed to starve because of the laxity of the Nizam's Government to perform its engagements it may be understood that some stringent measure will be taken to ensure their pay for the future. On the present occasion the Resident having urged all that he could urge upon the Nizam's Government, but unavailingly, has paid the Contingent from the Company's treasury. It now remains to be seen by what project this want of punctuality will be remedied, indicating as it does the want of resources and credit of the Nizam's Government more pointedly than any other circumstance could do, inasmuch as it hazards a necessity for its subservience to projects other than its own. It is not likely, as the Nizam's lieges—some of them—expect, that it will lead to the breaking up of the Contingent. The British Government will scarcely submit to have a measure thrust upon it by opposition and violation of a subsisting engagement.

"There can be no clearer exposition of the financial difficulties under which the Nizam's Government is labouring than the fact I have given. Relief is not sought upon system by the Government, but snatches are made at certain persons' wealth upon pretences worse than senseless. Two Talookdars, Ghoolam Nukkee Khan and Mohib Ali, who made advances on account of revenues to Shums-ool-Oomra, and then, during the interregnum, to the Nizam, are now put in constraint for a third advance, although Mohib Ali is sick. They hold back. The test of the propriety of seeking these advances would be to offer their situations to other persons. No other person would bid for them, hence His Highness might judge that his revenues cannot afford the exactions made upon them by the Government and its revenue officers conjointly; the Treasurer also is required to refund some money which was given him, about a lakh and a half, to redeem some gold mohurs of His Highness from mortgage. The gold mohurs have been restored, but his Highness demands back the money by which their restitution has been obtained.

"8th.—Raja Ram Bux having failed to pay the money he had promised to send to the Resident before the 1st instant, the Resident has drawn upon his Government for two lakhs of rupees at a rather improved rate of exchange—18¼ per cent."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *November 16, 1849.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 7th November 1849 :—

"It is said that the Resident observed to the Nizam's Moonshee, who accompanied him on his return as far as the palace gate, that he had forgotten to convey to His Highness that it was important he should pay the Contingent regularly, and his debt to the Company : this was friendly and considerate towards the Nizam, but why was it addressed to Rusheed-ool-Moolk, the Moonshee, instead of to Raja Ram Bux, the Minister with plenary powers ? This reminds me to say that the Nizam is applying his resources to a payment of 10 lacs of rupees, or part of his debt, to the Company, of which 8 lacs, I believe, have been already paid, though some part of the monthly pay of the Contingent, I believe, still remains due.

"I must not omit to say that Raja Ram Bux has come openly into the field ; he has no longer any shelter, and life and death to him as a Minister will be the result of his own acts.

ENGLISHMAN, *November 8, 1849.*—The following are extracts of letters from Hyderabad to the 25th ultimo :

"The history of the events of this place is summed up in daily tumult, mutinies, dunnings for money, all tending to no purpose. This is the position of the Minister relatively to the servants of the State ; with his master his condition is no better. He is greeted no otherwise when he waits upon him than by demands for money, and threats have been used which have never yet been used to any other Minister ; habits of decorum among the Mussulmans admit of taking off heads, but not the use of degrading threats."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *December 5, 1849.*—It is current at Hyderabad—Suraj-ool-Moolk being, we believe, the channel through which the intelligence has oozed out—that General Fraser is charged with a message to the Nizam, from Lord Dalhousie, intimating that as the advice and remonstrances of the British Government, although often tendered, had failed of producing any effect on His Highness, it would no longer be thought necessary to afford him counsel. The Nizam, however, is at the same time to be made to understand that his pecuniary engagements with the Company must be fulfilled, as regards the future, alternatively to their using measures for their own indemnification. Time has been given him for the payment of his outstanding debt, now amounting to 54 lakhs of rupees, until the end of December 1850, but should he meanwhile suffer the pay of the Contingent to fall into arrears the Governor-General will take measures for the adjustment of both old and new claims, without any advertence to the pleasure of His Highness. This is a serious admonition, but not inconsistent—the last portion of it especially—with the probabilities of the case. An illustrious example might be pleaded by the Marquis of Dalhousie. When Lord Wellesley had failed at Lucknow to negotiate a cession of territory from the Nawab, he directed the British Resident to employ troops for the sequestration of certain districts which he pointed out. In like manner might the present Governor-General appropriate an equivalent in soil of those debts which the Nizam either cannot or will not pay. Far be it from us to affirm the morality of such a course, which must depend on circumstances. We only mean to suggest the likelihood of that mode of settlement, after the manner of Lord Dalhousie. It is true that the Company have hastened the ruin of the Nizam to serve their own purposes, but this fact would not lessen the expedience of profiting thereby when opportunity offered. As for the sin of taking advantage of their own wrong, they are too familiar with camel-swallowing of that nature to make many wry faces in the process."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *May 1, 1850.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 22nd April 1850 :—

"The interview (between the Resident and the Nizam) has relieved the parties of much of their anxiety. All that is known as yet is that the Resident asked for the payment of what was due, and for regularity in future payments. The Minister's party understanding this to be all that passed lay no stress upon it as to what may be contingent upon it, and affect to say that the demands can be easily met. I beg their pardon, I expect a complete failure in their expectation if their dependence be upon the public resources of the Nizam's Government. The Resident was closeted with the Nizam for near an hour. It was due to the Nizam that his faithful ally should have fully apprised him of the disorganised condition of his Government, and of the dangers which it induced to his independence. To this specific demand of payment of the debt of the Company the Nizam must have proffered some condition. That condition we know to be an undertaking on the part of Rajah Rani Buksh to pay it within a certain number of days ; the failure of the engagement

involves an alternative, and there can be no doubt which of the two events will occur. But the Supreme Government, paramount as well in the justice of its claims as in its power, can afford to be forbearing.

"There is a most preposterous reliance upon a sainted oracle who has declared that the claim of the Company's Government will be cancelled, preternaturally I suppose. One man in particular, in a confidential position, lends himself to the assertion and maintains the truth of the oracle. The man is superstitious to the last degree, but there is a mood in his superstition, and in adopting faith in oracles he is departing from his own special creed. This man is also sharp and intelligent. I am at a loss whether to believe him honest in his profession of faith in the oracle, or to consider that he finds this special faith a profitable trade, or whether he has information that the Nizam has treasure and will employ it for the redemption of the debt, which might lead him to use mystification; or he may have understood from his communicants of Residency matters, what is not improbable, that the Directors, always averse to the establishment of the Contingent, especially on account of the heavy charge it imposed upon the Nizam's Government, wish to relieve the Nizam from that burden, or to make a considerable reduction in its weight. This may have been made the contingency to the Nizam not being able to pay, and resort to the Nizam may have been a process of illustration. A few days more, I expect, will give practical results."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *May 3, 1850*.—Our Hyderabad correspondent has obliged us with the following, relative to the late interview between the Resident and the Nizam :—

"*April 27th, 1850.*

"I am now able to give you some account of what passed at the interview, which I have received from a person of some authority in the affairs of this place.

"The Resident alone was closeted with the Nizam. After a time Rajah Ram Buksh was called into the presence, and the attendants of the Nizam approached nearer to the spot where the conference was held. As Rajah Ram Buksh took his seat the Nizam said to the Resident, 'He will pay you.' The Resident replied he could no longer rely on the engagements of Rajah Ram Buksh, but depended upon His Highness for payment. The Nizam then said, 'If he fails to pay you I will pay you; I have gold mohurs, pagodas, and jewels, which I will produce to pay your debt.'

"The obvious conclusion, to which a reference was hardly necessary, is that the money will be paid from the Nizam's private treasury, but whether at the time specified for payment, which is said to be at two intervals of fifteen days each, is questionable. The Nizam will continue to haggle for time in the expectation that that may bring relief from other sources, and the courtesy of the Government of India will probably grant it, but that is only a putting off of the evil day.

"The next thing understood from the Nizam's speech is that in the event of Rajah Ram Buksh's failure to pay there will be no change in the administration. To remove him from office on this special ground would be injustice. Neither the credit nor the revenue of Government will provide the money required, and, be the Minister who he may, no retrieval of the affairs of this Government can be effected if the dependency be, as it is, upon these resources alone. Under these circumstances, could any stroke of policy on the part of the Minister, letting alone the necessity of the case, extract the payment from the Nizam's private treasury, it will bring a material *pro-tempore* relief to his administration, and give the Government a longer existence unimpaired as to its independence. To restore it to perfect health requires a revolutionising system, which again requires vigour for its execution, and I fear that intelligence for the one, and the moral and physical capabilities requisite for the other, are both wanting.

"The Nizam has restored to the Minister's charge districts (not all) which he had resumed from that department. The reliance of the Minister for paying the Resident is in the expectation of his being able to procure a year's advance, these not having been subjected to the process of distillation which the ministerial districts have undergone; but I apprehend there will be disappointment, though a

resort (the Sahoo-kars and Gosains having retired from all dealings) be still left to the opulent soldier clans, Pathans and Arabs, and these people have entertained the propositions made to them by Government, and are now in negotiation for an adjustment of the terms, which I conclude will be agreed upon within certain limits, inasmuch as some of these people have, upon the mortgage of jaghires and certain collateral heavy payments, advanced large sums of money to the holders of them. They will undertake to lend money to the Government upon the same terms of mortgage (their power and right to hold these mortgages being exactly the same with that they possess over the jaghires) and for other collateral advantages, such as the payment of arrears and debts *in the amounts they claim*. Their reliance for payment is upon the effect of their power to exact it, and as we may expect to see nearly the whole country mortgaged to these parties, both by the Government and jaghiredars, we may expect also to see a day of general commotion.

"It is almost needless to say that should a supply of thirty lacs of rupees to pay the Resident be obtained on the revenues of the districts, the alienation of this sum from the course of former payments will be felt in other departments, and be the occasion of tumult in the State and of greater misery to individuals. The only proper recourse for the Minister is to obtain money from the Nizam. I wonder whether any exposition of the affairs of the State, or expostulation from any quarter, would satisfy the Nizam that that would alone retrieve his affairs. His Highness would be deaf to all but the recollection that his Minister had undertaken to find supplies and retrieve his affairs. Necessity, the parent of extreme measures, will at last force this measure upon the Nizam, but his personal partiality for his Minister will amply shield him from sustaining any prejudice even in that case, and I hope it may, for whilst it would be primarily injustice, it would be entirely useless, for in a substitute we should find a worse man and by no means a more useful Minister. The day when an administration could be useful without producing a revolution is gone by."

ENGLISHMAN, *May 6, 1850*.—The following is an extract from our latest letters from Hyderabad:—

"There is nothing to communicate from this place of a novel character; we have had some single-handed fights, some murders, and mutinies have recommenced. Of these last, as the funds of Government are not sufficient to meet the demands upon it, we must expect the revival from time to time. There is no question on this point, it is a thing of course; the question is to what excess the mutineers may proceed.

"Measures of finance are projecting, but neither will the resources upon which they depend avail much if immediately realised, which is not likely, nor, although so realised, retrieve the embarrassment of the day. The friends of the Minister give out that he has made an arrangement for a continued supply from Sahoo-kars for the disbursements of one year. There is no truth in it; neither is this supply (stated to be five lacs a month) sufficient to meet the exigencies of the State, nor have the Sahoo-kars acceded to the proposed arrangement. The most substantial among them have expressed a willingness to lend, but have said, at the same time, that as no one engagement has been kept with them they have no security for any loan they may now undertake. This objection is fatal; for could the Nizam's Government offer competent security it need not resort to them. It would find greater advantage in that case by a resort to capitalists out of its own dominions; for instance, if the Nizam were to place territories yielding fifteen lacs a year, or even seventeen, under the management of the Company's Government, he might, upon the guarantee of that arrangement, borrow two crores of rupees, which would more than relieve him from the pressure of all just demands upon it: the disposal of the future for good or evil would depend upon himself. But the Nizam is so averse to such a project that till the pressure of the last moment it is hopeless to expect that he will accede to it.

"There is some faint hope of the Nizam's Government acquiring credit with its Sahoo-kars. This class of persons, both individually and collectively, covet power in the State almost madly, independently of the advantages they derive from having

a good understanding with the Government. They fear also the resentment of an arbitrary Government. It is just possible that these motives may drive them into some arrangement, but it will have no duration.

"I have just heard of another project which would betoken the failure of that which I have described as under negotiation. Last night the Minister called upon Boodhun Khan and Nuseeb Khan to lend the Government two lacs of rupees each; upon Eusuf Khan to lend it one lac. The terms for payment to each are varied; the security of revenue is offered to some, but to be assigned on a future day, and is considered a mockery. To Boodhun Khan a present security of districts yielding a revenue of a hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees a year is offered; but he declines making any loan but upon the terms that the security shall redeem the loan in one year. This project, upon its present basis, will be, like the rest, a failure, though it may be brought to bear under a different form. They say, but this is not so certain, that there is a call also upon the two leading Arab Chiefs, Abdoola bin Aly and Oomar bin Aooz, for two lacs of rupees each.

"It was expected, and it was legitimate to the Government, to call upon its opulent servants for aid in relieving its embarrassments; but then it was proper, in the first instance, that the Nizam, his Ministers, and his principal servants should contribute towards it in a liberal, exemplary spirit; to have required contributions from all alike, openly, avowedly, and manfully, resting its demand upon the points that the absorption of a part was required to save the whole, and that the Government had an abstract right to reclaim what had been taken from it furtively. The Government in its want of strength, and from its habitual want of candour, without much distinctness of perception as to results, has adopted the fraudulent project of borrowing not to pay. The end for which the project is devised is made unattainable by its fears precluding it from making it a general measure—from resorting to those who can best afford to pay.

"In its utter helplessness the resort of the Government is to that foolish species of superstition so common to the natives of India. Money is lavished in alms to propitiate the Almighty; and professed devotees are bribed with large pensions and jaghires to intercede with God. Certain of these parties are considered oracles, and they have delivered that the mouth of the Supreme Government in regard to its debt is closed for ever. The prevalence and intensity of this folly is such that one of the attributes of God, Mookullub-ool-Kooloob, 'the changer of hearts,' is now used rather generally to designate the divinity—it is made the shibboleth of a party.

"But then all this may be upset. The Resident has just, in consequence of instructions from his Government, asked for an audience; the subject cannot but be portentous, following as it does close upon an accumulation of another debt of twelve lacs of rupees for the unpaid arrears of the Contingent, and upon the recent massacre at Meer Bubbur Aly's house. I take it that the Nizam will receive due admonition as to what he may specifically expect. The Government of India can hardly yet have proceeded to the adoption of their final course."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *June 5, 1850*.—The following interesting communication is from our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 14th May 1850:—

"The Minister has fairly struck work, he can't get money. It is impossible he should be unwilling to get money. The Nizam does not understand this, and does not look to the causes, *viz.*, the want of resources which occasioned the deficiencies. He sulks about the money with his Minister, as if his sulkiness could stir up his Minister to finding resources which do not exist.

"It would be magnanimous in the Company to give up its debt. It gave up a debt, I believe, of thirty lacs to the Peishwa, by returning to him, through the special embassy of Captain DeCastro, before 1800, the unredeemed jewels placed as a pledge of payment in the hands of the Company's Government. The generosity towards the Nizam of resigning a debt of sixty lacs would be more appropriate than that to the Peishwa. The former was an offering to conciliate the Peishwa—in other words, to buy him up. To the Nizam it would be an offering of generous

retribution ; but, for all that, I wish that the Company may not be so generous, if only to spite the Kootub, our famous oracle here, who has predicted a cancelment, without payment, of the debt. The Nizam had better pay sixty lacs of rupees than remain subjected for the guidance of his affairs to the future predictions of the Kootub."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 9, 1850*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 26th ultimo :—

" The Nizam was told by his Minister that he had resources wherewith to pay the Resident 12 lakhs of rupees. This offer was made at the time the Nizam believed his debt of 54 lakhs of rupees to have been reduced to 46 lakhs by a payment of 8 lakhs derived from Gholam Hyder Khan. An additional payment of 12 lakhs would have, in that position, reduced the debt to 34 lakhs ; but as the account now stands, an additional debt of 10 lakhs being added to the original 54, giving an aggregate of 64 lakhs, though a payment of 12 lakhs should now be made, it would reduce the original debt but by two lakhs, but as the Contingent has not been paid this month, the account ten days hence would present a debit of 67 lakhs, and upon payment of the 12 to 55 lakhs.

" It is said the Minister went into an exposition of his budget to the Resident, and as he appeared to return home satisfied it is believed the Resident approved of his financial scheme. This is not improbable, for the scheme might have been anybody's, and I have reason to believe Raja Ram Bux is well advised occasionally, but who is to superintend the details ? and who is there, with ability and firmness, to carry it out ?

" The proffer upon which the Resident was expected to give his receipt, or to express his satisfaction with the arrangement, was a promissory note of Boodhun Khan, under proviso of the Government fulfilling certain engagements with him, to pay a sum of twelve lakhs of rupees. I cannot conceive it was so done. The Minister could hardly appear face to face before the Resident to tell him that he was going to put in mortgage to Boodhun Khan, whom he had ejected by the aid of the Resident for oppression and cruelty, districts equivalent to cover such a debt by their revenues. Admitting that the proffered advance was to be refunded in one year (this man is too wary, it is not likely it should be so, though he may have made such an offer), the equivalent in revenues to cover that and the pay of the troops Boodhun Khan would be empowered to levy to maintain order, with all collateral charges of exchange, interest, &c., would not be less than twenty lakhs, although Boodhun Khan should not have succeeded in procuring an engagement to draw from the revenues the payment of a balance of eight lakhs which he claims from the Government on an account which has never been examined, or by its sanction to increase the assessment, and to draw his repayment from that source of ruin and oppression. He proffered such a scheme before to the Government, and it was accepted. If this offer were ever made to General Fraser, in regard to his acceptance of a conditional engagement from a man of whom he can entertain but the worst opinion, it was made on the 17th instant, when the interview between the Resident and the Minister took place. On the 20th instant sahookars' letters from Omrawuttee brought intelligence that as Bishen Chund had caused the death of Appah Row, so had the Naib of Boodhun Khan been the cause of that of a sahookar by cruel treatment in his prison for a money demand. The sahookars of that large mart had decided upon quitting the place, and had stopped their dealings, but were conciliated apparently by concessions. The sword of the law is suspended over Bishen Chund, and that only because the Resident made a remonstrance on the subject. Boodhun Khan, in whose former rule over his charge there was no characteristic to give a presumption of the unlikelihood of such an event, which might as well have then occurred as now, will, from his present relative position towards the Government, be unquestioned as to the act, and his Naib retain his charge with impunity, unless indeed the Resident take an interest, and make, as in the case of Bishen Chund, a remonstrance upon the subject."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 19, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant :—

“The Minister having complied with one of the Nizam’s requisitions, and having been enabled, after an interval of 24 days, to procure a supply of 1,50,000 rupees, which was paid to His Highness by bills accredited by an Arab and a Patan, he was received into favour, but not without the intermediation of Meer Emaum, a favourite domestic of the Nizam, to whom the Nizam directed his Minister to pay a sum of 10,000 rupees as a recompense for his services. The 12 lakhs of rupees the Minister was ordered to pay the Resident is lost sight of in the gratification which the Nizam has derived from receiving a sum of 1,10,000 for himself and his servant. The first of the month has passed, the period for paying the Contingent at Bolarum, usually at a lakh of rupees per month ; the payment to the Nizam has absorbed the supply, and the Contingent is not paid. Patans and Arabs are now almost alone Government contractors, whether as to loans or to talookas.”

ENGLISHMAN, *October 7, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, 22nd ultimo :—

“The Contingent has not been paid by the Nizam’s Government for the last month ; the time has expired, but I understand the Government has found resources by shifts which have so peculiar a character that I will give you a specimen of one. Boodhun Khan furnishes a lakh of rupees, but a year’s revenue of the districts he holds being occupied by his advances, or the engagements he has undertaken for the Government, the shift resorted to to cover him is as follows :—Goolam Nukkee Khan holds a promissory note from him for payment of 60,000 rupees on the part of the Government. The Government has prevailed upon him to resign the payment due on this note, which he does the more readily because it has passed into the hands of some sahookars. The note of course is not forthcoming, but Goolam Nukkee Khan gives a release in full of all demands ; the sahookar will be choused, but that is what he deserves to be for not taking warning. These sahookars get great gains and run great risks. Twenty-eight thousand rupees are covered to Boodhun Khan by his being permitted to withhold payment on orders under his acceptance to pay some band of soldiers, and a jagheer of 12,000 rupees a year is a premium bestowed upon him for this accommodation, for which he makes a present offering in the character of a *nuzzerana* of 12,000 rupees.

“This is heaping up calamity for a future day, but, as my informant suggested to the Minister, look to the present day and leave the future to itself.”

ENGLISHMAN, *November 13, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 29th October :—

“In regard to the budget, it is said the Nizam has undertaken to pay the British Government, within the period prescribed for his paying his debt, the sum of 30 lacs of rupees, being less than half the amount, and has requested time for paying the rest. It is to be presumed that could the Nizam exhibit the resources by which the debt was to be paid on a future day the British Government would have no objection to give the required time ; but if the same waste and extravagance continues to pervade every department the accommodation required by the Nizam would be no accommodation. It would only tend to embarrass his Government the more, and could only be then our best policy if we desired to precipitate the downfall of the Nizam’s independence. A remission of the debt might not be an extravagant act of liberality, and would give us the best possible right to put the Nizam’s house in order for him.

“The Dufturdars’ financial scheme is to call upon the Talookdars to pay a gratuity of ten per cent. on their revenues ; some of the Talookdars have proffered a willing consent to pay five per cent. ; one and the other will both be futile. The lower amount would produce to the Government about six lacs. The stronger Talookdars, those who maintain themselves against the Government in all things, will refuse even this aid, which is considered to bear a very small proportion to their gains. Sultan Nowaz-ool-Moolk is called upon to pay five lacs of rupees, two

lacs gratuitously, and three lacs in advance of the revenues of his districts ; he asks for certain terms in exchange, which you may be assured will be sufficiently compensatory, and he would have the best of it were it not that the Government need not keep any terms with him. The arrangements to produce the rest of the money are of a similar character, and, as the project will break down, not worth relating.

“The means for paying the Contingent with regularity for the future is said to be better contrived. The Dufturdars have called on the Talookdars, as they receive payment of the advances made by them, to provide further loans in proportion to what they may receive, and the estimates admit of the Talookdars paying monthly for the next eight months of the Fuslee year a sufficient sum, *id est*, about Rupees 3,25,000, to cover the pay of the Contingent. This is a revival of the old project of postponing all payments of debts and advances, and, whilst nothing is heard of the old balances due to the Talookdars, this is an improvement upon the former scheme by the preservation perpetually of the new balance to bring that surplus amount also to the aid of the Government. On a future day it will become an aggregate of the old balance. The Dufturdars have projected their scheme speciously, and it has taken with the Talookdars ; but the monthly payments are made at a ruinous charge. The Nizam’s relief from any pressure from the Company’s Government if the two projects succeed will be secured for the next six months, and he will prefer being his own Minister, unless indeed the Khas Rissalahs and the Linewalas, Seiks, &c., teach him powerfully that other departments of his State are to be cared for.”

ENGLISHMAN, November 21, 1850.—The following is from Hyderabad :—“The Nizam under proper tuition is acting vigorously ; he is making demands upon his principal servants for about 70 lacs of rupees, and has proceeded to confine some of them. His Highness is sheltered by the example of the Government of India, and an indictment of a Sheristadar or Talookdar for the *animus furandi*, which should send them beyond seas and confiscate their property, would be a salutary example. It will come to something like it in the end.”

ENGLISHMAN, November 26, 1850.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 13th November :—

“My last letter cursorily mentioned to you that the Nizam was levying a contribution from the opulent and well-paid officers of his Government ; the sum has been fixed at 42 lakhs, of which the Nizam purposes paying 30 lakhs in part liquidation of his debt to the Government of India, and asking time for the discharge of the remainder. Did the Nizam take his measures to reduce his expenditure, and otherwise provide funds, it would be but due to the reformation he would appear disposed to adopt to give him the time required.

“The contribution demanded is light, and His Highness appearing zealous to prosecute the levy the contributors generally appear to acquiesce, and it was the general expectation that the measure would be completed without much, if any, obstruction ; but His Highness’s wavering, habitual to him in respect to all measures which he adopts upon the recommendation of others, and not from the suggestions of his own mind (in regard to the last he is but too pertinacious), first introduced laxity in the contributors, and then the plea of poverty ; the evasion will now be carried to the uttermost length, and the payments will be protracted. It is impossible that the necessities of the State should or can permit its entire evasion. The Nizam desired the Rothschild of the country to assemble the whole body of bankers, consisting, according to His Highness, of about 200 houses, great and small, and to require that they should unite in discounting orders upon the contributors. The sahookars are too wary not to perceive that the contribution will thus be made to change hands, and that they, instead of the servants of the Government, will be the real contributors. The moment the Government is released from its embarrassments it will cease to care about realising payments, and a portion of the moneys of the sahookars will be aggregated to their former balance, to be paid when that is. The measure of the Nizam has been a faulty one, not

only in its utter hopelessness of success, which ought to have been foreseen, but in the circumstance that the persons upon whom the contribution is levied, seeing that His Highness is not quite satisfied in his mind about realising immediate payments from them, will take as much license as they possibly can to retard payment."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *November 29, 1850*.—We learn from Hyderabad that the Resident, acting under instructions from Calcutta, has intimated to the Nizam that except the sum due to the Company's Government be paid on the given day all official intercourse between their representative and His Highness must cease straightway. If this menace is seriously meant, we presume that the Supreme Government have resolved on acting in the event of default. It seems rather likely, however, that they merely wish, by frightening him, to ensure punctuality on the part of the Nizam. Coupled with Sir George Berkeley's visit and the movement of troops it is well calculated to produce such an effect.

ENGLISHMAN, *December 26, 1850*.—We have a letter from Hyderabad of the 21st ultimo which mentions that the Resident has very lately warned the Nizam of the consequences which will attend his failure to pay the debt due to the British Government at the stipulated time. It is also stated, though perhaps not on equally good authority, that the Resident has notified that his instructions enjoin him to close his official intercourse with the Nizam's Government if the payment be not made on the day appointed. The impression on the spot is said to be that the occupation of some part of the Nizam's territories by a British force would follow. If so, our Government must despair of recovering its claim by any less stringent method.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *January 3, 1851*.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, 28th December 1850 :—"The Nizam, after making two applications to the Resident through Sooraj-ool-Moolk to obtain more time for payment of his debt, at length invited the Resident to confer with himself on the subject. General Fraser had no alternative but to refer His Highness to the orders of his Government as binding upon himself. He, however, replied to the Nizam's importunate urgencies, which placed him in a disagreeable position, that the Governor General had written to His Highness on the subject of His Highness's debt, and that it would be proper for His Highness to accede to His Lordship's views. His Highness seemed to understand this reply as some qualification of the express refusal first given to his request, and has said to persons in his Court that General Fraser had conceded the point. I cannot believe His Highness to lie under any such error, and I am disposed to think that he proposes to save his personal consequence from degradation by having it believed that he did not sue the Resident in vain."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *January 17, 1851*.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 10th January :—"It was expected that at the expiration of the period stipulated for paying the debt some movement of great interest to the community of this place would be made by the Resident; nothing, however, has been done as yet beyond addressing a note of an ordinary character to the Nizam on the subject of the debt. I am disposed to understand that references to the Governor General are pending for further instructions. The effect of the Resident's note has been to excite a little more activity in the Nizam, and the Duffardars and Golam Hyder Khan are repeatedly enjoined to find certain sums of money. The former make professions of obedience, whilst they know they can do nothing. The latter offers to procure ten lacs of rupees, and may be relied on, if the Government would assign to him the districts which it proffers as the guarantee for this advance. The Arabs who hold many of those districts will not relinquish them, and Golam Hyder Khan is hampered by His Highness's senselessly telling him to provide the money in anticipation of a future assignment of the districts to him. Of course all

measures that may be devised, short of annihilating all existing claims, and withholding payments of departments for another year at least, will be abortive."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *July 2, 1851*.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated June 24 :—"I have other information, upon the correctness of which I cannot rely. It says that the Nizam has written to the Resident that on Tuesday next he will pay his debt and satisfy him on all other points. It is said besides, though nobody speaks to the information with the distinctness to make it intelligible, that the Governor General requires the dismissal and deportation of the Arabs."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 17, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant :—

"The Nizam's territory was to be saved. The limitation as to time for payment of the debt given to His Highness by the Company's Government was short, *viz.*, 15th of July; there was an immediate necessity that the Sahookars should execute their part of the engagement. The corresponding part could not, for obvious reasons, be executed at the time; the Resident was immediately to be satisfied. A proposal to pay down to the Resident a sum of money equal in amount to one year's revenue of the districts to be ceded, and so on progressively at the end of each year till the debt should be discharged, was made by the Minister. The proposal was a fair one, but it is not specifically known as to whether the Resident has acceded to it. Yesterday Suraj-ool-Moolk sent to the Resident drafts on several Sahookars, amounting in the aggregate to thirty-five lakhs of rupees, payable at four, five, and six months' date. Much attention is not paid to precision in the rumours that get abroad. The understanding is that these drafts were returned by the Resident only because of their long date, from which the inference is direct that the terms of Suraj-ool-Moolk for paying the debt have been accepted, and that the money for the payment comes from the pockets of the Sahookars on whom the drafts are drawn."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 22, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 9th instant :—

"To obtain a correct knowledge of the means of that Government to pay, it will be necessary to examine whence its first resources, the easiest of access, have been derived. Four Sahookars, named below, have contributed six and a quarter lakhs of rupees in the shape of a loan. These Sahookars claim on old balances against the Government thirty lakhs, and the condition of the present loan is that they shall receive assignments on the districts to have been ceded to the Company's Government, and now to be assigned to the discharge of their debt; for the first year in the sum of twelve lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees, a fresh bond being given for the old and new debt conjointly, so as to mark a renewed recognition and acknowledgment of the old debt, with a view to preclude any reopening, for examination, of back accounts. The new bond will contain stipulations for payment of the remainder of the thirty lakhs' old balance. But I will not enter upon it, as not necessary to the exposition of the state of affairs for this year.

"The four Sahookars making the loan are as follows :—

Sheo Lall or Sheo Dut Jaisseeram	3,00,000
Kirparam	1,25,000
Kangeer	1,00,000
Hurry Doss	1,00,000

Total Rupees.....6,25,000

"The contract to pay their entire debt of long standing would be made similarly with the other creditors of the State, did they accept it; then you may conceive how the credit of the Minister stands, when even a bonus of five hundred per cent. (the payment of the old extinct debt) has not tempted them to hazard their money.

I beg to be understood that the want of credit is distinctly seen in the holding back of the other creditors up to the present time, although the same inducements have been offered to them by the Minister in a personal conference. But that they will in the end contribute towards a loan from fear of Suraj-ool-Moolk's resentment, I have not the smallest doubt, and want of credit may be found in the circumstances by which the remainder of the eighteen lakhs has been supplied. Oomrageer has given two promissory notes for twelve lakhs of rupees to the Resident in the sums of five and seven lakhs of rupees, and has put himself forward ostensibly as a party undertaking these ventures. But the fact is not so. Oomrageer undertakes for himself to pay one lakh only, part of the note for five lakhs, and stands sponsor for Abdoolla bin Ali and Oomur bin Aooz, the Arab chieftains *par excellence*, for the remaining four lakhs. The parties subscribing to the note for seven lakhs are not so well known, but there is no mistake that they are all Talookdars, and that the money they pay will be in advance of revenue. The names of the subscribers that are given out are Sooltan Nawaz-ool-Moolk two lakhs, Hussun and Khan Mundozaee two lakhs, Boodhun Khan one lakh. No names are given for the remaining two lakhs. The first and last of those named are men who have been specifically proscribed by the English Government, and subjected to dismissals from the districts they formerly held, in consequence of that proscription. As all these subscribing parties to the loan are Arabs and Pathans, whose employment by the Nizam's Government is strenuously reprobated, if not inhibited, by Lord Dalhousie in his letter now on the *tapis*, it is scarcely necessary to explain why the Minister has contrived that their participation in the scheme of payment should be concealed under the shelter of Oomrageer's name. There could not be more manifest departure from the views of the Governor-General, and His Lordship's heavy oburgation has evidently had no effect but to soil his pen; his inhibitions and recommendations will always be met, as in Suraj-ool-Moolk's former administration, by clandestine and under-handed counteraction, though covered with so flimsy a veil as not to escape the Resident's vigilance. The Arabs and Pathans engaged in this loan perforce gain permanency for their situations, and the British Government, which pockets their money, cannot enforce their dismissal without at the least reimbursing them, although it should not do them entire justice.

"But after all, as the payment of the Company's debt proceeds from a loan and from territorial advances, and not by the aid of any extraordinary supply, the embarrassments of the Nizam's Government are not in the slightest degree relieved; future measures may possibly effect this, but we have always something in prospect, and never anything under actual realisation. His liabilities will remain the same as before; his only advantage, in the change of creditors effected by the payment of the Company's loan, will be that he need not pay the less powerful creditors to whom the debt may be transferred. Does this suit the justice of a mighty and beneficent Government, the paramount power, whose might to recall its debt may be understood in the language of the Governor-General's address to the Nizam:—'The power of the English can trample you under foot and annihilate you so as to leave not a trace of you remaining?' The Governor-General had desired General Fraser to appoint Captain Taylor and Mr. Dighton to the charge of a part of the districts to be ceded. The latter gentleman was mentioned in terms of high commendation, which I presume may be understood as restoring to him the spurs which the verdict of the Madras Supreme Court had chopped off; and Captain Bullock was selected by General Fraser for a portion of the charge. Captains Taylor and Bullock were called immediately to the capital to receive instructions, than which nothing can more plainly indicate General Fraser's opinion that no adjustment would have been effected by money payments. These gentlemen return to their former situations, but it is said that Suraj-ool-Moolk has obtained the Nizam's sanction to employ Mr. Dighton in charge of revenue concerns, and that General Fraser will probably obtain for him the sanction of the Governor-General to be so employed under the Nizam's Government. The scheme devised to effect this purpose is to promise His Lordship security for the regular payment of the Contingent on the competency and credit of Mr. Dighton's guarantee, as being effective to procure

loans from the sahookars, so that Mr. Dighton will hold the place on a different tenure, in lieu of the three nominees of the Supreme Government.

"P.S.—His Lordship strenuously recommends the dismissal and deportation of His Highness's foreign troops, alluding to their excesses and the offences they have committed against the English Government, and the Nizam's indifference to his demand for redress. His Highness is told to pay these foreigners and dismiss them. But, as if His Lordship knew that something more was wanting to effect this, His Highness is advised to resort to the Resident for counsel and aid, and by conveying to His Highness the dangers which beset him if he do not follow His Lordship's suggestions there is an implication in the tone of the letter from which it may be understood that that must be done for him which he will not do for himself. When such is the strain of the letter, it becomes unintelligible how Suraj-ool-Moolk can raise money from the tribes marked for proscription, and how the Resident can tolerate this being done. It is just possible; but then how absurd that the letter is divided into two parts, the one binding the Resident to see certain measures carried into effect, the other leaving the Nizam's Government to the exercise of its own discretion, without a right on the part of the Resident to remonstrate! Or is the debt of the Company of such paramount consideration that the Resident is permitted to sanction the Minister's borrowing from parties, adding to their debts, which the Nizam is called on with some peremptoriness to pay as a preliminary measure to their deportation?"

ENGLISHMAN, *August 2, 1851*.—The following is our latest intelligence from Hyderabad, dated the 20th ultimo:—

"The offer of Suraj-ool-Moolk to pay the debt in four months to the Company's Government was finally accepted by the Resident on the 16th instant. Suraj-ool-Moolk has lodged with him a sum of twenty-four lakhs of rupees, and a further sum of sixteen lakhs, to make up forty lakhs, is in course of payment. If so much of the money be paid immediately by a Government without credit, and of dilapidated resources, credit will be due to the arrangements which have effected it, and the Governor-General will in all probability give time for payment of the rest, when so much has been speedily done to meet His Lordship's demand."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *August 15, 1851*.—From our correspondent, Hyderabad, 8th August:—

"The report is that the Minister has applied to the Pathan military jagheerdars—all of them men of opulence and notoriety—to contribute towards the payment of the debt to the English Government. Depending upon their power, a power long exercised by them to dragoon the Government, they generally hold back, and in one instance have given a direct refusal. The Nizam has ordered the dismissal of one of these, Nuseeb Khan, and terms, I understand, are now making with him for his restoration. It would be more judicious if, instead of looking to an immediate accommodation, the Minister will strike here, or anywhere else where it may be deserved, a quick, sharp blow. The example would be worth the amount of the debt to the Company, and I venture to predict that it would be productive of good financial results.

"Admitting that these military jagheerdars hold back and resign their jagheers, or force their sequestration upon the Government, no measure could better benefit the State. There would be the restoration to the Government of a large amount of revenue wasted on foreign licentious mercenaries, with a curtailment of the strength of that arm—objects which Lord Dalhousie has strongly recommended, and which, falling in with the policy of the Nizam's Government, could not be more conveniently provided.

"One of these Pathan jemadars told the Minister that as he had no security to provide for the repayment he had no reason to ask money from him, which he would not lend. The Minister's reply was in a proper manly spirit, the tone to which I hope he will hold—'The Government is in difficulty, and you have money and shall supply it.' He might have added, 'You claim upon unadjusted accounts';

we have no time now to settle with you, and have just as much right to claim against you as you have to set up a claim against the Government : your accounts shall be fairly adjusted in due time.' If the Company's Government could have unadjusted accounts with Joteepersad for many years, the Nizam's Government might also be allowed a latitude, at least to the extent of taking back its country from cruel, oppressive and distraining hands, and of disbanding a licentious soldiery without being compelled at the instant to pay the exactions of the Chiefs. Accounts with these parties, neither in the Revenue nor Military departments, have been made up for years ; and frauds, egregious frauds, are committed without the slightest attempt at concealment. The heads of departments share in these frauds, and give impunity to the perpetrators. The corruption of the departments is notorious, and Government cannot allow the validity of accounts made up under their superintendence. If these frauds are not allowed to vitiate the accounts, there can be no right to retrospection under any circumstances of the case. Poorunnull's accounts of near thirty years' standing were reopened for re-examination, and give the example for future adjustments."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *August 25, 1851.*—Our Hyderabad correspondent announces in the following letter that Suraj-ool-Moolk has punctually paid the promised instalment of forty lacs of rupees toward the liquidation of the Nizam's debt, and guarantees a further like payment in October. This is a good ministerial beginning, on which we congratulate both Sovereign and Dewan.

"HYDERABAD, 18th August 1851.

"Suraj-ool-Moolk was punctual to the day, and completed his payment of forty lacs to the Resident on the 15th inst. He is engaged to pay a further sum of forty lacs in October. The payment he has already made exceeds one year's rent of the districts to have been assigned ; he is consequently entitled, upon the Governor-General's own terms, to at least one year's grace. This question regards his own convenience, and he will be the best judge as to whether he shall claim any indulgence from the British Government. It strikes me, however, that his best policy would be, whilst the impression made by the Governor-General's letter on the Nizam's mind is yet fresh, and his acquiescence in his Minister's projects may be reckoned upon, and whilst that letter has impressed upon the opulent servants of the State that there is an unavoidable necessity to pay, and that the only resource that the Government has for doing so is their wealth, to pursue his measures of audits or contributions, or whatever else they may be, unflinchingly and speedily. The money taken from a small minority not fairly entitled to its possession can never be ill employed, in whatsoever direction it may be disseminated, for the benefit of the whole, and I should be but too glad to see that whilst the Minister procures time from the British Government he does not relax in his measures for procuring extra supplies. The best-informed people are divided in their opinion as to whether the Nizam has any treasures left or not. If he have, it will be a dark spot upon his fame that whilst all who possess wealth are made to contribute a part, chiefly for his advantage, he alone should sordidly withhold his contribution ; —a government is for the whole, but the Nizam has the largest stake in it."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 29, 1851.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 17th instant :—

"The great event of the day, to which the whole attention of the community has been directed with a feverish interest, has been the point as to whether Suraj-ool-Moolk would be able to pay the British Government forty lakhs of rupees, which he was pledged to do by the 15th instant. His budget had been approved by the Resident, and so far there was room for expectation that the scheme might succeed, but still it was apprehended that the resistance by its servants, which had been long opposed to the Government, would still be effectual, if not to obstruct, to retard the realization of money beyond the day fixed for the payment. It was expected that some act of severity would be necessary to teach the higher

officers of the Government, long used to impunity, that it still possessed vigour and had the power to strike. There was conjecture as to the parties on whom the blow would fall, and opinion was directed generally towards the Pathan military jaghirdars as the parties likely to incur the resentment of the Government. The end has been triumphantly accomplished, and the entire payment was made on the 15th instant; the money was realized without calling for the exercise of severity towards any person, and seemingly, though that can be only apparently so, with the willing consent of the payers. It is not to be supposed that so large a sum of money could be procured on advantageous terms; and the Nizam's Government, drained by forged coinage of the better currency, which alone the Resident receives in his treasury, has been compelled to pay its debts in hoondees, the exchange on which, in consequence of the large demand, has risen from twenty-six to thirty-eight per cent. for Sicca rupees. The Resident, again, receives the money at the rate on which he drew for it for the use of the Nizam, making the transaction still more unfavourable to the Nizam's Government. This is not to be complained of; it was a necessary incident in the fluctuations of the market when there was a large adventitious demand for hoondees, and the British Government, which lent the money, had a right to claim the full value of its disbursement.

"The Minister is engaged to pay a further sum of forty lakhs in all October. It is supposed that Suraj-ool-Moolk's energies will bear him out to the accomplishment of his engagement. It is due from him to the character of his Government that every particle of his engagement, if he be put to it, should be fulfilled. But then, as his task in providing forty lakhs of rupees from dilapidated resources has not been easy, and as the gathering of the second crop will be still more arduous, and mainly detrimental to the interest of the Nizam's Government, how essentially is it due from Lord Dalhousie, by relaxing the stringency of the pecuniary demands, to give facility to the administration, which has manfully fulfilled its engagement, to enable it to carry out with effect the other and larger measures recommended by the British Government, on the accomplishment of which the future existence of the Nizam's Government depends!

"There can be but little doubt of His Lordship's relaxing in the conditions imposed on the Minister by the strenuousness of his demand. His Lordship's friendly consideration for a State in alliance with him would induce this; but considerations of policy would besides press upon His Lordship measures of lenity towards the Nizam; for did the Minister within the next two months pay a further sum of twenty or even ten lacs, with what face could that Government return to its first purpose, because the whole of the debt was not paid, and sequester territory to cover a small balance of twenty, or at the most of thirty lacs of a debt of which fifty or sixty lacs had been paid in the short period of four months? Besides, the Government of India in directing that territory yielding thirty-six lacs of rupees a year should be ceded to it in payment of its debt had reckoned upon a refund of thirty lacs a year towards it. Now if the terms proposed by the British Government had been carried out, it could have received sixty lacs only at the end of two years. If the Minister, then, pay down a sum of sixty lacs of rupees, equal to two years' revenue of the districts, he will have a right to claim exemption from further payment for three years—at all events till the end of the second year. His Lordship cannot refuse some such accommodation, vitally necessary for the maintenance of the Nizam's Government, for the retrieval of its affairs, and for the fulfilment, though partially so, of its various obligations. If the Government of India persist to bind the Nizam's Government to the engagement for paying the entire debt in October, made by the Minister in a moment of distress and trepidation, then—then will it be apparent that the prominent object of the British Government has been to sequester territory, and that the debt of the Nizam has been used as a pretext to accomplish it.

"I do not see the *Friend of India*, but I hear it has expressed some doubts of the strength of the language, as I have quoted it, in Lord Dalhousie's letter. I give you the exact words in Persian, which I think will bear out my translation:—
'An Alishanra pâee mal sakhta benam O be Nishan Szud.'"

ENGLISHMAN, *September 19, 1851.*—The following is from a Hyderabad letter of the 2nd instant :—

“ The payment of another sum of forty lakhs of rupees in two months is too difficult for the Minister to accomplish without the aid of the Nizam. One of the schemes for obtaining money is to require from the military jaghirdars, such as are known to possess wealth, a gratuity equal to one year's revenue of their jaghirs. Disbandment of their troops and the sequestration of their jaghirs is to be the consequence of their refusal to comply with the requisition of the Minister. The measure is not badly devised ; it carries along with it the two great objects of the State—the provision of funds, and the reduction of its foreign troops.

“ It is reported that the Nizam, at the instance of the Minister, is employing his influence to obtain from Shums-ool-Oomra a sum equivalent to one year's revenue of his military jaghirs. Shums-ool-Oomra has always professed his willingness to contribute to the relief of the Government whenever he could be satisfied that his contribution in aid of other benevolences could be of effectual service to the State, and there can be no greater object to the Nizam's Government than primarily to relieve it of its debt to the British Government, the alternative to the payment of which is the sequestration of territory. Till this is accomplished, the Nizam's Government must be effortless for any and every other purpose.

“ In pursuance of the scheme above described, the jaghirs of two Ameer of the highest rank, Urjoon Bahadoor and Moomtaz-ool-Oomra, in default of payment of their share of the contribution, have been ordered to be sequestered ; as these are natives of the country, the sequestration carries along with it no purpose but that of finding supplies to meet the wants of the Government. The Zemindaree of Wunpurty is also ordered for sequestration. The Arabs hold it, having forcibly taken possession of it some time ago to appropriate its revenues for the payment of their pecuniary claims upon the Zemindar. The success of this measure I shall regard as a large step in progress towards the reform to be effected. The Arabs have not appeared to set up their claims ; they have employed a Gossain, also a creditor of the Zemindar, to remonstrate with the Minister on his right to retain the lands in his capacity of creditor. The keeping back of the Arabs would indicate a desire to avoid collision with the Minister. This augurs well ; it indicates respect for his authority, which I trust some early act of vigour may confirm.”

ENGLISHMAN, *October 3, 1851.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 19th September :—

“ The Minister can act in nothing with vigour till the Company's debt is paid. The budget for raising money to discharge the debt of the Company, according to the terms of the agreement, by the 31st October, is about to make its appearance. The scheme is to levy a cess equal to one year's revenue from the military jageerdars, and of a quarter's revenue from those who hold jageers in lieu of personal salary. The measure, if it could be carried out as a whole, would be effective as to its purpose, but this is next to impossible ; there cannot be uniformity in such a generalization, and I take it that although the military jageerdars are fit objects for the exactions of Government, there will be relaxation in some instances, to be justified by the circumstances of the case, the poverty, the good conduct, the services, and the fidelity of the jageerdar, and in many more by the corrupt influence possessed by parties where the Minister has no power to control. Against the other jageerdars the Government holds no claim, as it does against the military jageerdars, on the score of frauds against itself, and exactions from its ryots. The impost will fall heavily on these, for as the jageers are held principally by Mussalmans, a race of some notoriety for extravagance, so far from having wherewithal to pay their quota, the jageers are, with very few exceptions, mortgaged, I should say, if the position of parties does not undergo a change, irretrievably. No amount of payment will reduce a debt, a fact not credible according to arithmetic, but here practically and indubitably true : hence a distinction might have been made to receive the impost from those who have not alienated their jageers, and to resume all mortgaged jageers, in the last case

allowing the jageerdar for his maintenance an income beyond that allotted to him by the mortgagee. This taken generally would have been benevolent towards the jageerdar, and a proper punishment of the universally (without an exception) fraudulent mortgagee.

"I cannot conceive that there is competency in this measure; if it realize twenty lacs, only half of what is due to the Company, it will surpass my expectations. This measure savours of Lalla Bahadoor's office, and as it is palpably designed to give exemption from paying anything to the civil officers of Government, it will have one advantage—the whole strength of Lalla Bahadoor's capacity and influence, which is not small, will be employed to promote its success; hence if the Minister understands the measure as I do—that it should have been the ending, not the beginning, of a course of contributions—he has done wisely, in so much as by beginning at the wrong end he secures the co-operation of Lalla Bahadoor.

"The measure will be found insufficient, and the next resort will be, if he have treasures, to the Nizam, who may be persuaded to lend money (not to give it), but only at the last extremity. The adjustment of the debt of the Company, which keeps all other exigencies in the background, will press them forward; they must be relieved to some extent, and necessity will then force that upon the Government which should have been its first measure, *viz.*, the taxing of the notoriously wealthy. There will then be a resort to the pockets of the Duftardars, of their pets the Talookdars, of the Sheristadars, and of all those who under the different administrations, not excluding the Nizam's, possessed influence, and have used it corruptly to amass wealth for themselves. This is a consummation to be desired; individual wealth in times of absolute distress and difficulties is the property of the nation, and if the Nizam contribute towards their relief the wealthy are bound to respond to the example. I grant that the country has been ruined by misgovernment of the worst species. What is passed cannot be recalled; the only question is, ought the independence of the Asoph Jahhee sovereignty to be preserved? If it be the wish of the community that it be so, then is every man bound to contribute to maintain it by his best efforts. But that he should do so to no purpose, that his best resources should not be wasted upon a profligate Government, let him seek for a competent guarantee to provide for and maintain his object.

"The mode of taxation (if it can be so called) in a State like this must be irregular. Mr. Pitt, when the French threatened subjection to England, raised the revenues of the country, by a general taxation, from seventeen to sixty-five millions. Mr. Pitt, at Hyderabad, where the wealth of the country is pent up in a few hands, and not disseminated amongst the mass, did the Company's Government threaten confiscation of the territory, could do no otherwise than wrest from the wealthy whatever he could, to avert the disruption of the Government. That Mr. Pitt might have taken his measures in detail differently would belong to his wisdom, the justice of the proceeding would be the same in either case. The country is to be saved to the community to which it belongs."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 17, 1851.*—The following from Hyderabad, the 3rd instant, we have been obliged to keep back three days on account of the arrival of the mail:—

"The budget of which I apprised you is progressing slowly, to which there can be no objection if it do not fail in regard to time. I do not hear of any measures being adopted besides this for procuring money; but both the Premier and Lalla Bahadoor are satisfied that the end, the payment of the debt to the Company's Government, will be accomplished in due time. The intimate acquaintance of the latter with the resources of persons and the motives that influence them goes a great way to guarantee the result. The load is felt as excessively heavy, but just to be borne. This would be of little consequence as far as it concerns the Nizam and his great subjects; but it is pernicious in the last degree, as compelling a postponement of such other reforms as the opportunities of the Minister might enable him to effect."

ENGLISHMAN, *November 4, 1851.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 22nd ultimo :—

"We understand that the Minister is perfectly satisfied that he will not fail in his engagement to pay the balance of the debt on the 31st instant. There is not the slightest surmise abroad that he has realized any money beyond the sum of ten lacs, the report of which is in general circulation. If, then, the Minister can have, unseen and unheard of, gathered 30 lacs of rupees besides, whether it be a proof of his good management or not, the measure will certainly be understood as having been accomplished without oppression of the subject."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *November 17, 1851.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, 6th November :—

"The Minister's financial arrangements to meet the stipulated payment of the 31st October fell short by a large balance, which the Nizam has agreed, but not till the last moment, to supply from his treasury. The deficit is said to be thirty lacs, and the Nizam supplies this sum not in the current coin of the realm, but in pagodas, in sequins, bullion and jewels. This would import an impoverished treasury, but for that very reason it sets an example to the Minister not to forego his right to demand money from the subjects and servants of the State. The country, in which the community has an interest, has been saved by the sacrifice of the Sovereign's personal property, and an obligation is thereby imposed upon the community to respond to the example, and upon the Minister to see that they are made to respond to it. A little assiduity, a little energy to strike whilst the iron is yet hot, would produce means not only sufficient to meet the present exigencies of the State, but to enable the Government to adopt means that should obviate future embarrassment. The impost must be laid with an unsparing hand; nothing of ease or comfort to the executive will be gained by present inaction—it can only be a postponement of the measure. The increasing difficulties of the Government will force its adoption upon the necessities of the Minister at some future day; and then the measure will be insufficient to do more than to provide against present exigencies. The groundwork of the difficulties will remain as they were, and the main object of removing them, the preservation of the country in its present integrity and form and usages—I mean such as belong to well-conducted Native Governments—will be subverted, if not entirely lost. We cannot interfere and manage upon other systems than those we know and have been bred to."

"The Nizam proceeds to make his payments immediately; the Resident's instructions were stringent. He was not permitted to give time beyond the day, as the property is really to be delivered over. His instructions have been conformed to essentially in their spirit, though not perhaps according to the letter. The Mohorrum intervened and would have made an unavoidable delay."

ENGLISHMAN, *November 21, 1851.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, dated the 5th instant :—

"The next step in full payment of the debt to the Company has been successfully got over. The financial measures projected to meet the demand were found ineffectual; they did not produce twenty lacs of rupees—I speak generally. The Nizam has agreed to discharge the balance from his private treasury; this is a happy issue to an affair which had excited an almost intolerable sensation and alarm."

"Much remains yet to be done before this Government can expect to see prosperity, and its subjects amelioration of their condition. The vast arrears due to a large portion of its soldiery must now be paid, at least in part, and a second resort to the Nizam's treasury can hardly be made, with any sort of propriety, whilst any other resource exists in this State by which a supply equal to the demand can be provided. This country has no gold or silver mines, nor is improvement of revenue immediately possible to its Government; but I question whether digging for the buried and concealed hoards of the opulent would not amply serve as a substitute. There is no alternative, and a weak administration

would be compelled at last to have recourse to the measure from necessity, when it could only relieve the necessities of the day, which a vigorous one would adopt primarily from choice, and employ the resources furnished by it to provide against future embarrassments. I do not mean to say that the hoards would furnish larger supplies than the floating capitals of the wealthy would do ; but in the resort to the former the vigour of the Minister would be so conspicuous as to make his acquisition of the other comparatively facile.

"But unless retrenchment accompany the measure of sequestration—indeed, were made the immediate object of it—and reform of those abuses which afforded means for and justified the sequestration follow, their continuation and a renewed profligate expenditure would mark injustice on the one hand, and palpably indicate that the Government was regardless of all but that which gave it existence for the day, and brought the most ease and least danger to those who conducted affairs at the general expense.

"A persistence in the present system must soon bring on the ruin of the State. The decay of a Government which must bring it to perish cannot be counted by days, but by periods of years ; but to a Native Government the means of retardation from extinction is amply supplied by its absolutism. Its power to crush claimants, to annihilate and extinguish all obligations and claims, will give to the Nizam's Government a protracted but a vile decrepit existence, till the grievances become intolerable to its subjects, and will be resisted by their despair, or till the paramount power shall feel from the repetition of the abuses that correction without revolution is impossible in the demoralized condition of the country.

"If a limit to the duration of the Government could be fixed by any sort of computation, I should be disposed to give it not more than a five years' existence under the continuance of its present system. It is argued that this Government has been reported for the last forty years as deteriorating, and it is contended from that circumstance that it may continue to exist with deterioration in progress for a similar period of years. This sort of argument is too general, contains too much guess-work, to require discussion ; but advertence to the state of the country forty years back may be of some interest and elucidatory. At that time you heard of no mutineers besetting the Minister or the Nizam ; the Government apportioned out payments from its revenues to the troops and its departments, and arrears of either only accumulated from the frauds of those presiding over them. The only parties among whom mutinies were heard of, or distress was known to prevail, were the troops of Shums-ool-Omra, of Sha-hyar-ool-Moolk, of Assad Ali Khan ; all these noblemen were provided by ample jagheers with revenues equivalent to the pay of their troops. In the bands more properly called the Dewanee, such as those under charge of Sheristadars, Rajahs Maheput Ram, Sheopershad, Bheer Bhund, &c., you rarely heard of a mutiny, except in those cases where the commandants were contractors for the troops, and subjected them to the same frauds that jagheerdars did. The public treasury, if not rich, was competently provided to meet any sudden exigency, and the Government was free of debt, and neither required nor received advances from its Talookdars.

"Hyderabad is to all intents and purposes bankrupt. A government the pay of the troops of which is three months in arrears, which cannot pay the debts it has contracted, which has received two years' revenue in advance from its Talookdars, cannot be said to be solvent. Did the Talookdars, to pay themselves, withhold rents from the Government, the general stagnation that would follow would immediately revolutionize the State. It lives by the strength of its Arabs, which enables it to inflict injustice, and by that means to avert disruption by exacting its obligations. The day of reckoning will be the day of revolution.

"There is one point I will not forego: I have always said, and I repeat it, that in its money dealings the Government is more sinned against than sinning. The ready successor who is found to every Talookdar, and military or other contractor, who with his situation is said to lose large unpaid balances, marks palpably that upon the aggregate these bargains with the Government are advantageous to the parties who contract them."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *November 28, 1851.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 22nd November :—

“The Nizam’s Government was engaged to pay the balance of the debt to the Company on the 1st instant. On the previous day the Nizam offered the Minister the aid of his private treasury to make up his deficiencies, computed at something between twenty and thirty lakhs of Hyderabad rupees. On the 9th, the intermediate days being occupied by the celebration of the Mohurram, he sent jewels to his Minister. The valuation occupied three days ; the two following days were occupied in communications between the Nizam, the Minister, and the Dufterdars, and in negotiations with the Sahookars, who declined purchasing the jewels at their estimation, Rs. 6.43,000, or of receiving them in pawn on the usual terms of such dealings. On the 14th the Minister visited the Resident at Bolarum—it is believed, to ask for more time. His next interview with the Nizam was on the 17th. On the 18th he revisited Bolarum, and returned yesterday. Nothing is known authentically, but it is supposed that the Nizam is obstinate in refusing other aid to his Minister from his treasury ; nothing but bullion will answer, and the Resident is equally pertinacious, under his orders, in refusing to give him more time.

“An audit by the Dufterdars, no friends of Shums-ool-Oomra, was produced against him for a sum of forty lakhs of rupees, collected from the successive accounts of some twenty years or more. Accounts are the deadly weapons of the Dufterdars, but in this instance there was scarcely speciousness for one instant to uphold the claim, and their defeat on the award of the Nizam was signal. Shums-ool-Oomra did a spirited thing—though he repudiated all concern with the accounts, he professed his willingness to adopt them if the Dufterdars equally with himself would engage to be responsible for the result. This call upon the Dufterdars to be responsible was made because the accounts were professedly given in as standing between the administration of Raja Chundoo Lall and Shums-ool-Oomra, to which the Dufterdars were only official parties.

“It is rumoured that the Nizam has called upon his uncle by blood, Akbar Jah, and his uncle by marriage, Shums-ool-Oomra, to contribute money to the aid of his Government. I do not believe the rumour, but such rumours not unfrequently precede a fact, and I take this, from the position of the parties, to be one of them. It is also rumoured that Goolam Hyder Khan, Rajas Bal Mookan and Rang Row are to be expelled from the city. There is no parity of circumstances between these, and no understanding the conjunction of the parties reported to have been selected for expulsion. If Goolam Hyder Khan is committed in any shape, it is from a perverse, bigoted intellect which prevents his going right, and not from bad motives or a mischievous disposition. The others are, what natives ordinarily are, the abject slaves of persons in power, and the domineering masters of those over whom they can exercise authority.”

ENGLISHMAN, *December 3, 1851.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 21st November :—

“Writing to you at long intervals, and labouring under the disadvantage of a total incapacity personally to refer to written papers, I may occasionally leave a hiatus in the information I communicate to you. I believe my last letter informed you that the Minister’s financial measure to redeem the debt to the Company had failed, and that the Nizam had promised to supply the deficit, not in specie, but in property from his private treasury. I believe I also told you that the instructions of the Government to the Resident were stringent to admit of no relaxation as to the time of payment. The engagement expired on the 1st instant, and the course of events has run thus :—The 1st November fell on the 7th Mohorum ; of course nothing could be done in a Mahomedan Government till the 14th, when the Nizam promised to provide the means for payment. On the 14th His Highness was engaged in other occupations, the treasury was not opened till a late hour ; the property was inspected, but delivery was postponed to the 15th. The property consisted of jewels worth according to His Highness’s estimation fourteen lakhs of rupees. That day, the 16th, and the 17th were occupied in procuring from all the

leading Sahoo-kars a valuation of the jewels. On the 18th the Minister reported to His Highness that the valuation was six lacs and forty-three thousand rupees, but that the Sahoo-kars declined purchasing them even at that price, or advancing money upon the mortgage of them in the usual relative proportion of their value. His Highness desired the Minister to employ Lalla Bahadoor to prevail upon the Sahoo-kars to accommodate his Government; this was idle, but His Highness's mandate could not be dropped upon the threshold, and the Sahoo-kars were directed to wait upon Lalla Bahadoor at his country-house, which they did on the 19th of the month. The event could be no other than unproductive. His Highness, I presume,—I have no fact in connection with that day,—was immoveable, and Suraj-ool-Moolk waited upon the Resident at Bolarum on the 20th Mohorum, the 14th November. Whatever the communication of Suraj-ool-Moolk might have been (it is supposed he went to supplicate for more time), the Resident could do no otherwise than await a little longer the tendencies of the Nizam's versatile disposition. The movements were progressive towards a payment, and he could not be justified in breaking down the house whilst the Shroffs are as it were counting out the money. On the 21st the Minister returned early to the city; the Nizam did not give him an audience till the 23rd, when, according to common but not authentic report, he told his Minister he meant to give him no other assistance, and that he might manage the best way he could with what he had got. This sort of lordly language is very much misplaced; it is not Suraj-ool-Moolk that will suffer from the failure to pay, but His Highness, who will lose his territories. On the 24th Suraj-ool-Moolk went again to Bolarum, but nothing is yet known of the proceedings there; the Sahoo-kars hang back, and if that be, as I understand, the point of reliance, the hope is utterly vain.

"The mercantile community, I may indeed say almost the whole community, of Hyderabad were yesterday pallid with consternation. The great house of Mahanund Ram and Poorun Mull had had several of its bills of exchange protested, and the ruin of the house, which was apprehended, was expected to disseminate its disastrous consequences very widely. I am assured from authority that there is no ground for alarm. The commercial report is that Prem Sookh Dass had wittingly overdrawn his branch establishment at Calcutta, for the sake of the enormous profit which the immediate demand for the bills to pay the Company's Government produces, and desired his agent to draw on Money Ram, of Gwalior, with whom the house had a large open credit, to cover the drafts from Hyderabad. Money Ram (it is not accounted for) dishonoured the drafts, the first intimation of which reached the house of Mahanund Ram and Poorun Mull almost simultaneously with the demand for the payment of the dishonoured drafts. The house was taken by surprise, and it took the course and employed itself yesterday in sending money to the houses of the parties whose *hondrees* had fallen due, and it continues to pay. To the honour of the sordid Marwarrees be it known that notwithstanding the position of the house there was no run upon it. The effect of the suspension of credit—I trust it will be but temporary—will be severely felt by the Nizam's Government. The mercantile community here could not without the aid of this house have furnished bills to the amount of 34 lacs of rupees upon your Presidencies in the short time it did. The effect of the discredit cast upon this house will not only be felt in the withdrawal of its contributions in aid of the Government, but in the general stagnation to banking and monetary dealings which it will occasion. This unlooked-for occurrence should protect this Government from the threatened consequences of its failure to pay the Company's debt immediately.

"Pending the requisition to the Nizam for aid, other sources of supply had not been neglected. Lalla Bahadoor produced an audit against Shums-ool-Oomra of about forty lacs from the successive accounts of the last 20 years. The audits were based upon the circumstance that Raja Chundoo Lall, as Minister, had undertaken the management of certain of Shums-ool-Oomra's districts, from the revenues of which he professed to maintain a certain amount of troops, which he had also withdrawn from Shums-ool-Oomra. This was in fact a dismissal of Shums-ool-Oomra from the charge of either, but as Shums-ool-Oomra's elevated position and relationship to

the Nizam made it necessary ostensibly to consult his dignity, the farce was got up of making it appear that Chundoo Lall acted as his lieutenant, and in accordance with it the accounts of Chundoo Lall's management were presented to Shums-ool-Oomra for his signature, and were signed the first year. But Shums-ool-Oomra is wary, and was soon aware that for security to his interests he should sacrifice the empty name of presiding over those districts and troops. He feared involvements to himself might proceed from those accounts, and he steadily refused to sign them ever afterwards. The audit produced against him now showed excess of disbursement over revenue. Shums-ool-Oomra alleged that he had nothing to say to those accounts, but that he was willing to and would accept them with cheerfulness provided he were allowed to examine them. He would in that case stand the issue, giving security to answer to any balance that might appear against him, if the other party would equally engage on their part to refund surplus revenues, if any could be established against them by the accounts. Lalla Bahadoor suffered an entire defeat. The scheme of supply was bad and weak, but peculiarly adapted to the genius of a Duftardar's office. Money is wanted, and the address of the Government to those from whom it seeks it might with a little change be that of the Arab in the desert to his victim—'Doff your garment; my wife, your sister-in-law, is sitting naked.' This Government may say, Give me a portion of your loaf, for the children of the country which maintains you in opulence are starving; but then, and here is the difficulty, the appeal must be made to all alike.

"The other process for procuring money is an old measure put into a sort of progression. Raja Gose Bux was under surveillance at the Minister's house. To get his brother, Raja Ram Bux, to come down with a sum of money he has been sent a prisoner to the fort of Golconda.

"P.S. 21st Nov. 1851.—There was no run yesterday upon the house of Mahanund Ram and Poorun Mull, which assiduously paid off, by sending money to the houses of the parties, every bill and draft that fell due on the day. Suraj-ool-Moolk has returned to the city."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *December 8, 1851*.—From our Hyderabad correspondent, 30th November:—

"Events have taken the course that had been foreseen. The call for money upon the Jageerdars was a failure in respect to the end for which it was designed. The next call was upon the Nizam's private treasury. He responded to it by furnishing jewels. The condition of the market produced an under-valuation for which it would be ruinous to sell the property, which would besides go but a small way to cover the amount required. The next and last project, which should have been the first, has been adopted, and the opulent servants of the State are called upon to contribute money to the extent of their means. As Shums-ool-Oomra occupies the first place in the community, attention is directed towards him to mark the result of the demand for 15 lakhs of rupees which the Nizam is pressing upon him with unusual pertinacity, not with any pretence of a claim, but on the simple ground that the distresses of the country should be relieved by its wealth. I understand, but not so assuredly, that the Dufterdars are also called upon to pay. I shall be glad to see a successful result to the last, for the sake of the example, which must then be followed by the whole class of civil officers, and because it would afford the proof that subterfuges, even in the hands of the Dufterdars, will occasionally fail.

"The Resident returns to his own mansion on the 2nd proximo. The general opinion is that, having failed to pay at the stipulated time, the Nizam's Government will be required to cede territory, but I have hopes that in the consideration that the Minister has been assiduous to procure funds, that the Nizam has contributed the jewels of the State, and that other and adequate measures are now in operation to enable the Nizam's Government to pay the debt, the Governor-General will, whilst proofs of the good intention of the Nizam faithfully to discharge his debt are before him, not refuse to give more time before proceeding to the alternative, an encroachment upon his territorial property. Under all

circumstances, the Resident may have thought it necessary to represent the posture of affairs as arresting his hand from an immediate seizure of his territory. The reference will of itself give the Government another month, and two courses will be left to His Lordship—either that of expressly acceding to the request for more time, or so to protract his answer as, without the expression of a consent, to concede in effect to the request.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *December 12, 1851.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, 4th December :—

“The thing of greatest interest yet is the debt to the Company. The Minister has not yet secured funds, but many an iron is, in the fire, and though the consummation is pushed forward with all the energy of the Government, the progression from the many antagonistic elements which have crept into the construction of the Government is very tardy. There is a call for money from Shums-ool-Oomra, and from several others : it is slow creeping and dull inaction, and the Governor-General of India will scarcely have patience to await its termination. The Talookdars have refused to advance more money, and deeds of transfer of all the districts have been prepared, and only require the filling them up with the names of the parties willing to pay. This has had some, though not the extensive effect which was expected from it, and some few of the Talookdars are willing to pay to retain their districts, and, but in one instance, I do not hear of fresh purchasers. The jewels of the Nizam are also in the market as commodities for mortgage. The Sahookars of the Residency bazar were offered a mortgage for a sum of three lacs of Company's rupees, and though they were told that some party, from whom there was objection to receiving money, was willing to lend twice as much upon them, they declined the bargain, the condition of which was that they should be permitted to foreclose the mortgage if the money was not paid in six months. I question whether any Sahookar or body of Sahookars in the Nizam's dominions would have the audacity to keep the Nizam's Government strictly to its bargain, or to enforce its stipulations at any time against its wishes. This reminds me that if your Moodeliars, or Pillays, would mortgage the jewels for the full amount of its present valuation, the transaction, which I conceive would terminate in the foreclosure of the mortgage, would yield an abundant profit, scarcely less than 50 per cent. I refer the bargain to your Malabar and other Indian capitalists, *as no English subject* could undertake it, or could act in it, although as a *broker*, without incurring the penalty of the law under the statute of 37th Geo. III., cap. 142, Sec. 28.

“There is an amusing anecdote connected with the valuation of the jewels. The whole combined money-dealers of every grade were invited to value the jewels. A pair of diamond bracelets, I believe the self-same that Dr. Maine obtained at Seringapatam and sold to Meer Allum, was presented for valuation. This bracelet, which I know is composed of brilliants, and will admit of an accurate valuation according to Jeffery's table, made under restrictions from the present state of the market in which it might be offered for sale, one jeweller valued at three lacs of rupees—there was no mistaking that this was factitious—another at 25,000 rupees.” Evidently this man had not dabbled in jewels, and had some crude notions of securing a good bargain. He and a fellow acting with him were prominent amongst the Sahookars of the Residency bazar to mortgage the jewels, but there would have been a demur about the amount.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *December 22, 1851.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, 14th December :—

“I adverted, in one of my recent communications to you, to the probability that in consideration of the willingness which the Nizam had shown to pay his debt, and of the efforts which had been made to pay it, the Governor-General would be induced to give further time. I do not hear that His Lordship has entered upon any new stipulations, but it is believed that the Resident has used his advocacy to obtain more time. I gather this from the alternative—the sequestration of the

country—not having been resorted to, and from the Resident's having accepted a partial payment of something less than ten lacs of rupees, in hoondies on the Presidencies.

“The debt of the Nizam stood originally at sixty-seven lacs of Company's rupees; the payment of the first instalment discharged thirty-four lacs of rupees, and ten lacs have been now paid. The aggregate of these is about two-thirds of the debt. When so much has been paid, and when the security to the Company's Government for the rest is unfailing, it would be hard if the Government of India, by its peremptoriness, forced the Nizam's Government into the arms of the Arabs. I fear it may have done so already to an inconvenient extent. Epigram in such cases is misplaced, else I would say the Nizam's running from his English creditors to the shelter of the Arab creditor is but to prove the former the greater Jews; but common sense should dictate that as the English Government will one day have to settle the debts of the Nizam, or to tolerate within his dominions a state of most deplorable anarchy, it should take care not to throw the Nizam into positions which will in the end make heavier involvements for itself.

“The recent accession of means to the Minister, that which enabled him to give hoondies to near ten lacs of rupees to the Resident, has been by the mortgage of the Nizam's jewels. The mortgagees have lent five lacs of Hyderabad rupees upon them, which they have paid by hoondies in Company's rupees; three lacs and fifty-nine thousand at an exchange of thirty-nine per cent. gives nine hundred and ninety rupees less five lacs. This exchange is deadly heavy against us.”

ENGLISHMAN, *December 30, 1851.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 14th instant :—

“At the outset of the last arrangement made by the Nizam's Government for the payment of its debt, I wrote to you that I thought it probable that if they paid the first instalment, about half the debt, —one-third more than what the Government of India would have realized in one year by taking territory,—His Lordship would not enforce a precise conformity to the engagement. I further observed that if at the period of the second instalment a half or even a fourth of the amount stipulated was paid, Lord Dalhousie could not with decency encroach upon the territorial possessions of the Nizam to cover a very small remaining amount of debt. Things have fallen into this course, but whether in conformity to the views I had previously taken I have no information to enable me to say; the effect, however, will be essentially the same.

“General Fraser, after exhibiting some repugnance to accept a partial payment, has at length accepted bills on the Presidencies to an amount something short of ten lakhs of rupees. This is virtually giving grace to the Nizam's Government. It may be in accordance with the Governor-General's instructions, and indeed some say that the order to sequester territory was restricted to the original condition of the debt, and that it did not embrace the change which followed upon the payment of the first instalment. I rather believe that the good sense of General Fraser has led to the opinion that when so much has been paid, and when the exertions made to procure the means of payment are strenuous and unceasing, the stringency in the order which would lead to a sequestration of territory should be relaxed. The Resident in all probability has submitted these opinions to the Governor-General, and they must be attended with due effect. The Governor-General cannot, and it is to be presumed will not, of his own choice, refuse his sanction to measures of lenity towards the Nizam when pressed upon him by his representative; precipitancy and peremptoriness on the part of our Government, by withdrawing funds to an inconvenient amount, will involve the Nizam and his subjects in greater and more numerous contentions. Dangerous mutinies will be the immediate consequence, and the additional strength and influence given to the Arabs, from their being the main supporters, to remedy for the day the exigencies of the Government, whether it be to repress tumult or supply funds, will bring its proportionate amount of oppression upon the subjects. The Nizam's Government could not be forced into greater subjection to them than by a pressure upon its finances proceeding from the Indian Government.

"The negotiation with Shums-ool-Oomra to pay money is still pending. There is no certain means of judging here, but the wants of the Government will not permit Shums-ool-Oomra's evading the demand, and sooner or later the money will come. I wish this Government would see that time is an essential ingredient in shaping the course of measures, and would consider it more than it does.

"The Nizam's jewels, said by one party to be of original value 30 lakhs, by another—more correctly, as I judge from the estimate—14 lakhs, and valued by the Sahookars at 6,43,000 Hyderabad rupees, have been mortgaged for 5,00,000 Hyderabad rupees. The bond stipulates that if not redeemed in six months the mortgagees may foreclose the mortgage. If the mortgagees have power to enforce the condition at any future period, though with liberal treatment of the Nizam's Government, they will have made a capital bargain—50 per cent. upon their mortgage would be produced by an auction sale. The retail prices would produce 9 lakhs of Hyderabad rupees at least."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 8, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 26th December 1851 :—

"I believe my last letter informed you that the Resident had accepted a payment of something under 10 lakhs of Company's rupees as part of the debt of 33 lakhs of Company's rupees, and that the principal house of Mahanund Ram and Poorun Mull had received a shock from its bills having been dishonoured.

"I regret to say that the house of Shudut Juseeram, the next in consideration to that above quoted, has also sustained a very heavy shock from the same circumstance; it is following the course of measures adopted by the house of Mahanund Ram, and is discharging its foreign liabilities with the means at its command. Its liabilities here cannot be immediately discharged, but there is no more doubt of the stability of this house than of the former, and of its eventually answering all demands against it.

"Several houses of less note are said to be similarly situated. The great damage, however, that which will be sensibly felt, is the circumstance that the foreign correspondents of the Hyderabad houses decline giving them credit—in other words, have stopped dealings with them—I believe, with all, without an exception. This is a bad symptom of the times, and it is not at all improved by the circumstance that to protect themselves from the pressure of their creditors the tottering houses have procured and posted Arab guards at their gates.

"The Sahookars will no longer be important to the Government. This is not to be regretted, for their influence was never exercised but sordidly and oppressively, especially in the districts, towards the subjects of the Nizam. The Government will feel the want of their support. People would find here analogy between the failure of the great Calcutta houses and that of the Sahookars here, and allege that as the Government of Bengal did not suffer, the Hyderabad Government need not. There is no corresponding point between them. The Bengal Government did not require aid from its merchants to meet the daily demands upon it; in regard to the Nizam's, its financial vitality was centred in the support which the Sahookars brought to it, both by pecuniary arrangements and by their guarantees, which staved off the evil day; but for the Sahookars neither could the talookdars have provided the advances, nor the jageerdars the gratuities, nor the military commanders the nuzranas, which furnished the means to pay the first instalment of the debt to the Company.

"We have a Government threatened by the paramount power with the sequestration of territory if it do not pay its debt. A similar threat is held over it if it do not issue pay regularly to the Contingent. Not able to do either, for the first we look to the Nizam's private treasuries which we may empty; for the next the dependency is on the territorial revenue, and that has already failed. An almost universal commercial bankruptcy is induced by the acts of Government, and only to appearance averted by bands of Arabs posted at the gates of the bankrupts. The whole of the lands of the country are mortgaged to powerful Chiefs and tribes, and can no longer be made subservient to the financial measures which the exigencies

of the State are daily pressing upon it. The other lands mortgaged to the people of the Deccan, in violation of their contracts, are held up for public sale, and there are no bidders. There is universal distrust, and the soldiery, not strong by their clanship, and numbers are starving, they have fortuitously fallen upon a measure by which, if they follow it out systematically and with moderation, they will obtain redress, and at the hands of the English Government."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *January 14, 1852*.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 6th January :—

"The large rough diamond of the Nizam was yesterday brought to the Resident on account of the debt, but, I understand, not accepted by him ; it will of course be a matter for reference to the Governor-General. It weighs five tolas, and I hope Lord Dalhousie may accept it in discharge of the debt, and get rid of a disagreeable question, in which the rigidity of the English Government in exacting payment, if not unjust, has certainly been oppressive and pernicious in its effects upon the subjects of the Nizam in every grade—in short, upon the country at large.

"The diamond promises to be lustrous : when cut it will not be of less weight than the Kohinoor, and perhaps more showy, from exhibiting a greater spread. Amongst the English people here its value is estimated at £600,000. It is not intelligible to me by what table of computation this price is produced, nor do I know, if by jewellers' valuation, whose valuation (English or native) gives this amount. The price appears to me to be above the mark, but if the actual value have any approach to the estimate the Company's Government will not have made a bad bargain, and England will become possessor of two of the largest known diamonds ; the existence of that of Brazil appears as yet a fable. [Not so, surely !]

"The debt now stands at about twenty-six lacs of rupees, a sum not worth the disagreeable contention now pending, nor sequestration of dominion, an act always exposed to unfavourable imputations and suspicions. Much good will be done by relieving the Nizam of a debt which brings heavy embarrassments upon his Government in regard to the discharge of its other obligations, and which will especially be felt in the encroachment of the English Government upon the Nizam's territories, to effect the regular payment of the Contingent, which this Government, in its present state of pecuniary difficulties, will certainly fail to carry out ; and the relief will the sooner enable the Nizam's Government to alleviate the miseries which afflict all classes of its subjects, from its want of pecuniary resources to meet extraneous demand. If the obduracy of the Nizam in the first instance deprived him of his title to claim consideration from the English Government, his ready sacrifice of this extraordinary jewel, of high value in his estimation, has at the least redeemed that offence ; but if the demand for payment has originally been intended as a punishment, and is to be continued to the last, let it be recollected that its infliction falls heavier on the subjects, more especially the humbler classes, than upon the Government."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 16, 1852*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant :—

"The Nizam has contributed a large rough diamond, weighing seven tolas, towards the payment of his debt to the Company. The diamond was consigned to the Minister the day before yesterday, and was yesterday brought to the Resident—it is supposed as part payment of the debt, and I hope it has been accepted.

"Taken in round numbers, the diamond weighs 400 carats, and is the largest diamond next to the Brazil diamond. The Kohinoor, I have heard, weighs but three hundred. The diamond of the Nizam will not permit its being cut into a perfect brilliant, and I therefore presume that, the cutting being adapted to its shape, it need not lose more than one-fourth in the operation ; if, then, this diamond be the second or even third or fourth in size that is extant, the Nizam, whose mind must place a high value upon these things, could not more evince his desire to discharge the debt than by the sacrifice he has made.

"This I trust and believe will procure him consideration from the Government

of India. I hope it will do more, and dispose it to receive the diamond at its full valuation by jewellers' computation, and not according to the reduced price of the markets of the present day. In former days, though not taken from the enemy, it might have been a trophy added to the Lord Dalhousie's fame, that he had given to England the second and third largest diamonds extant in the world. I question whether even now, in the age of science, of arts and manufactures, Russia will not envy England the glory of possessing two such diamonds. It must have been a bitter moment to the Nizam when he parted with it, and the sacrifice deserves consideration from Lord Dalhousie.

"I come to the conclusion that the Nizam has not large treasures in specie. If he should happen to possess forty or fifty lakhs, we can hardly think of dispossessing him of such a small resource to meet a sudden exigency; it is almost a contradiction in terms, believing the Nizam to possess forty or fifty lakhs only, to say he has treasures, or, so believing, to press upon him with any animosity to give it up. To receive the diamond in liquidation of the debt would be a graceful disposal of a question which has many harsh features in it."

"P.S.—You may conceive the state of our market from the condition of two opulent Sahookars, with whom I happen to have a pecuniary transaction. My own man of business obtains some money (less than Rs. 2,000) for me from one of the most opulent Sahookars of the place; my own man of business is also esteemed one of the most opulent. The money is paid by a sealed bag, which is as current here as a bank note is with you. My Sahookar, instead of requiring to have the amount cashed to him by the Sahookar who gives the bag, desires me to get it cashed in my own name, lest he should be required to debit the account of the party. This person puts me off under pretences, and my own man of business is either distrustful of the other, or suffers under the pressure of the market so much as to decline cashing the bag himself, and yet there is no bankruptcy."

We cannot support our correspondent's recommendation that the Indian Government should take the Nizam's diamond at the ideal value which he attaches to it. The utmost that can be asked is that it should be held as a pledge, to be redeemed at a fixed term. Large diamonds are not saleable, there is no market for them anywhere; it is only those the price of which comes within the reach of wealthy private persons which can be disposed of. The Deccan prize diamond was valued at £30,000, but after being kept for more than twenty years it was finally sold for £7,000 to the Duke of Sutherland.

In these times dukes have learned the use of interest tables almost as thoroughly as bankers' clerks, and if one of them pays £30,000 for a diamond to be worn by his duchess perhaps four times a year at the Queen's drawing-room, he is aware that each exhibition costs him £375 at 5 per cent. per annum.

The Kohinoor or any other very large diamond may be prized for its rarity, and among crowned heads may be the object of negotiations and treaties; but it cannot be applied to any use, and it is impossible to value it as an article of commerce. The Indian Government having the power to enforce the terms on which it accepts the Nizam's diamond is safe in accepting the pledge, but no private money-lender would advance upon it more than he could be sure of obtaining at an auction.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *January 23, 1852*.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 15th instant :—

"Suraj-ool-Moolk visited the Resident yesterday; the purpose is not accurately known, but one cannot be far wrong in the conjecture that it was to confer on the pecuniary difficulties of the State, now much aggravated by the state of the money market; in other respects we are at a seeming *statu quo*, unless I notice that the clamour of the ladies of Moobariz-ood-Dowlah's house for subsistence continues."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 29, 1852*.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, dated the 18th instant :—

"In my last communication I made a mistake as to the weight of the rough diamond, which I stated to be seven tolas. I now understand it to weigh but five

tolas, onë masha, which will give near 300 carats. It is reported that the Resident, unmoved by a good deal of persuasion to retain it, returned it yesterday to the Minister. The course of action would imply that no definite time has been given to the Nizam to pay his debt, that demand and importunity are continued, and that the only relaxation is the protraction of the sequestration of territory, which was originally designed to be carried promptly into effect ;—would to God that this question could be disposed of ! Whether the Nizam or his powerful subjects suffer from the effects of this claim I do not know, but it is grinding the poor to the dust ; there should be some ‘ bright reversion ’ for the condition of a debt the consequences of which affect not the debtor, the Sovereign, but the wretched inhabitants of the country.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *February 16th*, 1852.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 9th February :—

“ It is reported that a letter of severe expostulation has been addressed to the Minister by the Resident ; there is activity enough in movements, but no one movement gives any progression. The Minister was with the Nizam yesterday, and is reported to have represented that whilst the Resident was inflexible, and could not be moved to give time, the Sahookars had ceased even to visit him ; the Talookdars asked for further advances, offer resignation of their charge, which persons could not be found to accept on the usual conditions. He had scraped together three lacs of rupees, which was not sufficient to cover the demand of the Resident ; would His Highness be pleased to honour the parties, those whom he might present for the charge of districts, by himself bestowing the appointments on them ? His Highness replied that he would do so, and, further, that he would aid the Minister with a sum of money belonging to himself which lies in the hands of Rajah Shumbhoo Purshaud ; this is said to be about three lacs of rupees. Whether the Minister had so submitted to the Nizam, as described, the condition of the Government or not, the facts are ostensibly as above represented ; if the Resident is aware of this, his urgency to obtain money can only depress the administration, but can produce no good.

“ If the Nizam have treasure, his personal guarantee, as distinct from that of his Government, having been given to discharge the debt, a resort to him would bring the matter to an issue ; that is, if time be not to be given, either the private treasures will pay the debt and bring relief to the resources of the administration, or an impoverished treasury will direct the Government of India to that which may ulteriorly have to be adopted. The constant urgency, with its *sequitur*, as constant evasions, are surely to be avoided. The two things palpably seen are—the one that the Nizam’s Government cannot pay, the other that the Company’s Government is reluctant and holds back from taking territory ; from this reluctance I anticipate a change of measures in regard to the ultimate exactions of the debt.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *March 1*, 1852.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 22nd February :—

“ The debt to the Company’s Government stood at about 26 lakhs of Company’s rupees, equal in round numbers, if the estimate be made in the currency in which the Resident has been paid, to about 32 lakhs of Hyderabad rupees. The 10 lakhs would have made a considerable reduction in this amount, but unfortunately the Contingent has fallen three months into arrears, which will occupy (the demand being the more urgent of the two) about 7 lakhs of the money, and will leave but 3 lakhs for the payment of the debt. This, however, is of no account, for although the Nizam contemplates at present giving but 10 lakhs of rupees in aid of his Minister’s resources to pay the debt, the urgent remonstrances of the Resident, and the necessity of the case, will not fail to produce a larger supply if the coffers of the late Akbar Jah admit of it. Not to pay the Contingent preferentially would be to hazard the sequestration of territory ; of this the Minister must be aware, and it will be but too obviously his object and his policy to pay the Contingent. The debt has had a long existence, and its existence may be borne a little longer.”

ENGLISHMAN, *March 4, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 22nd February :—

"The death of Akbar Jah has brought a great influx of wealth, and the Minister has communicated to the Resident that he will soon be able to pay him a sum of thirty lakhs of rupees. Although this sum will not be sufficient to cover the amount of debt, and the arrears into which the Contingent has fallen, it will bring relief to the distresses which now afflict almost every house in the city and its suburbs. The long withholding of pay from the servants and departments of the State has involved almost every man connected with it *inextricably* in debt to the Arabs, who have now commenced, as if by general consent, a system of universal oppression; and refuge is sought by the debtors flying from their houses, within the precincts of the Residency, or within the palace of the Nizam or his Minister.

"It cannot be mistaken that the appropriation of all available monies to pay the debt to the Company has produced this excessive misery. The discharge of that debt, now to be effected, will afford the Nizam's Government the means to relieve much of this, and the Minister, freed from the heavy embarrassment of this debt, bound to the discharge of his duties especially from the reputation he enjoys at the Residency, and which for his own sake he cannot allow to fail him, must give as well his attention to a proper and well-organized maintenance of his Government, and as well to the security of the rights and persons of individuals from the oppression now exercised, as I have said, in almost every house, by the Arabs.

"Last night a sum of ten lakhs of rupees left by Akbar Jah was sent by Surajool-Moolk to the Resident. This is all the Nizam has as yet offered his Minister towards the payment of the debt to the Company, and although the Minister has been somewhat premature in conveying to the Resident that he would pay him thirty lakhs immediately, all will go right in the end. The payment will follow the necessity of the case, and if Akbar Jah's funds are sufficiently ample, and the Resident continues to importune, the debt must be paid. The sum of ten lakhs now transmitted will go but a short way towards it. The Contingent has three months' arrears due to it, a sum of something more than seven lakhs; the payment of this, which is the more urgent demand, always excepting a sequestration of territory being preferred, will reduce the payment towards the debt to a sum of only three lakhs."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 6, 1852.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, of the 23rd ultimo :—

"The Residency is becoming, as it should be, a refuge for the destitute. To the list of persons I gave you yesterday as having taken protection under the British flag may now be added those of Moulvie Kurramut Ali, the Judge of the Criminal Court, Salim Mahomed Khan, a Jemadar of horse, Talookdar and Jageerdar, and Meer Hussun, once a man of some note, but now in reduced circumstances, as also two persons of no name or notoriety, the one Kalkeca, and the other Hyder Beg. We shall hear from the apologists of the Government that these men resort to the Residency for medical advice, as persons are not allowed to reside at the Residency without especial license. This pretext may commonly be adopted, but it will not serve the turn of those apologists in regard to the judge of the Criminal Court; he was pursued into the precincts of the Residency, whilst his brother Tiliut Ali was seized just without its bounds and carried off. The Peadas who pursued Kurramut Ali were expelled from the Residency by the intervention of the Residency Kutwal.

"Moulvie Kurramut Ali having come to the Residency with his whole family, which comprised, besides others, four sons, two of them judges, *two* Courts in the city are shut up, and do no business."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *March 24, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 17th instant :—

"The Minister has addressed a long apologetic note to the Resident, explaining the cause of his inability to pay the Contingent. It is a happy illustration of the

best wisdom of the country : he tells the Resident that heretofore he has been in the habit of procuring hoondies from Sahookars, and reimbursing them by assignments on the revenues ; but as the Talookdars will not pay the Sahookars, the Sahookars will not any longer give him hoondies ; this is all true, but it is not a wise confession. General Fraser looks deeper into causes than the habit of either Suraj-ool-Moolk or any other native of this place can know or understand ; and indeed General Fraser's answer gives personality to the discredit—he obviously imputes it to a general want of confidence in him : he says, Your past engagements have not been fulfilled, and your promises for the future are not to be credited."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 27, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 15th instant ;—

"The Contingent has not received a rupee of its pay now for three months and fifteen days. The British Government relaxed its demand for immediate payment of its debt at the time it claimed it as due, on pledges expressly given by the Nizam in regard to the debt, that it would be paid according to the stipulation made by his Minister ; and in regard to the Contingent, that certain districts, whose assessed revenues and the names of whose Talookdars were presented in a schedule, should be kept apart for the payment of the Contingent. This has not been done, but it would be hard to say it of the Nizam that it was he who had not permitted its being done. We say many things here, but I do not know the man who would have the hardihood to affirm that the Nizam was any hindrance to the arrangement being carried into effect."

ENGLISHMAN, *April 7, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 26th ultimo :—

"I understand that the Resident has at length communicated directly with the Nizam on the subject of the default of his Government to pay the debt and the Contingent, and has signified displeasure towards the Minister by not sending him, as is usual, a copy of his note to His Highness. The Minister will endeavour to prevent, and may intercept, General Fraser's audience with the Nizam ; he has been urgent with the Resident to retard explanations with the Nizam, and he will persuade the Nizam to avoid an interview which, being to make a peremptory demand for money, cannot be otherwise than offensive to His Highness, and he will engage, as he has done all along, to satisfy the Resident through the medium of the influence he professes to possess. The Resident's not having sent a copy of his note for the Nizam to the Minister is unimportant as to any essential matter. The Minister will know its purport and shape his course accordingly ; but it is further said that the Resident has apprised the Minister that on the subject of the payment due to the British Government and the Contingent he will no longer hold intercourse with him. This would imply disgust at the evasions which have been practised upon him ; but then on what does he rely for his intercourse with him on any other matter whatever being useful ? The Resident does not conceal that the Minister is not to be believed.

"If ever he did possess the influence he professes to have enjoyed, any expectation from it is now futile. The failure to fulfil his pecuniary engagements, made with greater force of assurance to the Nizam, that they should be discharged without any call upon his private treasury, than to the Resident, is now seen to be hopeless of remedy, and I believe there is an entire revolution in the opinion of the Resident regarding him. He is now known to be incapable, and not deserving of confidence ; it is the fashion to say that he has not power from his master to act, and in the same breath it is said that he is a puppet in the hands of Lala Bahadoor ; it is bad logic to say that Lala Bahadoor dances an armless, legless, and headless trunk.

"Dependence upon the Minister, or Lala Bahadoor, which you please, has led to this. The Contingent is near seven months in arrears, and native reports have it that Brigadier Mackenzie has communicated to the Resident his inability to move his troops against marauding Rohillas at Kelapoor. The story is circumstantially told, but I have a difficulty in believing it."

ENGLISHMAN, *May 29, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 14th May :—

“Crushed and bankrupt as the Nizam’s Government obviously was in the circumstance that it withheld the pay of several of its departments and of large masses of its soldiery, the demonstration of its condition was not so apparent as it will now be by the heavy, though, comparatively with the other departments of the State, light arrears into which the Contingent has fallen. It will primarily be felt as a great hardship, and yet as a greater wrong, that troops officered from the Company’s service are thrown into heavy arrears; but this reflection too will suggest itself to some, and be understood as the greater grievance, that when the Contingent is not paid, nothing besides can be paid. All the resources of the State reserved for this object cannot competently provide for it. This can only be understood (when the revenue of the State exceeds two crores of rupees, and the expense of the Contingent is only forty lakhs a year) in the circumstance that nearly the whole revenue of the country is mortgaged. But as a mortgage would be no bar to this Government to extract from the revenues what it pleased, it must be equally understood that the mortgage has fallen into the hands of persons powerful beyond the control and direction of the Government. This condition will force an immediate change, and that change will be momentous, unless the Government of India should continue to permit shifts of a temporary nature to be adopted, retarding the day of final settlement, but rendering it more arduous, more hazardous, and more costly.

“The Brigadiers of the Contingent have pressed their representations of the distressed condition of the troops they command, with much urgency, upon the attention of the Resident, and it has induced the Resident to add one more strenuous remonstrance to the number of its numerous predecessors. It has been replied to, as usual, by a promise of immediate payment. If the promise be faithless, there is infatuation in making it at the eleventh hour. It can tend to retard nothing, and can only be remembered to the disadvantage of the person making it. A fabrication, immoral as it may be, may occasionally be a good stroke of policy, but when detection and disappointment would precede any possible result that can follow from the fabrication the very wantonness of it enhances the offence—at all events, discredits the intellect which devises it.

“The Minister has been for several consecutive days in assiduous attendance upon the Nizam to solicit aid from his private resources. The Nizam has been consistent in his refusals, persisting in his declaration that he has no treasures. A direct exposition of his affairs to the Nizam, and expostulation for their correction, are now wanting to satisfy our judgment how far the obstruction to the last has proceeded from him. Any aid which he could now give to his Minister would not serve him a jot. The Contingent and the Company’s debt, all that the utmost resources of his private treasury could effect, might be paid; but what is to obviate, whilst the expenditure far exceeds the revenues, the renewal of similar difficulties, the outbreak of unpaid troops, the massacres by plundering Rohillas, and the oppressive exaction and cruelties exercised towards its debtors by the dominant Arab? What is to make this Government—now as a Government subject to the control of the Arabs, a Government but in name—a Government in fact? Unless all this can be retrieved, the Nizam’s treasures would guarantee no security for him; its application to any integral part would be useless; to bring security or permanency to the whole, it would be as money thrown into the sea. The correction must be applied to the whole. It is scarcely fair in the present stage of an impending downfall, so near the catastrophe, to call upon the Nizam to disburse his private treasures.

“But, as if the chariot of the State was not whirling with sufficient rapidity towards the precipice, a bad feeling has sprung up between the Arabs and the Minister; he has required them to relinquish the districts they hold in mortgage, and to receive in lieu certain lands, sufficient to pay their dues by their rents in five years. The proposal was peremptorily declined, and at an assembly of Arabs which was held, it was moved that they should not consent to the reduction of their strength. This they will stand to, and carry out, and it was further moved that

the entire revenues of the districts under their charge, by the exclusion of the payments to the Government, now made by them at stated periods, should be appropriated to the discharge of their own debts. This will not hold, for they in effect would shut out, it may almost literally be said, all pecuniary resources from the Government, the consequence of which could be no other than to bring in the intermediation of the British Government, with the fullest and most unreserved sanction of the Nizam. This would be to precipitate matters with a vengeance^o; and the Arab, who does not yet see the approach of the termination of his power, would hardly seek it by an act of his own, though its result should be the reclamation of all his dues. He will rest his hopes upon what may be in the womb of time, and will argue, as many of our better-informed people do, that the downfall of the State, so long predicted, which has not yet arrived, may not yet arrive for a period of years. These people do not see that the disease is becoming daily more aggravated, and more hopeless of remedy.

"Lord Dalhousie may save the Nizam, the country and its institutions, if he will; but I fear there has been nothing done satisfactorily to him, and nothing will be done satisfactorily to induce commiseration for the Nizam or his Government."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *July 23, 1852*.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 17th instant:—

"But what is to be the end of it? Whilst such is the case, the Resident, with all the strength and influence of his position, notwithstanding an earnest and denouncing expostulation made with the Minister, has not been able to procure pay for the Contingent, although the want of it has retarded for the last ten days, and will retard for ten days more, the movement of the Bolarum troops to put down an insurrection within twenty-five miles, already the occasion of mischief to men's lives and persons.

"The Resident, declaring in express terms to the Nizam that he could not believe his Minister, was earnest in his solicitation to the latter that he should not deceive him. The fruit of this was an engagement to pay in five days. The money has not been altogether paid, but in the partial payment, which has been made by hoondees, the system of deception has been continued; a large portion of the bills has been returned dishonoured. The Minister had taken up these bills without giving value for them, and had made an express stipulation in writing, with the party from whom he had received the hoondees or bills, that he should be at liberty to decline acceptance if the value of the bills was not given to him in eight days. He has failed in his engagement with this man, and has in point of fact practised deception upon the Resident. Again, as I have said, the Contingent waits for its pay, to go on service; sixteen days have passed over the Minister's engagement to the Resident, and but now an order on a Sahookar at the Residency, payable in ten days, has been given; but, strange to say or to believe, the drawee refuses acceptance till the Minister shall have performed some engagement on the fulfilment of which his acceptance depends. Where was the necessity of giving the Resident a draft which was not likely to obtain acceptance? If these deceptions practised upon the English Resident end in nothing, what is the climax waited for—to admit of effect being given to his negotiation, and the useless character of his diplomacy being changed? Is it expected that this Government can retrieve its affairs by its own efforts? Is it possible that it can be believed that the Minister, so denounced by the Resident, has virtue or capacity to conduct the affairs of the State? And how long, whilst we are daily witnesses of scenes of wholesale slaughter, resulting directly in the conduct of the Minister, do we mean to permit this state of anarchy to exist? We are the paramount power, and our supineness to bind or correct makes us the first great cause of the evils that prevail. Calamity, mischief and misery can go

^o The Arab dealing with the Government as soldier, talookdar and money-lender doubles his capital in about two years, the excess being called in, and the original advance left for future adjustment. This the Company's Government, in its own good time, will pay. He will not precipitate results. Why should he? Here he has California at his feet.

no further. Do we withhold interference to be justified in public opinion? Then, if not now, at what stage of calamity will that public opinion be with us? Do we defer to the end of the Burmese war? It has not yet come to the British Government to magnify mole-hills into mountains, and our ruler cannot surely want the confidence in his own ability to arrange, to desire, to devolve the correction upon another party, and hence defer the final settlement."

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE, *July 30, 1852.*—The following is from our esteemed Hyderabad correspondent, under date 22nd instant :—

"The Minister is returned home—as he says, by permission : this would imply that the Nizam had invited his stay; but everybody knows the contrary to be the fact, and that the Nizam had repeatedly desired him to go home. Nobody knows why he went—he has accomplished no purpose, unless it be that he has obtained five and a half lacs of rupees from His Highness, and has made his party good against the effects of the Resident's remonstrances. His movement, however, had no reference to this last object.

"The interest on the mortgaged jewels was paid with regularity for the first six months by the proceeds of a draft limited for payment to that time on Ramaswamy. It has not been paid for the last two or three months. Urgency is used by the agent of the mortgagees, Azim Ali Khan Bahadoor, to obtain payment of the interest. If it fail now or on any future day, the right to foreclose the mortgage will make the bargain a rather profitable one to the mortgagees, but I suppose the mortgagees will have forbearance for six months at least."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 5, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 20th ultimo :—

"Some remarkable financial measures have occurred, but they are not uncommon, and many such besides now exist in full force for the changes that may be rung upon them. The great diamond was mortgaged to two parties of Sahookars. The one, that of Govindram, had orders on Purbunnee for seventy-five thousand rupees, in part liquidation of the mortgage, which the Minister has resumed and resold to Oomraogeer. A few more sales, and the transaction may be very profitable. Suraj-ool-Moolk during his last administration incurred a debt to one Chownee Raja of sixty thousand rupees; there was no intention of paying it, and when no other debt was paid there was no reason, from the strength of the creditor, none in the justice of the Minister, why this should be paid. But Chownee Raja has made another loan of six thousand rupees, in consideration of which fourteen villages, yielding a revenue of eight thousand rupees a year, taken from the charge of one Kondaswamy, have been assigned to him in liquidation of his claim, which is adjusted at one lakh of rupees now; the payment of one lakh for six thousand rupees, if things went here according to contract, would be something preposterous in figures. But the Minister has the best of it;—the loan is present, the payment future."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *August 11, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 3rd August :—

"Hoondies for the pay of the Contingent amounting to near a lakh of rupees have been returned dishonoured to the Resident, and other good hoondies in their stead supplied without delay. The question is, not that good bills were substituted, but that false bills were ever given; they were given to gain time, and the object is acquired: the hoondies given in redemption will gain seven days by post, and fifteen days the time of the sight which they have to run."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 17, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 30th ultimo :—

"I observe in your paper of the 14th instant that you seem to consider the Directors so to fear public opinion in regard to their grasping policy as to require

Lord Dalhousie to relinquish the Burmese war without deriving security or advantage from it. If this be correct, it at once gives a solution to the measures pursued by His Lordship's Government at this Court. If affairs have been fairly represented to His Lordship, if His Lordship sees them as we on the spot do, and feels for the universal misery engendered by a state of lawlessness and the dominion of barbarian mercenaries, then his forbearance to reorganize and amend is most unaccountable. What leads me to apprehend that there is good ground for believing your surmise that such may be the general policy of the Court, I gather from the proceedings in a quarter which will not be understood generally as sufficiently important to afford the premises for my conclusion. I have told you of the severe animadversions passed upon the Minister by the Resident in the presence of the Nizam. You are aware of the financial difficulties of this Government, which bring it disadvantageously into contact and collision with that of India; and yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, waiting upon his position, the Minister has taken his part, and acts, if not positively against the Resident, seemingly with the utmost contempt and disregard for his opinions. He was a petted man by the whole family of the Resident. New bands of Arabs are levied. The Contingent is not paid, but that is nothing,—it may be a misfortune; but, what is material, and affects the conduct of the Minister, false bills are palmed off upon the Resident, as if consequences were not feared, and all that was wanted was to stop for the day the Resident's clamour and vituperative objurgation. These have been endless, and as ineffectual as they have been endless. It is hardly possible that the carelessness of the Minister as to any prejudicial consequences to himself or to the Nizam which may result from the acts of the Indian Government can proceed from his assured knowledge of the view of the Directors. He has declared his opinion that this Government has nothing to fear for the next two years in reference to the expiration of the Charter; common opinion upon that subject would hardly have so assured him as to put him if not in a position of defiance, in that of utter indifference to the calls of the British Government, repeatedly and strenuously urged upon him, and not unfrequently in the language of complaint, reproof and reproach.

"A set of hoondees given for the Contingent, which was dishonoured, was returned by the Resident to the Minister with the impressive reproof in his official note that he was committing the dignity of his master and was disgracing himself. This occurred about a fortnight ago. What has been the consequence? Why, I pledge myself to the fact that in another week hoondees amounting to nearly a lakh of rupees will be returned dishonoured. The reproof here described, strong as it is, is but one of numerous reproofs that have been uttered in language equally strong, and which have been equally unavailing. With Lord Dalhousie's power to act the Resident's influence is gone. It would seem, as nothing succeeds, that the office was formed to vituperate and objurgate; it can prevail in nothing and amend nothing. Lord Dalhousie's strong language in his letter to the Nizam cannot have been a mere *brutum fulmen*. If it was, His Lordship betrayed too much precipitancy in taking the course he did without having his principals with him. But the Minister is not wary; the Court of Directors may object to measures affecting the Nizam and his dominions, but neither principle nor policy will prevent them from removing a Minister whose conduct is palpably mischievous, and who has not credit with any one party in the State.

"If the Government of India expects that the prostration of the Nizam will induce a voluntary surrender of his authority, the conclusion is just; but when need a Government situated like the Nizam's be prostrated? His pecuniary liabilities need not at any early date reduce it to that condition.

"What has become of the numerous obligations of the Nizam's Government? Where are the large balances due to the Sahookars? Not a word is heard of them. There is no pressure upon the Government on their account. What has become of the large balances due to the Talookdars? Defunct as those of the Sahookars. What has become of the heavy arrears due to the Khan Rissalah? They are buried in the graves of the Patans who fell at Saythabagh. What has become of the arrears of the Mun subdars? Gone without leaving a trace. Nothing has been

paid but to the three Arab mutinies, and nothing is asked for, for hope seems to be extinguished. The two powerful parties to demand and to exact are the English and the Arabs. The resources of the State will amply supply these; and the Minister may deal with the others according to his pleasure, in regard to whose conduct it may be said the Government is as a bankrupt, not paying its debt, but doling out dividends, not rateably, but arbitrarily, according to the power of the creditor to exact, or his influence to gain."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 26, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 11th instant :—

"The hoondies for near a lakh of rupees, as I foresaw, came back to the Resident dishonoured, but the peculiar faculty of the Minister turned this circumstance to account. He had accumulated, he said, eighty thousand rupees for the pay of the Contingent at Bolarum, and was forced to employ it in purchasing other hoondies. But with whom has he turned this to account? With those who, if they had the knowledge, choose to keep back the knowledge that the protested hoondies were false *ab origine*. They would impute that to him as a misfortune which was distinctly evasion; but this I would ask them, had the Minister accumulated eighty thousand rupees to pay the Contingent? They will not find it in the fact that the Minister, professing a difficulty to procure in the market the currency in which the Contingent is paid, asked the Resident to pay the Contingent, and to await his opportunities for reimbursement. The Resident consented to disburse the money from his treasury, provided the equivalent in the currency, treasured by Suraj-ool-Moolk, was sent to him. Nothing more was heard of this arrangement. Now the fact is Suraj-ool-Moolk really had about thirty thousand rupees, which he had procured by dabbling in the sale of new Arab commands.* This sum was employed to purchase the covering bills in part, and for the remainder assignments were given to Oomrao Gheer, who is supported by Baffanah (including a recent purchase of one hundred) four hundred Arabs on Chicholah Baden and Bunolah."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *September 1, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 23rd August :—

"The Contingent at the end of this month will be seven months in arrears, four months of which should be forthcoming to it. Ten lacs of rupees were due to it on the 15th instant, and Major Davidson, who visited the Minister on the 17th instant to ask for money, was told that ten lacs would be paid to him on the 21st instant. Now as the Minister knew that there was not a single arrangement existing by which he could obtain even one lac of rupees, nor any chance of his effecting such within that period, the wantonness of these promises goes beyond the character of deception used for an interested purpose; they become insults to the British Resident, upon whose credulity, worse than foolish, they are attempted to be palmed off. Why so long borne with, the Governor-General can alone tell. There is one intermediate course to the carrying out of final measures—the cessation of intercourse with a Minister (to all intents useless) who cannot be trusted, and of whom the Resident has said to the Nizam that he cannot believe him. Money will not come the more for this measure; that will depend upon what may be ingrafted upon it, but the Resident will at least be spared the mortification of forming fallacious expectations, and of having engagements made to his face, known by the party making them, at the very moment of making them, to be false. As Lord Dalhousie is minutely informed of affairs here, he can only then consider the Minister sane if he refer his conduct to an alternative scarcely necessary to describe."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *September 3, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 27th August :—

"General Fraser has been permitted by his Government to give the Contingent

* He has sold to five persons the command of four hundred Arabs, and is negotiating a sale of three hundred to Boodun Khan.

two months' pay from his treasury. As His Lordship's sanction has been obtained not without some difficulty, I considered it as having been given in under hopelessness of getting any money from the Nizam's Government. Hence I was disposed to believe that some ulterior measure to secure the return of these payments, such as a demand for territory, would follow. But the better-informed people affirm that the payment now made to the Contingent is entirely an insulated measure, and that the pay has been given to the troops simply because they wanted it. This may do for the time, but the same withholding of pay and arrears will inevitably occur, and if they continue to be discharged by the British Government security for the debt must be taken, or a heavy debt will be accumulated, such as will make a distant after-reckoning (at the end of the Charter) ruinous to the Nizam's Government. Its only effect will be to put a Minister more at his ease, to give him more leisure for the indulgence of his pleasures ; but upon the Government it will be most baneful,—it will be to involve it inextricably."

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE, *September 7, 1852*.—We are indebted for the following to our well-informed Hyderabad correspondent, under date 28th August :—

"At the end of August four months' pay of the seven due to them should be forthcoming to the Contingent. The Minister's promise, made on the 17th instant, to pay ten lacs of rupees on the 21st, has, as usual, not been kept. The Governor General has sanctioned two months' pay being given to the Contingent from the Resident's treasury. Any intercourse with the Minister is wholly useless to the Resident ; and it is reported that he means to cease all communication with him, and to inform the Nizam that he has done so. Circumstances every day confirm my belief, resting upon the Minister's conduct, that he carries in his mind the assured conviction, upon information derived from the very best authority, that Lord Dalhousie is constrained by very stringent orders to refrain from interference with the Nizam's Government. Shuheed, whose daughter was murdered, supposed to be by a Rouni or Turk, waited yesterday upon a confidential official of the Minister to ask for redress. He was told courteously that the Minister could or would do nothing. Shuheed observed that his resort must then be to the Resident ; he was told there was no use in it, the Resident's hands were tightly bound. If this opinion operates, as I believe it does, to make Suraj-ool-Moolk indifferent to the remonstrances of the Resident, then is he thankless ; but he is impolitic besides. Lord Dalhousie may be interdicted from encroaching upon the Nizam's rights, but there can be no obstruction—indeed, there is a demand upon him—to require from the Nizam a change of the Ministry. Humanity requires it at his hands, and justice, too, that he should undeceive the Nizam ; for there is not the smallest doubt that his and General Fraser's good opinion of Suraj-ool-Moolk influenced the Nizam to appoint him to the office."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 8, 1852*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 22nd August :—

"The Minister assured Major Davidson, who visited him officially on Tuesday last to ask for money, that ten lacs of rupees now due to the Contingent would be paid on Saturday next. This was gratuitous impudence. He could not have meant to insult the Resident ; but I would fain ask what his estimate is of the English diplomatic agency, whether from general or special considerations, that can permit him to take such liberties with it. His conviction that General Fraser's hands are tightly bound must rest upon authority more than commonly good to make him regardless in his communications to the Resident, not only of truth, but of the common decent respect usual to the intercourse of public men."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 11, 1852*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 27th August :—

"The Resident has advertised that he will receive offers for bills on the places

where the Contingent is cantoned. This manifests but too plainly that the relations between the two Governments, especially in regard to the pay of the Contingent, are about to undergo a change, and one of two results can alone follow—a general interference, or sequestration of territory to such an extent that the revenues thereof shall be competent to cover the pay of the Contingent.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 1, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 25th September :—

“The Nizam saw his Minister ; why, when he had long refused to do so, is not understood. The Minister promised the Nizam that the moment he got home he would send the Nizam one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees, the amount of a draft which he had before sent, and which the Nizam had rejected as unworthy of credit. This occurred on the 18th instant. Of course no money has been sent as yet. The common question is, why does the Nizam forbear ? Who can give the reason either of his forbearance or of Lord Dalhousie’s ? Suraj-ool-Moolk’s friends say he (the language of India does not from courtesy qualify the word lie) lies for the Nizam. He certainly lies to the Nizam. I will compound with his party, and say he will lie for anybody, making no exception even in his own favour.

“By the time this reaches you the Nizam’s Government will owe the Contingent eight months’ pay, of which five months’ should be forthcoming to it. The debt may stand at somewhere about fifteen lacs of rupees, that is, the five months’ pay. Nuthmul, a Sahookar, has been prevailed upon by (mark !) Lalla Bahadoor to furnish bills for ninety thousand rupees, which will soon be forthcoming. Lalla Bahadoor is in treaty with Oomraogeer for bills for a lac of rupees ; this, too, will probably be provided, but when it is felt throughout that there is no prospect of amendment for the future, when every day must bring a worse condition, then why is the amendment, which would proportionately do more good to-day, retarded to the future day, to add a heavier accumulation of misery to the subject, and a more deteriorated condition for correction. There is surely as much responsibility for under- as for over-doing.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 8, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 30th September :—

“The Minister has supplied the Resident with bills for two hundred and forty thousand rupees for the pay of the Contingent at the out-stations. The money has been raised at a ruinous rate of agency, interest and premium. I am not so minutely informed as to be able to make a distinct exposition. I, however, understand the rate, upon the several modes of computation in which the bargains may be brought into operation throughout the year, to be, as it may happen, from forty to eighty per cent, per annum. No money has been sent for the Bolarum Brigade. The deficit in the entirety of the payment was hardly wanted to show the utter exhaustion of the finances of the Nizam’s Government. In a period of five months, with all its efforts directed to the one purpose of paying the Contingent, it is only able to pay one-sixth of the liabilities incurred on account of that force.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 18, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 5th October :—

“The Minister gave the Resident bills for Rs. 2,40,000. It is the talk amongst the English party that the capture of the Sahookars by the Sikhs will cause the dishonour of the bills. This will be carried to the Resident by an English mouth, and he will be unsuspecting of the real facts of the case. Is it possible that Sahookars will dishonour bills to the Government, for which the Government has given value ? Is this Government, so powerful to withhold the rights of others, unable to protect its own ? If it be so entirely powerless, then whence could come the act which once for all should uphold the Government and vindicate its authority ?

“The history of the bills is that of the 240,000 in bills, giving near 275,000 in Hyderabad rupees, Abdoollah bin Ali has either paid (I believe he has paid), or

stands sponsor for the payment of, a lac of rupees ; for the residue the security of assignments on Talookdars was not acceptable to Oomraogeer, the only Sahookar now to undertake such transactions, and the additional security of a personal bond from Lala Bahadoor, always considered of repute, was passed to the Gosaeen Sahookar. I consider that disrepute will not be cast upon Lala Bahadoor's credit by the dishonour of the bills, provided always that the previous payment of the assignments on the Talookdars has not been made conditional to honouring the bills. Bills for a sum of Rs. 40,000 or Rs. 43,000 have been given by the Sahookars in captivity ; whether value has been given for these or not, they will be dishonoured, from the circumstances of the changed condition of the drawers. If the remainder of the bills be not paid, it will be because value has not been given, and fresh distrust is engendered ; if it be otherwise, the alternative cannot be very pleasing to Suraj-ool-Moolk's friends, the maintainers of his authority."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *December 13, 1852.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 4th December :—

"There is an important matter upon the *tapis*. The Nizam asks the Minister the simple question to what period the Contingent has been paid. The Minister replies to the end of June, which would leave, according to the usage of keeping the Contingent three months in arrears, but two months for immediate payment. The answer is literally correct, but it does not reply to the spirit in which the question is put. The Contingent has been paid up to June by the aid of advances from the British Government, and, though the arrears have been kept down, a large accumulation has been made to the debt. To speak the whole truth it would be necessary to inform the Nizam as well of the latter fact. Then there is another point in which also the Nizam may be deceived. The debt was reduced to 26 lacs of Hyderabad rupees, it has again gone beyond 40. Now if the Minister chooses to represent this debt in Company's rupees, adopting for his exchange the highest rate he paid, 38 per cent. (I know the Company's Government receives payment at a much lower rate, somewhere about 23 or 24 per cent., but who is to investigate the matter minutely?), he will exhibit a debt in that currency not higher in amount—I mean as to figures—than the sum at which the debt was left in Hyderabad rupees. There will be a reference to General Fraser, I presume, on this subject, and his expositions, if he do not mistake the nature of the requisition, will enlighten the Nizam."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 30, 1852.*—The following is from our Hyderabad correspondent, dated the 16th instant :—

"A notice has been issued by Mr. Dighton to the several bazars (I do not think it is a written notification) that on Thursday the 16th instant he will sell by public sale the jewels of the Nizam mortgaged to him. I give the name of this gentleman as the mortgagee of the jewels because he has by this last act proclaimed himself as such. Mr. Dighton has written to the Minister to forewarn him of his intention ; of the reply I am not informed. It is a bold step, but, as being an open proceeding, is less liable to objection than what his friends had devised for him, *viz.*, that he should retire with the jewels and foreclose the mortgage. The Nizam cannot be consenting to the sale, he is of little account in these matters ; but unless the Minister be so it will not be carried into effect, and Mr. Dighton may find, if he sells the jewels without the Minister's concurrence, a *ne exeat regno*, and a criminal information waiting for him at the Presidency to which he may go. The English authority, that is, the Resident or his *locum tenens*, will not think it their duty to interfere, and the Nizam will be erroneously betrayed into the belief by their neutrality that Mr. Dighton acts under the support and sanction of that authority. If Mr. Dighton really intends to sell the jewels here, he will find no purchasers among the subjects of the Nizam. They dare not buy His Highness's jewels sold without his consent. It is just possible a few Malabar capitalists located in Secunderabad may purchase a small part ; the bulk of the property

must of course be bought up by Mr. Dighton and Ramaswamee, the joint mortgagees, but in unequal shares, and by some of their English friends, who may for the sake of great gains make a venture on such an occasion.

"The Nizam is too ignorant of ways and means by which to arrest the sale. Not so the Minister; if he desired, an injunction to the Resident must unavoidably procure his intervention, for with the subject so brought to his notice he could not permit the infraction of an Act of Parliament to terminate in an issue so favourable to the infractor; even if he should fail the Minister, the latter has the sufficient knowledge to make his application to an English court of justice.

"P.S.—I have postponed the despatch of my letter one day, and do not regret it, as it enables me to say that Mr. Dighton has prepared 57 copies of notices for publication, the issuing of which has been postponed in consequence of some new promise made to him by the Minister. The delay in issuing these notices has made a corresponding delay in the day of the sale, which is now fixed for the 18th instant. I could wish the question answered whether a sale of mortgaged property on the sole authority of the mortgagee is valid by any law. Mr. Dighton's English friends who may desire to purchase, though under fictitious names, had better obtain professional opinion upon this subject before they undertake the venture. If the Resident has not yet acquired positive knowledge of the mortgage, these 57 notices will go far to instruct him."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 5, 1853.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 23rd December 1852:—

"By a second notice from Mr. Dighton the sale of the jewels is declared postponed. The current reason is that the Minister's solicitations for one week's grace have prevailed. The Nizam's objections were made in the language peculiar to the East, 'You may sell my jewels, my domains, my house, my children,' &c. Another opinion is abroad that Major Davidson has prohibited the sale. I do not think it unlikely; he would probably desire to have the opinion of the Governor-General upon a transaction which in its original proceeding is illegal. Perhaps, as the enforcement of the law would be but too heavy a penalty, and might by possibility become unavoidable, it would be as well, and might be discreet, not to take the sentiments of the Governor-General, which, whilst the Nizam objects to the sale, could run only in one direction. Mr. Dighton will act prudently to pursue his course towards an adjustment of the mortgage with the least possible publicity. He has a moral right to his money, and the Nizam's Government has nothing to do with his infraction of an English law; but then Mr. Dighton is bound to have all due consideration for the wishes of the Nizam, and not to throw away his property by an auction sale, or any other sale where people dare not purchase."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *January 14, 1853.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 8th instant:—

"Mr. Dighton has been paid a lac of rupees on account of the mortgage. Boodun Khan advances the money, and is engaged to pay him Rs. 30,000 a month till the entire mortgage is redeemed. One of the terms which Boodun Khan has procured for his guarantee is that he shall be allowed to retain the 400 Rohillas he had raised to serve in his battles against Eddillabad, and that Eddillabad shall be assigned to him for their pay. The Minister had to the last persisted in telling General Fraser that Boodun Khan had without authority possessed himself of Eddillabad, and was a rebel ('moofsid'), and that Koodrut Ali Khan, the legally appointed Talookdar, should be restored. It may be useful to have it kept in mind that the districts given to Arabs and Pathans are ordinarily assigned in other names. Of this the late Resident was aware, for when the name of the ostensible and not of the real Talookdar of Goolburgah was given him by the Minister in the presence of the Nizam; General Fraser observed to him: 'Batinbatin Abdoola Khan Abdoola Khan,'—by which it was understood that the Resident meant to say that the real Talookdar was Abdoolla bin Ali."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 15, 1853.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 1st instant :—

“The first day fixed for the sale of the Nizam’s jewels by Mr. Dighton was postponed in consequence of a promise to pay within a week, pressed upon him with much urgency, by Suraj-ool-Moolk,—‘Believe me this once, I will not fail you.’ But did Mr. Dighton believe him? I believe not. Could he sell the jewels? I believe not. Then had he no choice but to appear to confide in Suraj-ool-Moolk’s promises, and to postpone the sale. The promise, like all his other promises, was faithless, and Mr. Dighton advertised a second sale of the jewels for Tuesday the 28th instant. On the night of the 27th other promises were made to him, to which Boodun Khan and Jamsetjee are parties ; the former, not to be much relied upon, has undertaken to pay Mr. Dighton his money when the Minister shall have signed his papers. I understand one of the requisitions in his papers to be to obtain from the Nizam’s Government credit for a sum of Rs. 1,50,000, the correctness of which is disputed, and Jamsetjee has undertaken to procure an early signature for the papers, giving a document to that effect under his hand to Mr. Dighton. If Jamsetjee have any power upon which he builds for the Minister observing his engagement, what that power is is not patent to the world. My opinion is that these promises are made to delude Mr. Dighton, and to gain upon the time of General Fraser’s departure. When he is gone, if Suraj-ool-Moolk be not more direct to prevent the sale of the jewels, he will be careless about appearances, as to whether they satisfy or not Mr. Dighton of the contingent event. Upon the whole, Mr. Dighton’s is a hard case, and the penalty is too heavy for an act of indiscretion for the commission of a *malum prohibitum*, to which he was swayed by the great gains in exchange which the transaction was calculated to produce, and by the protection he expected to derive from his influential position.

“It will be argued here that it is a matter of indifference to the Minister whether Mr. Dighton or Boodun Khan be the mortgagee of the jewels. If it were a question with him as to whether he could wrest the jewels from Mr. Dighton, he would prefer consigning them to the mortgage of Boodun Khan. But as matters are, the weakness of the one party to retain them being known, and the strength of the other to make good his rights being at least equivocal, he will prefer letting the jewels remain where they are, and Boodun Khan’s keeping his money in reserve for the future occasions of the Government.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *February 2, 1853.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 26th January :—

“The Contingent at the end of January will have three months of the pay that should be paid to it due. The Minister sent hoondees for two lacs and four thousand rupees, part of the pay of the Contingent stationed in the country. Of these, two hoondees on Aurungabad were found at the Residency to be defective in the small point of not possessing the drawer’s signature, and were returned. I am told that this and similar occurrences are not uncommon ; but if it be so I cannot understand why the late Resident, by an order to the Paymaster to detain the unaccepted hoondees till the period of payment had expired, should have given sufferance to the deceptive practices of the Minister. This order gave the Minister twenty days’ time to redeem the wrong or to evade a payment. I presume this order will be rescinded, and for the future no hoondee to which the acceptance is declined at the time of presentation will be considered creditable. The return of the hoondee at the instant will have the advantage of informing the Resident, at the least, of the chance of the failure in payment, and enable him to provide the sooner for the deficiency.

“P.S.—The money paid to the Contingent comes from the estate of Talib-ool-Dowlah. The ordinary resources of the State have failed most extraordinarily. I understand the bills on Aurungabad to which the signature of the drawer was not affixed were for fifteen hundred rupees only. My commentary is not appropriate to my text, but the Minister’s habitual practices may admit the commentary.”

ENGLISHMAN, *February 3, 1853*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 19th January :—

“The course Major Davidson has adopted continues to be successful. The Minister answers his notes ; the voice from the Residency, which had ceased to be answered, is now attended to. Major Davidson has also succeeded in obtaining Rs 56,000 towards payment of Rs. 1,80,000 due on account of what is called the Wurshasuns. I understand this to be a fee on lands secured to certain subjects of the Peishwa by treaty. Its adjustment has been considered of sufficient importance to have called for the services of a Commissioner from Bombay, a Civil Servant, and of a Native Commissioner from the Government of Hyderabad. The demand for the payment of the Wurshasuns, made long ago, was neglected till now. Major Davidson's requisition has procured the payment which I have described.

“Mr. Dighton has received one lakh of rupees from Budhun Khan, and has handed over to him a portion of the mortgaged jewels, and Budhun Khan is engaged to pay the remaining four lakhs due on the mortgage when the whole of his papers (a portion of them have been) shall be signed, and documents passed to him to hold Mojalledda as his personal jageer ; Edlabad in assignment for the pay of Rohillas to be maintained by him ; a command of twenty-five horse allotted to his son-in-law Dowlut Khan ; Narainpett, Bodun and Bundoola ceded to him for payment of the money lent by him in the mortgage of the jewels—Lalla Bahadoor's guarantee to all the engagements, and titles obtained for himself and his son from the Nizam. These multiplied terms make the adjustment somewhat difficult and distant, but will these profligate bargains be allowed on the day of reckoning? No validity can possibly be given to the engagements of the Minister, acting corruptly for his own advantage, and sacrificing the interests of the Government entrusted to him.”

ENGLISHMAN, *February 26, 1853*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 14th instant :—

“The jewels pledged to Mr. Dighton are lost to the Nizam for ever. Mr. Dighton is not so much to blame ; the Minister would not pay him, and he has taken the jewels with him, and means, if they are not immediately redeemed, to sell them by public auction. The adventure was well achieved. Mr. Dighton travelled by stages through the Nizam's country, thereby lulling suspicion of his intention to take the jewels. When he had crossed the river to the Company's frontier, a distance of 110 miles, where he had posted dawk bearers for the rest of his journey, he wrote to the Minister informing him that he had taken the jewels with him, accusing him of treachery towards himself, and apprising him that unless the mortgage were redeemed by a certain day he would sell the property by auction. The Minister, in his extremity of distress, resorted to Lala Bahadoor for his aid in the redemption of the jewels. I have a Persian note upon the subject, which is amusing from its characteristicness, and I translate it for you : one obvious feature in it is the disregard, almost contempt, with which the Minister's message to Lala Bahadoor is treated. But this conduct in Lala Bahadoor is not singular : the Minister's orders meet with similar treatment, occasionally worse (they deserve no better), from every influential man in the State,

““I hear that Mr. Dighton wrote to the Minister about the sale of the jewels, that he would not wait longer for their redemption than the 12th February. Suraj-ool-Moolk sent his (confidential) chobdar, Fakeer Mahomed, with Dowlut Khan (son-in-law and vakeel to Boodun Khan), to Lala Bahadoor, beseeching him in God's name to arrange speedily for the relinquishment of Narian Pait and other districts, for if the jewels were sold the Nizam would take his life. Lala Bahadoor answered : “I have given my security to Abdoola bin Ali, but even this does not satisfy him ; what am I to do ? I am engaged in celebrating a marriage in my family ; orders are sent to me repeatedly to attend. Do you mean to let me celebrate the marriage or not ?” Thus it appears there is entire hopelessness of redeeming the jewels.”

“Here was failure. His next resort was to Major Davidson, who of course could be of no use to him at Madras, nor, considering time and circumstances, serve his purpose by having recourse to the Governor-General.

“The windfalls to the Government by the death of Rung Row, Talib-ood-Dowla, and by Rs. 1,75,000 obtained from the debtors of Oomraogeer, have enabled the Minister to pay, or put in train of liquidation, something more than four lakhs of rupees to the Contingent. The resources of the Government have contributed nothing towards this payment, and it would appear as if there were an entire stagnation of revenue: the death of one Murden Yar Jung, by an arrangement with the presumptive heir, brings a sum of four lakhs of rupees more to the Government. If these too be paid to the Contingent, only one month's arrears will be due to it, but as the time of the realization is not fixed, I conclude the Contingent will have run into six months', at least five months' arrears before more pay is received; in the last supposed case three or two months' pay, as it may be, will be due to it, as explained in one of my former notices.”

ENGLISHMAN, *July 6, 1854*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 24th June :—

“The jewels carried from hence by Mr. Dighton to Madras, where they now are under the charge of a house of business, are again in the market for a renewal of mortgage. Three lacs of rupees are asked for as necessary for their redemption. Twelve per cent. interest will be allowed to the mortgagee, and arrangements will be made, such as shall be satisfactory to the creditor, for its regular payment. Will not your opulent persons, in the present stagnation of trade and small interest, allow some of their wealth to flow our-wards?”

ENGLISHMAN, *January 19, 1855*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 7th instant :—

“The report has just come into circulation that the Nizam accepts a nazarana of Rs. 50,000 from Ghalib-ood-Dowla, the deposed Cutwal, and reappoints him. The financial difficulties of the office are already very embarrassing, the revenues allotted for the support of it being deeply mortgaged, and His Highness has been inconsiderate in putting another charge for the supply of his private treasury upon the office.”

ENGLISHMAN, *February 14, 1855*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 1st instant :—

“The Nizam has desired Oomer ben Aooz to lend him a lac and fifty thousand rupees, to which the Arab has proffered a ready obedience. The Minister desires to prevent his master's accepting a loan from an Arab,—it will interfere with his object of reducing their lien upon the Government,—but there is no hope of his being permitted by his master to pursue steadily any line of conduct.”

ENGLISHMAN, *January 15, 1861*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 31st December 1860 :—

“The representatives of the European powers are about to submit a financial scheme to the Sultan. The intention is beneficent—no other than to save Turkey to him, about which there can be no mistake anywhere. A crisis is hanging over the Nizam's Government; its present revenues do not cover the public disbursements, and the Government is maintained by loans contracted year after year, which the personal character of the Minister enables him to obtain. The reliance of the creditors for payment has been based on their firm conviction that the Minister would omit nothing which should place him in a position to pay the debts of the Government. They have had expectations, which the Minister's opinions, all along consistent upon this point, have contributed to impress strongly upon them, that the surplus revenues of the assigned districts would be paid to the Nizam's Government on some future day, and employed to pay their debts. They have also

believed that if the pecuniary embarrassments of the Government broke it down the English Government would stand in its place and pay its debt, and Madras and Tanjore were quoted to justify their opinion.

“The prominent and immediate expectation of relief from the surplus revenues has been realized. The English Government restores to the Nizam territories yielding about eighteen lacs of Hyderabad rupees, the surplus of revenues held by it after payment of its demand. The sum would effectually assist the Minister to pay off the debt of the Government, amounting to about a crore of rupees standing at twelve per cent. per annum interest, which would gradually, from the annual decrease of interest, give relief, and finally produce a saving of twelve lacs a year to the Government. In such case the actual benefit to the Government being thirty lacs of rupees a year, or say twenty-five lacs (I have no figures to guide me), the Government would be enabled to acquit itself of all its obligations to the departments and troops, to whom it pays regularly but two-thirds of their pay, postponing the payment of the remaining third upon agreement to a future day, when its pecuniary circumstances may be improved. But there is apprehension lest the Nizam should take for his private expenditure the revenues of the districts about to be restored. It is argued that he has a right to do so; but what then becomes of his obligations? Either a pressure and embarrassment will come upon the Government, allowing it merely an almost extinct vitality, or the Government must extinguish its just debts to capitalists, the common resort of Native States in times of difficulty. It must do more: for though it will not, and cannot, disband its military establishments without paying off their arrears, as has been usual at this Court, it will cease to pay all who are not strong enough to extort payment of their just demands. The consequence of such an issue is obvious, and the Government of India must, in the terms of the Viceroy's letter of the 30th April, unavoidably be led ‘to step in to set right such serious abuses as may threaten any part of the country with anarchy and disturbance.’ It cannot be denied that anarchy and disturbance would arise from such a condition of things at the Court of Hyderabad. It may be obviated with one word, and, considering the opposite side of the question, and that its views cannot be mistaken any more than those of the European powers as respects the Sultan, there should be no obstruction to the Nizam being properly advised on the subject by the representative of the British Government. It requires no sorcerer to tell us what the advice of the friends of the present bountiful Nizam to him is and will be; their interests lie in his obtaining an accession of revenue. These are the men that will share the income with him by holding the new-made offices of the districts, or from his profuse gratuities. Their advice to the Nizam will not be nakedly and openly to consult his own self-indulgences and pleasure. It will come cloaked before him under the internal guise of his rights as Sovereign of the country, and they will not fail boldly to asseverate that the Minister, under whom this State is peaceably governed without any pecuniary demands upon it, or clamour, cannot possibly require any accession of revenue for public purposes, and that if it is to be wasted in bounties and gratuities upon the friends of either party the Nizam is the best entitled, being supreme master, to this indulgence. I do not know that the above will be the language of His Highness's advisers, but it is the out-of-door observation, and will possibly be used.

“If the British Government be acquiescent to such a disposition of the coming revenues, I do not believe that at any time when it may choose to correct the error it will raise up a war against itself; but the retrieval cannot be made without disbursing money. Extra resources must be called in to provide correction, and stringent means employed to bind the Nizam's Government to a future prescribed conduct, or to the interposition necessarily superseding the Nizam's authority, which the Viceroy has described in the 30th paragraph of his letter of the 30th April, given in your paper of 20th December, to the Indian Secretary.

“The presents from the English Government for the Nizam and his subjects are on their road to Hyderabad from Coconada. Whatsoever the British Government may be pleased to do in this matter it should be done at the outset, to preclude

the Nizam from undergoing the mortification of receding from any measure of his adoption. The debts to capitalists and to its servants being once paid, the Nizam will be at perfect liberty to dispose of the surplus as it may suit his convenience or his pleasure, and I hope to see the Nizam filling his treasury as his forefathers did, to be usefully employed, as their hoards were, in staving off the evil day when the Ministers of the State had so impoverished it that the Contingent could not be paid, which led finally to the alienation of territory under which this Government, Durbar, and people have been smarting for the last eight years."

ENGLISHMAN, *April* 13, 1861.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 2nd April :—

"We have now renewed transactions which the Minister, knowing the difficulties they would one day produce, had relinquished. The Sahookars who had made monthly advances to the Nizam's Government for its current expenses, without receiving assignments upon the country, or holding securities of any sort, in expectation that the surplus revenues of the assigned districts would on some future day pay them, have now ceased to make the advances, professing inability, from want of funds, to do so. The Nizam, notwithstanding his promise, I believe, made solemnly even to the Resident, to place the restored districts under the charge of the Minister for public use, still holds them for his privy purse, and shows no inclination to part with them. The consequence of the Sahookars' refusal to advance any more money has been, under the sanction of the Nizam, a resort to the only other capitalists capable of maintaining the Government for a time, the Arabs. These people, already too powerful as large creditors of the State, will possess predominant power, and will become formidable to the Government and the country. They will exact from the first additional military commands, and bring in a large influx of their countrymen, and they will spread over the whole country with assignments on the revenues in their hands, controlling the Government authorities and oppressing all."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *July* 10, 1879.—We learn that the Nizam's Government is again rather pressed for money. It will be recollected that a few years ago a loan on behalf of the Hyderabad State was floated on the London market through Messrs. Nicol and Co.'s agency. The amount was £500,000, and Sir Salar Jung has managed up to the present period to remit the interest of that loan regularly. The money was, however, obtained on very onerous terms, yet Sir Salar Jung brought it to Hyderabad in the shape of Indian Government securities, on which, of course, he only received a return of little more than four per cent., although at the same time he was paying in England something like seven per cent. per annum. Soon afterwards, however, the Nizam's Minister found himself compelled to borrow on the security of this paper, most of which is now held in lien by the Bank of Bengal, as security for advances made by their Hyderabad branch. But having exhausted this source Sir Salar Jung is again forced to enter the market. He is this time, however, endeavouring to obtain his requirements in India, but the credit of the State not being good in Hyderabad itself—where up to recent years the Nizam's Government always succeeded in borrowing what it wanted—His Excellency is compelled to employ brokers in Bombay. A crore of rupees is asked for, and negotiations are proceeding in one or two quarters to obtain that sum. This policy of the Nizam's Government is, it may be remarked, rather unusual. It is well known that the Indian Government, sooner than see the State in financial difficulties, will advance any reasonable sum on far more easy terms than can be obtained in the open market, where Sir Salar Jung will at least have to pay from ten to twelve per cent., if even he can get the money. The Minister's policy is therefore somewhat inexplicable, for he steadily refuses to be beholden to the "Paramount Power" in any financial respect whatever—a course which, if persisted in, may not improbably, sooner or later, land his State in grave financial embarrassment.

Extract from the "History of the Indian Administration of LORD ELLENBOROUGH" in his correspondence with the DUKE OF WELLINGTON. Letter dated Barrackpore, August 13, 1843, page 90 :—

"The financial difficulties of the Nizam's Government have led to the resignation of the old minister, and their tendency is to place the whole of His Highness's dominions for a series of years, if not permanently, under British administration, in consideration of a loan of a million, which must be advanced for the payment of the troops and of debts to bankers and others. The decision of the Nizam upon the several propositions submitted to His Highness will be known in a few days. Lord Ellenborough could have desired that this crisis should have been postponed, for the Government of India having ten millions in its treasuries, and the five per cent. stock being at a premium of six per cent., measures might have been perhaps adopted, and were already in contemplation, for reducing the interest of the five per cent. debt. These measures must now be delayed.

"At Gwalior, the chief of the successful faction which lately expelled the regent, whose appointment had been sanctioned by the British Government, has apparently strengthened himself by paying the arrears of pay due to the troops, and by compelling the retirement, not unattended by violence on the part of the soldiers, of almost all the European and half-blood officers in the service of the State. He has replaced, in situations from which they had been removed by the late Maharajah, on the representation of the British Resident, many persons notorious for their hostility to British interests, and for their connection with plunderers upon our frontier. The example of a successful defiance of British Government at Gwalior has led the weak Holkar to pay less attention to our expressed wishes. Disturbances are expected on the borders of Berar, and it is hardly possible that the vicinity of the ungoverned districts belonging to the Gwalior State should not lead to much disposition to plunder along our frontier and that of our allies.

"The new minister at Gwalior appears to exercise a very strict control over the conduct and persons of the widow of the late Maharajah and of the present minor sovereign. He avows that the reports of Lord Ellenborough's approaching return to England and the certainty of the retirement (from ill-health) of Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland and of Mr. Clerk from the North-West Provinces, lead him to think that 'he shall have all his own way.'

"Under these circumstances, the members of the Indian Government have unanimously decided upon the formation of an army at Agra (of about 12,000 men besides artillery), which will be commanded by Sir Hugh Gough; and other measures are in contemplation for the purpose of enabling the Government to concentrate a much larger force. Lord Ellenborough, however, believes that it will not be necessary to move a man beyond the frontier.

"Your Majesty will readily perceive that the continued existence of a hostile Government at Gwalior would be inconsistent with the continuance of our permanent influence in India, by which alone its peace is preserved. It would be inconsistent with the character of our Government in a country wherein, more than any other, character is strength. Its result would be, at no distant time, a combination against us of chiefs and princes impatient of all restraint, and humiliated by our supremacy as now exhibited to them. Lord Ellenborough is fully sensible of all these things; but he is most anxious to place things in their former position by management and not by actual force, and in this he trusts he may succeed; but it is obvious that the expectation of his return to England must materially impair all his efforts in this direction.

"Affairs in the Punjab and in Nepaul remain in the same state.

"Everywhere there is a prospect of abundant harvests, not in the British territory alone, but in the whole country between the Indus and the Ganges.

"One measure for the freedom of internal trade upon the North-Western frontier has been already passed. Other measures are in contemplation, and will be soon carried into effect, for the abolition of the transit duties at Madras and of the town duties at Bombay. Compensation for the loss of revenue by these

several measures will be found in an increase of the tax on salt. The changes recently made in the distribution of business between the secretaries at Calcutta have been successful in greatly facilitating its transaction.

“There is at present tranquillity in Saugor and Bundelcund ; but disturbances in the adjoining districts belonging to Gwalior would defeat all the prospects we are now justified in entertaining, that the recent change of officers engaged in the administration will produce permanent improvement in the disposition and conduct and condition of the people.”

Extract from the “History of the Indian Administration of LORD ELLENBOROUGH” in his correspondence with the DUKE OF WELLINGTON. Letter to the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, dated Agra, April 22, 1843, page 361 :—

“The Nizam’s Government is on the brink of open bankruptcy, which, as you know, in India, means mutiny of troops for their pay. I must endeavour to stave off any crisis there till I am ready for it, which I shall not be till November in any case.

“Depend upon it, I will never, if I can possibly avoid it, have two things on my hands at a time.”

LOANS TO STATE BY THE ARABS.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

LOANS TO STATE BY THE ARABS.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *April 21, 1846.*—When writing lately on the subject of the removal of the Subsidiary Force from Hyderabad, we pointed out the ill effects produced by the impolicy of Leadenhall Street in withholding from the Nizam's Government—except under conditions so galling as to be virtually prohibitive of a request for its assistance—the wonted services of his Contingent. Subsequent accounts of what is doing at that capital have rendered still more palpable the weakness of the Sovereign, and the predominance of those Arab mercenaries into whose keeping the Company consigned him. But a few days since the two leading chiefs of their body—Abdoolla bin Ali and Oomar bin Aooz—were summoned to the Nizam's presence, and required to exert themselves for the purpose of repressing the military excesses and atrocities which so frightfully characterize the Deccan city, and which His Highness is unable either to punish or prevent. He called upon them at the same time to effect a reduction of £2 per cent. monthly in the rate of interest charged on all loans granted by the Arabs to his people, pledging himself, if that stipulation were complied with, to see the creditors paid according to the ability of their several debtors. It was added, however, that the Arabs must not henceforward make any further loans to the subjects of the State. These conditions the two chieftains undertook to enforce, provided they were empowered to deal as they thought proper with the whole body of the Arabs serving different masters, since in such case only could they procure obedience and expel bad characters from among them. This authority was accordingly bestowed by the Nizam, who rendered them supreme over all the members of their tribe in his dominions, and marked the affair by presenting to them likewise an honorary decoration. Abdoolla bin Ali and Oomar bin Aooz are therefore now the joint dictators of that licentious fraternity which has ridden roughshod over the prince and people of the Deccan, and have consequently become the practical repositories of the chief native power within the limits of that kingdom; it remains to be seen for what end they will employ their strength. This novel arrangement is said to have taken a documentary form, a declaration of their willingness to chastise criminals and to repress disorder being emitted by the chiefs. Whether or not they have made the performance of their promises conditional upon their own competence to do what the Nizam requires of them we are unable to determine. It may, however, fairly be presumed that they would engage themselves to nothing more than they possessed a full assurance of being able to accomplish, and since their power over the lawless Arab soldiery is now to all appearance enlisted on the side of discipline, we would fain hope that many enormities, which but for their corrective interference might have been added to the list of crimes already perpetrated in the Nizam's capital, will find through them effectual prevention.

But on the other hand it is to be apprehended that their supremacy may sometimes aggravate the bondage of the unhappy people of the Deccan, because, having the right of adjudication in all differences between these latter and the Arabs, they will probably give a general preference to the claims of their own tribe, and press with unjust severity on such as venture to oppose them. In the first instance perhaps they may extend their cognizance no further than to the settlement of matters wherein the Nizam's subjects hold the position of defendants, but soon or late they will assume a power of giving judgment upon cases of an opposite description: feeling their way to that license, by stretching

a point in some affair involving more than ordinary interest or excitement, and, being encouraged by the impunity which is certain to attend them, in the repetition of their successful manœuvre, until the frequent recurrence of the practice has accustomed men to look on it as an established usage. When that state of things shall have come to pass, the Nizam's subjects will find themselves awkwardly situated between the danger of oppression for the behoof of the Arabs on the one hand, and for the gratification of their own Sovereign, whose necessities the Arabs must prudentially consult, upon the other. It will prove indeed a sad day for the Deccan when the Arab, as a set-off against the justice which he may feel obliged to execute on his own people in favour of her children, metes out that rare commodity to the latter by the standard of his alien prejudices and predilections in return; nor could we find a more pregnant exemplification of the deplorable weakness to which the Government of that part of India has been reduced than is afforded us in the unquestionable fact that to expose his subjects to the hazard of such a contingency was about the least perilous alternative left in the choice of the Nizam. Even an avowal of humiliating dependance on the good offices of the Arab chieftains, and the chance of public suffering hereafter through the establishment of their despotism, are evils more to be tolerated by the paralytic executive of Hyderabad than the longer continuance of those fearful disorders and outrages which have lately made up so sanguinary a chapter in its domestic annals. Were the Nizam and the British Resident on confidential terms, or had the latter officer a power of regulation over the internal business of the State, there might no doubt be safer and more statesmanlike expedients devised to meet the present crisis; but since that sovereign looks with distrust and loathing on every proposition emanating from our representative, while the latter again is powerless to secure the acceptance of anything effectual that he devises, the mediation of the Arab chieftains with their licentious countrymen would appear to be the only trump card left in the hand of the Nizam.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *April 25, 1846.*—Late accounts from Hyderabad inform us that the Arab chiefs, whose names will be fresh in the recollection of our readers, have begun discharging the duties assigned to them by the Nizam, by citing before them certain Arabs claiming money from the son of Mogul Ali Khan, —a second cousin, if we mistake not, of His Highness the Nizam,—as also from the son of Akhbar Eear Jung, which former parties are to submit their accounts for examination and adjustment. We understand that there is reason to believe the referees desirous of conscientiously fulfilling on this occasion the trust reposed in them, and if so they may probably enough discover that no debt at all exists. Should such prove the case, their course will be a plain one, involving nothing further than the dismissal of the claim preferred; but if it should so happen on the other hand that the debt is substantiated, and to an extent surpassing the ability of those owing it to pay, we shall then learn, from the nature of the award and the means of its enforcement, how far they are bent upon executing justice and observing moderation in their capacity of umpires between the subjects of the Nizam and their own people. It may be added that the Arabs cited in the above instance are men of no note, but such as can be easily disposed of according to their chieftains' pleasure; among those chieftains are, however, several large creditors, and we feel not a little curious to ascertain how the judgment will pass when their claims fall under consideration. What we *expect* from such a dubious tribunal our readers have been already made acquainted with.

The Nizam has entered into some arrangement with Hussun-ood-Deen Khan for the payment of his debt. Of what precise nature it may be we cannot yet determine, but that the latter party considers it satisfactory is proved by the fact of his having withdrawn from the Minister's dwelling amid a discharge of matchlocks, which we may interpret as significant of triumph.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *May 12, 1846.*—The two Arab leaders, we learn from Hyderabad, have commenced their work of adjusting the pecuniary differences be-

tween their brethren and the subjects of the Soobah in an apparently zealous and equitable manner. Emam-ood-Deen Khan, a person of some name among the Nizam's people, having been put in confinement by his Arab creditor, one Baghuzooz, was subjected to the penance of being kept every other day without food. On intimation of this affair the two parties were brought—Baghuzooz compulsorily so—before the Arab chiefs, who proceeded to adjust the account between them on the principle laid down by the Nizam—that, namely, of allowing no higher interest than two per cent. per month, and confining the calculation of charges to that rate alone. The effect of this procedure was that instead of receiving Rs. 30,000, which sum he demanded from Emam-ood-Deen Khan, the Arab creditor found himself entitled only to a balance of Rs. 6,000 ! At the date of our letters from the capital the effect of the above adjudication had only been to release Emam-ood-Deen Khan from his incarceration, and to put an end to the cruel treatment which he had experienced during its continuance. He was still an exile from his own hearth, fearing lest if he went home his Arab creditor should again seize upon him and place him beyond the relieving power of the delegated chiefs.

The party in question, Baghuzooz, is a jemadar of twenty-five Arabs, who will stand by him in any struggle. Their tribe indeed are never deficient in fidelity of this description, and as serious mischief may result from their devotion to the will of their licentious masters, when resistance to the award of the two chieftains is contemplated by the latter, it would be well for the Nizam's Government, through the intervention of the Subsidiary Force if necessary, to make a severe example of a few of their number, by way of wholesome warning to the rest. Their employers also require admonition of the same kind, and we should rejoice to learn that it was practically afforded them. Emam-ood-Deen Khan's case might prove an excellent commencement if judiciously made use of. The proper course would be to send him back to his own house, and in the event of Baghuzooz or his followers attempting to molest him they should receive their *coup de grâce* at the hands of the law—if there be such a thing in the Nizam's dominions—as flagrant disturbers of the public peace. Half-a-dozen executions such as these would excite a certain amount of salutary reverence for the Deccan Government ; but then arises, the question *how* are they to be effected ? The Nizam's Government dares not attempt it without the aid of British influence, and that influence will not be given without requests and explanations to which His Highness, who detests both us and our representative, can scarcely condescend. This state of things is one of many exemplifications of that division, or rather antagonism, of interests, which British policy has created at Hyderabad. Well did Mr. Russell, in his letter to the Honourable Court of Directors formerly quoted by us, observe regarding the Deccan power :—"From a burdensome and dangerous neighbour, whom it was necessary to watch with jealousy and control with rigour I converted the Nizam into a faithful and efficient ally."

Reading submissive for "faithful" and powerless for "efficient," we have here a condensed history of what Leadenhall Street has done for the once haughty rulers of Hyderabad, and in that passage we find a key to the necessity which keeps so large a body of our troops locked up within their limits. Having cut the claws and drawn the teeth of the tiger, who kept subordinate wild beasts in check by his ferocity, we have encouraged the latter to multiply in number and bloodthirstiness, until they are too formidable to be left alone with their sometime powerless but now contemptible liege lord, whom we mulet in a sum of between fifty and sixty lakhs of rupees per annum for the preservation of those natural weapons aforesaid which we have taken from him, and pretend to maintain on his behalf—a fallacy that will not bear examination.

Among our recent proofs of the evil effect of this system we may observe that another humiliating dilemma of Raja Ram Bux is included. That Minister it appears had become bound to an Arab, Sultan Ghalib, for the payment of a lakh of rupees due from other parties who had borrowed the money. At the door of the Raja, therefore, this person took up his station, from which he would not be

dislodged otherwise than by the payment of his debt, a process peculiarly difficult to the beset functionary, who has no lakhs of rupees waiting on the call of them that dun him. Finding himself thus perplexed, Raja Ram Bux sought the aid of Abdoola bin Ali, and was eventually ridded of the Arab's importunity, but upon what conditions we are not informed. It were needless for us to point out what must be the state of a kingdom when the chief Minister is dependent for his quietness and freedom—perhaps for his life also—upon the good offices of a foreign mercenary, whose amount of control over public affairs will be of course measured only by the interest or inclination of the tribe to which he appertains. The lamentable feature of the affair is that this state of things should exist under the very noses of a body of British troops and natives British-officered sufficient to restore order and to sweep the mercenaries out of the country, but who absolutely effect nothing toward either end, because of the fatal estrangement subsisting between the Government which nominally retains them and that which they are really made to obey.

ENGLISHMAN, *February 18, 1847*.—Our correspondent states that after the Resident's interview with the Nizam mentioned in his former letter a proclamation was issued by the Minister throughout the city by beat of drum, and by being stuck up at the Arab coffee-houses, and sent to the leading Arabs, that for the future private persons are not to have Arab retainers, and that those who employ them are to disband them in two months, paying them up. Arabs not to use force towards their debtors to obtain payment of their debts, which must be referred to the Nizam's Courts of Justice, which will decide on them, allowing interest at the rate of one per cent. a month.

This order, says our informant, is not sufficiently comprehensive. It is not stated whether the debts as they now stand, with accumulated extortions, are to form the basis for the calculation of interest, or whether interest is merely to be allowed on the *bonâ fide* loan.

Our correspondent says that it is very doubtful whether the Arabs will obey the mandate, as they do not regard threats. As an instance, he mentions that Raja Ram Bux, the ex-Minister, has been placed in durance in his own house, by an Arab chief, from whom he had borrowed money on an exigency for the use of the Nizam's Government, and treated with extreme rigour at times, being allowed neither food nor water. The proclamation had been issued four days without procuring his release, and our correspondent says he does not believe it will until the creditor obtains the guarantee of some man of credit for the money. This, he says, will nullify the proclamation but save appearances, as the Minister will report the release of the prisoner of a powerful Arab chief by his order, keeping out of sight the arrangement by which it is effected. To prove the strength of the Government, the chief, who sets the law at defiance, ought to be punished; if this be not done, it may be inferred that little improvement has yet been effected.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *April 8, 1847*.—Raja Gyan Chund, a man of note and kinsman to the late Chundoo Lal, is suffering confinement in his house by means of an Arab creditor, who claims Rs. 10,000 from him. The Raja, however, acknowledges a sum of no more than Rs. 2,500. His son fortunately escaped from durance, and has taken refuge with Suraj-ool-Moolk, at whose hands he naturally seeks redress for his father, but without profit, about fifteen days' solicitation having failed of engaging ministerial interference. In fact the Dewan dares not make the necessary effort, because the Arabs overawe him. He can manifest vigour towards the weak and lowly, but has none for the high, from whence we infer the desire to kick against opposition is present with him, but that he will not endanger his toe—an instructive commentary upon his power, and on the practical worth of the proclamation which gained him so much praise!

He sent a message to the Nizam advising His Highness that the money destined for the satisfaction of the soldiers who had seized Moonjee Nago Rao as aforesaid should not be directly distributed among them, but given for that purpose

to Suraj-ool-Moolk. The Nizam's answer was more truthful than gracious. "What merit," asked he, "have you got in this business! I have paid the money out of my private treasury. If you desire to settle with them, pay the men out of the public finances and send me back my coin!" A rejoinder to this would not have been easily made, and the Minister seems therefore to have avoided attempting one.

The Cutwal of Hyderabad has received instructions to augment his police force, by raising one or two thousand men, but beyond enhancing the expense of the establishment, we doubt whether this levy will produce much effect. Little service has been rendered by the body of 3,500 men under his control, already in existence. It seems, however, that an enlargement of their number will benefit the Cutwal, who is an ally of the Minister, and this may have suggested the measure.

Raja Ram Bux has paid Rs. 50,000 to his Arab creditor, and the severity of the treatment experienced by him is in some degree abated.

ENGLISHMAN, *December 25, 1849.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 12th instant :—

"You can expect to hear of nothing from this place but of hungry soldiers committing tumults, extortionate creditors, when powerful, oppressing their debtors, and every body able to afford it, not depending upon the Government for their security, but protecting themselves by hiring bands of foreign soldiery.

"The first act upon the stage is that Rajesoor Rae has redeemed his promise and paid a portion of the money he had engaged to pay to the Khas Rissala. This has involved the poor fellows in a difficulty of a severer nature than they were before suffering. The money they will receive in payment of their arrears cannot cover their debts. They desire to divide it rateably amongst their creditors, which their Arab creditors will not permit. The discussion has led to the drawing of swords, but not yet to bloodshed. A party of the leading jemadars of the Khas Rissala were yesterday at Raja Ram Bux's claiming protection and justice. The Minister of himself could give neither, but Abdoolla bin Ali, the powerful Arab chief,—a sensible man of a very fair reputation,—was sent for to arrange the dispute. The Arab creditors will not get the whole money, but they will most certainly get the lion's share.

"Boodhun Khan, a chief of note, has succeeded in procuring assignments upon the revenues for two lacs of rupees; he of course did not get it without the usual resort to dungah. The speculation is as to whether his power is sufficiently great to coerce the Talookdar, the acceptor of the assignment to pay, or whether the order will be found to be waste paper.

"The Mundozaee Pathans, about thirty in number, have placed their bedding in Raja Ram Bux's public hall of audience, and mean to abide there till they get some part of their arrears paid to them; a party of seventy Rohillas have similarly taken post at his gate to recover money due to them from a Gosaeen Beejegur, who has employed them in a fight, and a party of Linc-wallas are mutinous and have as before taken post at the Nizam's palace."

ENGLISHMAN, *February 27, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 15th instant :—

"The Minister's house is deserted. The jemadars of the Khas Rissala, who were there seeking protection from their Arab creditors, have returned to their homes in consequence of assurances from Abdoolla bin Ali and Sultan Ghalib, that their accounts with the Arabs should have fair adjustment, and be settled at no higher charge of interest than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month, and that their Arab creditors would be restricted from demanding payment of more than a rateable proportion of their debt. It is a creditable proof of Abdoolla bin Ali's character, and authority and control over these powerful foreigners, his countrymen, that his words should be received unhesitatingly as a guarantee for the performance of his engagement."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 11, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 29th ultimo :—

“The Rajah of Wunpurty, a Zemindar paying a tribute to the Government, and not rent of his lands, who had mortgaged his zemindary to the Arabs, after a trial with them in arms, fled to Hyderabad for protection. He was sent for by the Minister, consigned by him to his Moonshee Tufazil Hoossain, who delivered him over to the mercy of his Arab creditors. The part taken in this transaction by the Minister is unworthy of him ; but, what is worse, we see the system renewed in the instances of Meer Mahomed Hoossain Khan's delivery to Baz Khan, and in the present case of debtors being consigned to the tender mercies of their creditors, and such creditors as Rohillas and Arabs.”

ENGLISHMAN, *October 15, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 2nd instant :—

“The Arabs have set up a new doctrine, that they have a right of property in the persons in their debt, sufficient to preclude the Government from trying their debtors on capital charges, or under any circumstances sequestrating their property till their debt is paid. There is nothing astonishing in an Arab or any other setting up any convenient doctrine, but it is astonishing to find a Government subscribing to it. When it does so, the signs appear that the time to use the sponge is come—to efface it from the list of Governments for ever.

“Bishun Chund is charged with the murder of Appa Row ; the Government cannot arrest his person for trial, nor sequester his property, because Sultan Galib, in the capacity of his creditor, protects both, and has avowedly for that purpose placed a guard of forty Arabs over his house. The Cazee's Court, too, which sits and administer justice in other cases, refuses to try Bishun Chund till the arrears due to himself and his department are paid. It is something curious that he has not struck work altogether, and that the trial of Bishun Chund is alone proscribed by his dissatisfaction. I believe both Sultan Galib's and the Cazee's parts to be mere adjuncts to help out a scheme, and if Bishun Chund do hold districts or jagheers I cannot be far wrong in my conjecture. I do not destroy my theory by the assumption that Sultan Galib may be acting a part collusively, because unless their power was efficacious, and recognized as such, they would not be put upon acting such parts.

“Syud Fazil has been sent to the Cutwal's prison, but Abdoolla bin Ali, as his creditor, has placed six Arabs for himself and his other Arab creditors over Syud Fazil, not as custodians on the part of the Government, but to protect their right of property as existing in his person. The Cutwal remonstrated against this innovation of having armed men in his prison not acting under his orders, but expressly sent there to counteract them. His remonstrance was ineffectual.

“The Nizam ordered the confiscation of Syud Fazil's property. The Minister told him that the Arabs claimed it as creditors, and the measure has halted. It was not so when the Sahookars shut up their shops to prevent the sequestration of the estate of one of their body. The Nizam was vigorous to maintain his authority, and kept all he had picked up, but the investitures of the estate in Sahookars' hands was lost to him, not because he would not take it, but because he was deceived about it. Who shared in these balances then, and who now enjoys the residue, is a question that the Minister might ask in his capacity of man of all work.”

ENGLISHMAN, *December 25, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 12th instant :—

“The next demand of the Arabs will be to be paid the moneys they have lent to individuals on mortgage of their jageers,—in other words, lands the property of the Nizam,—and as well their other debts, however contracted. They deny the right of the Nizam to reclaim his lands without repaying them their money ; and they rest the denial of his right on the ground that the Ministers for the time being, from Chundoo Lal to Ram Bux, have all, without any exception,

sanctioned, and have, for the sake of their own pecuniary arrangements, been parties occasionally to these engagements, which the Nizam has also in several instances recognized by paying the claim of the mortgagee before resuming the mortgaged land. In default of payment they would ask to be put in possession of the debtor's person, and unfortunately the Nizam has recently given a sanction to such a claim by delivering over the person of Meer Mahomed Hoossain to Baz Khan, who claimed his right to its possession on the resumption of the lands mortgaged to him. The rights claimed by the Arabs can by no possibility be admitted; for no custom nor precedent can justify such a system of government, and I fear that the point at issue will be decided not by the pen, but by the sword. The Gordian knot in such cases is easier cut than unravelled. But one circumstance would attend a contest here which would aggravate the ordinary miseries of warfare: the Arabs occupy the city; their dislodgment must inevitably destroy a great part of the Nizam's capital, and lead to the loss of the lives of its peaceable inhabitants, women and children.

"You have been informed that Talookdars and Sahookars, mortgagees of jageers, substitute the names of Arabs for their own, to resist resumption on the part of the Government. A Sahookar was required by the Nizam to give up a jageer he had long held in mortgage; he referred the Nizam to an Arab as the actual mortgagee; the Nizam told him he lied, but the question of the resumption is still pending.

"The Nizam has peremptorily ordered Abdoolah bin Ali to withdraw the Arab guards he has placed over the house of Munjoo Mean to coerce payment of a debt. It is now four days since the mandate was issued, and it has not been yet obeyed."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 20, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 7th instant :—

"To tell you that the Arabs have again been busy putting men to death is to repeat an often-told tale. These murders and affrays originate in money dealings, and are considerably multiplied, as the Arab is now the universal capitalist, being engaged, either for himself or for another party, in almost every money transaction. No man now lends money without the protection of an Arab's name; in fact the Arabs are concerned for or against every person of note in some one of the several capacities in which their power can be useful. It is a commodity openly for sale in the market.

"The recent events have been the slaughter of six sepoy of the Line by a party of Arabs acting under the direction of Bhowanee Sing. Thirty of these sepoys were going to Bhowanee Sing's to exact payment, by such means as they possessed, (a *dunga*), of an order for ten thousand rupees, which they held from the Nizam's Government. The Arabs were sent forward to meet them, and before they had reached Bhowanee Sing's house, or had committed any overt act to justify hostility, they were fired upon by the Arabs: six men fell, the rest dispersed. This affair occurred in the city of Aurungabad. I hear the Arabs were hired by Bhowanee Sing for this special service.

"The house of Meer Bubber Ali was attacked by his Arab creditor, Sultan Ghalib. The house was carried against a few Arabs who defended it for Meer Bubber Ali. Four Arabs fell on either side, and, as usual, Meer Bubber Ali's house being situated in the city, two unconcerned persons suffered. There is something peculiarly atrocious in this attack: Meer Bubber Ali is a member of the starving Khas Rissala, who have been sitting for three or four months at the Nizam's gate, making it their petition that they would relinquish all their arrears provided the Nizam would satisfy their Arab creditors; and Sultan Ghalib might at least have refrained from violence till the result of their application likely to produce money, and to enable the Khas Rissala to discharge a portion of their debts, had been ascertained. His Highness's order to Sultan Ghalib is significant of his approbation,—upon what part of his conduct that can be made to rest His Highness can alone tell,—'When you have done with him send him to me.'"

ENGLISHMAN, *July 2, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, 20th ultimo:—

“It is said, professedly on the authority of the Resident, that when the day arrives, and the Resident proffers justice to the Arabs, there will be no outbreak, and their peaceable retirement, rather their deportation, may be reckoned upon. This opinion, proceeding from such a source, is backed by numbers ; but however numerous it may be adopted upon mere tuition it can only be considered as clamour, and cannot add a feather's weight to the higher and better authority of the Resident.

“The premises upon which the opinion rests are that did the Arabs receive justice they would render a ready submission to the commands of the Resident. It follows then that unless justice be rendered them the commands will be resisted ; and the Arabs know but one mode of resistance. The whole question turns upon this, as to what the justice may be understood to be which the one demands and the other proffers. However the Resident may have considered this subject, I question whether these backers have ever rightly understood their own proposition, or have any knowledge of the claims which the Arabs now make, and which they cannot forego without the loss of more than half the wealth they account their own. I shall advance one of their claims to show that, whilst it will be almost impossible to adjust it, it is not so destitute of validity as to be rejected *in limine*, as if it were incapable of admitting of any but one conclusion. The Arabs are mortgagees of almost every personal jagheer in the realm. The debts contracted on these mortgages are private debts, with which the Nizam's Government, whose lands are mortgaged for payment of them, has no concern. The first demand of the Resident, managing the affairs of this State, will be for the restitution of these lands, necessary both to protect the subject, whom he will then govern, and to bring the revenues of those lands to the proprietor, from whom they have been unwarrantably alienated. The Resident's argument to the Arabs will be—‘ You must look to the individuals your debtors for payment of your debts. I cannot permit the Government revenues to be appropriated to such a purpose, nor its ryots to remain any longer under subjection to your authority. The mortgagers and mortgagees have both seriously offended against the Government ; but as the Government, from the feebleness of its condition, and the anarchy which has long prevailed in it, has been compelled in appearance to tolerate these transactions, I do not punish the offenders, but I certainly will not pay the debt of one offender to another offender, his creditor, from the purse of the Government which they have aggrieved.’ The reply of the Arabs will not be wanting in validity : they will say that the usages of the days of Chundoo Lal's administration have given prescription to mortgages of this nature ; that Rajah Chundoo Lal judicially assigned jagheers in mortgage to creditors ; that such transactions becoming necessary to the Government, as Jagheerdars, without engaging in them, could not pay their nuzzuranas, they were almost invariably sanctioned. It is wrong to say that these mortgages, supported by explicit documents from Government, were tolerated to appearance ; moreover the Resident, General Fraser, had himself countenanced, if not sanctioned, these proceedings, of which the following is an instance :—Rajah Chundoo Lal having assigned the jagheer of Goolam Kuwee Khan in mortgage to one Futteh Chund, the Sahoo kar apprised the Resident of it, which was supererogatory, by an official note. The Resident did that which was equally supererogatory and unusual—he gave an authenticated copy of the Minister's official note to Futteh Chund. This was a direct countenancing of the transaction. An authenticated copy of a note apprising the Resident of a judicial arrangement existing *de facto* under the authority of formal documents was useless to Futteh Chund as a protection to his rights. It was then only so far useful as evincing that the Resident, by becoming a willing witness to the transaction, which he was not called upon in any way in the line of his duty to notice, at the least did not disapprove of it, and that with this understanding the copy was given, and that, above all, the Nizam, in the periods in which he has administered to his own affairs, has acknowledged practically the right of these mortgagees—he has

paid them to release the jagheers from mortgage. These arguments are not without force, and if the interpretation be given as above to the act of the Resident in authenticating the copy of the Minister's note I do not see how the validity of their claims is to be overruled. But if this interpretation be not considered correct, the remaining arguments will be easily disposed of by a Government authority. It will be argued that Chundoo Lal's administration was necessitous and corrupt; that the Nizam's Government has since then been too feeble to pursue any systematic course; that if the Nizam has in some instances paid the mortgagees to procure restitution of his lands, he has in others assigned the person of the debtor to the creditor as an equivalent for the mortgage, and in numerous instances he has resumed the jagheers without making any compensation to the mortgagee; and that as no precedent can be taken from the acts of the Government in a state of anarchy, he will resort to the first principles of equity, and view the subject nakedly, divested of all collateral circumstances, and be guided by it in his decision. The Arabs are no logicians, and the subject admits of a great deal being said on either side of the question. The Arabs will view it as people ordinarily view a question in which their interests are involved. To talk of their acquiescence to a proffer of justice when the substance will be wanting to them is rather absurd.

"The result depends upon two points: have the Arabs pluck enough to try an issue at arms with us? I think they have. The other is that their chiefs may be satisfied with a composition; but if the British Government do them more than justice if they compound, they make concession, and the Arabs gain a triumph. But that a composition will be made to save the effusion of blood (*vide* Nagpoor) and the sacking and destruction of the Nizam's capital is more than probable, it will be both politic and humane; but then if it be to be so, away with the idle talk about justice. You might as well talk of the good sense of the Arabs instructing them that unless they mean to drive the English out of India, they must in the end be the losing party. Neither this nor any other rule of good sense will direct them. Whenever they act, they will act subserviently to their passions."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 3, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 19th September:—

"It was said that Suraj-ool-Moolk had proposed certain terms to the Arabs, to the observance of which he meant to bind them. These were, that they should give in a schedule of their pecuniary claims on the subjects of the Nizam, which he would submit for adjudication to the Nizam's Courts, to which for the future the Arabs should be held amenable; that they would no longer be permitted to be moneylenders and the brokers of the country, nor be allowed to take service with private individuals in any capacity, but that in consideration of the last condition imposed upon them, which was calculated to throw a number of their tribe out of bread, he was willing to receive on the pay establishment of the Government all the real Arabs that might be displaced by his order; but to provide for these he would dismiss the half-castes which were now banded with the Arabs, and make a reduction in the rate of pay given to the Arabs. The measure is not ill devised, and the undertaking I expect to see justified by its results. Four of the principal Arab chiefs holding commands from the Government profess their readiness to accept the terms, but certain chiefs and subordinate officers of the body are recusants, and threaten those of opposite views with a combination of the whole of the soldiery. Abdoola bin Ali submitted to the Government to draw up a document comprising its orders, for the subscription of the Arab Chiefs. To the Minister's reply—altogether proper to the occasion if it be borne out by the results—that he made no conditions with them, but gave his orders and expected obedience, it was observed by an Arab present that the document was proposed merely to test the opinions of different parties. The document has not been sent forth, and the suggestion of the Arab has probably not been accepted; but, whether conditions be made, or commands be issued, results can alone test the working of this or any other project; it is a new thing to command the Arab, but, as yet, the Minister's prestige operates with full effect, and the tamed Arab is as yet quiescent."

ENGLISHMAN, *November 21, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 7th instant :—

“Moulvee Ahmad's Court, which acted with much vigour for a time, doing much good, is now become almost a nullity. The Arab chiefs who supported his authority are disappointed that his dispensations from the bench do not favour them and their especial partizans. They are still more disappointed that the awards in matters of debt given in favour of Arab, are not compulsorily enforced by the Court. This is the clamour of the Arab creditors, too general not to force their chiefs into some sort of subjection to its influence. The chiefs obviously act under some restraint, for they cannot satisfy the Arab whose complaint is that he does not obtain redress from the Court, and they restrain his hand. The Court in these matters is also in a difficulty. It cannot get money from the insolvent, impoverished debtor, and it can inflict no penalty upon him whose impoverishment is occasioned by the injustice of others ; the Court temporizes. To enable the Courts to do justice, the Government must be put in order. The effect, however, of the representations made to the Nizam by the Resident, and the impression still remaining from the vigour with which the Court acted in its early career, has been to diminish, I would say, very considerably the atrocities and cruelties of former days.”

ARREARS OF PAY.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

ARREARS OF PAY.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *November 19, 1847.*—The soldiery are still clamorous and unruly, because still unpaid. About 300 Seikhs assembled on the 11th instant at the palace of the Dewan, with a view of importuning for their arrears of pay. Kummur-ood-Deen Khan also, whose arrangement with Suraj-ool-Moolk we mentioned in our last issue, having had acceptance refused to the orders given him by that personage, took post at his residence again, with about twenty-five Pytan retainers. His uncle, Hussan Khan Mundozaee, was employed on his part to negotiate with the Minister, and went the length of assuring the latter, on being questioned as to why he interfered, that he and others would shed the last drop of their blood if necessary for Kummur-ood-Deen Khan. The affair was temporarily adjusted after a time, by the fixing of some day on which payment should take place; the 15th of the moon is the date spoken of, so that Suraj-ool-Moolk had not many days of grace.

Among the Rohillas likewise discontent prevails. They were for a time favoured with a daily allowance, but this declined into a monthly, and they are now three months in arrears.

Captain Boardman's levies for the Body Guard of the Minister are no better off. About a thousand men were recruited by him five months ago, and yet only four rupees per head have yet reached them from Government, of which sum two each were paid a few days since. We presume that they will have to subsist as they best may on this magnificent amount of two rupees for another four or five months. Tardy payments like the foregoing were of less consequence once, because the Bunnias and Sahookars relied upon the coming of a day of account, and although the debtor paid smartly for their accommodation they kept him supplied until that time. At present, however, the distrust is so general as to have occasioned a sad interruption of credit. Hence the aggravated distress of the unpaid mercenaries. The Sahookars also complain of the arrest of business, and even exchange transactions would seem to have become stagnated among the rest, for parties especially interested in them join the cry. We should like to know whether General Fraser opens his eyes and ears to these evidences of the failure of his favorite's administration, or whether he looks solely to the official communications of Suraj-ool-Moolk. If the latter, he must be terribly abroad, for they are not such as can acquaint him with the general distress and discontent. Parties fear to approach the Residency with direct representations, but their voices are loud beyond its doors, and the dweller therein would do well to pay attention to them.

ENGLISHMAN, *November 24, 1847.*—We have letters from Hyderabad to the 11th instant, from which we take the following as the latest particulars. We have a good many more details which will find a place to-morrow. Our correspondents say :—“ The recent occurrences are that Kummur-ood-Deen Khan took post at the Minister's, supported by two Pathan chiefs of note, and declared his intention of not moving till his debt of sixteen lakhs of rupees was paid. This creditor is powerful, and a settlement with him is said to have been effected in the following manner. The Minister undertook to discharge his liabilities for six lakhs of rupees to the following persons :—To Nuseeb Khan, Rs. 2,00,000 ; to Gosains, Rs. 2,00,000 ; to Terbhumun Das, Rs. 2,00,000 ; and paid the remainder by orders on his Talookdars, viz., on Raja Shumboo Persaud, Rs. 6,00,000 ; on Sher Afghan Jung,

Rs. 2,00,000 ; payment deferred, Rs. 2,00,000. A few days after this peremptory demand for payment by Kummur-ood-Deen Khan, Sultan Ghalib, an Arab chief, possessed himself of a part of the Minister's palace, at the head of four hundred Arabs, and was going to proceed to the length of shutting the gates and preventing ingress and egress, when he was prevailed upon to relinquish his intention, and only persuaded to retire after having been eight hours at the Minister's, on Abdoolla bin Ali, the principal Arab chief, becoming security for the payment of his demand in two months.

" It is everywhere a protraction of the evil day, but Sultan Ghalib's position is improved, for Abdoolla bin Ali has a national character at stake, and will either see Sultan Ghalib paid or will back him with the whole weight of his power. A year has just elapsed since Suraj-ool-Moolk succeeded to office. In this time we have seen what is here called *Dunga* and *Dherna* put into execution against Suraj-ool-Moolk by almost every class of the Nizam's servants. The Nizam himself has been almost incessant in urgent importunities to procure for his family payment of their pensions.

" The Nizam's Chobdars have sat at Suraj-ool-Moolk's gate for their arrears.

" The Furashees and other parts of his private establishment ditto.

" His elephant drivers ditto.

" His cart drivers ditto.

" Among the public establishment, we have had mutinies among Munsubdars, Seikhs, Line-wallas, Arabs, Pathans, Aligholes,—a part of the Khas Rissala,—besides innumerable individuals. Lala Bahadoor has remonstrated about the money for which he is made responsible to Sahookars ; Raja Toolja Persaud, the Nizam's Treasurer, has been importunate for his money ; and the Sahookars have complained of broken faith ; and, though last, not least, Mr. Dighton was obliged to resort to personally dunning the Minister for his demand of Rs. 3,30,000. Of the innumerable reforms which Suraj-ool-Moolk undertook we do not hear of one being carried out, but know positively of the infraction of several of his engagements. He engaged to take no nuzzeranas and to abolish the system. He asked for a nuzzerana of a lakh from Ismael Khan, of which he has received forty thousand rupees. The fact has been ascertained. He is of course cautious in receiving nuzzeranas after the pledge given to the Resident. But if he has received one which is known, how many may he not have received from parties who conceal the fact ? If he has received one, it affords proof that neither his duty towards his Government, nor his pledge to General Fraser, opposes any obstacle to his wishes, which if not more indulged is only a proof of his fears of his patron, the Resident—the only man in the State who upholds him.

" Mr. Dighton obtained an order yesterday for three lakhs of rupees on Raja Shumboo Persaud, which is accepted ; so that you will see that under this vigorous Government the only persons who get paid are the powerful Kummur-ood-Deen Khan, a Pathan chief ; Sultan Ghalib, an Arab chief ; and Mr. Dighton, with English influence. These people were not starving, as others are. It is only to be hoped that people having claims on those parties may obtain justice as easily ; that remains to be seen ; it is about to be put to the test."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 27, 1847*.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad of the 13th instant :—

" About seven hundred Seikhs assembled at the Minister's on Sunday last for their arrears. Their persistence procured for them an immediate payment of thirty thousand rupees, and a promise that the remainder of their dues would be paid after the ceremonies of the Mohurram. Kummur-ood-Deen Khan was there also importuning for his money. Some sort of satisfaction was rendered him. It is said he has received an order on certain Sahookars for two lakhs of rupees, which he is desired not to present for acceptance till after the Mohurram. He understands it to be waste paper ; he could not put the indignity upon the Minister to refuse it, whose purpose is so far effected that he gains about fifteen days by it."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 12, 1848.*—We have letters from Hyderabad to the 30th ultimo, of which the following is an extract :—

"I have just heard authentically that on the 23rd instant the Patans, known here by the designation of their sect as Munderees, solicited from the Minister their pay and their discharge, on the ground that they could no longer hold out against extremest poverty. The Minister promised to settle with them on this day (of course the settlement is deferred), and they accepted his promise with reluctance, declaring that from actual want and penury they could no longer submit to evasion."

ENGLISHMAN, *February 29, 1848.*—The following is from Hyderabad, 13th instant :—

"Since Wednesday, the 9th instant, a party of the Munderee Afghans (Munderees), about 100 in number, assemble and remain at the Minister's, ordinarily till 11 P.M., demanding their arrears. The Minister requires their Sheristadar to come down with two lacs and fifteen thousand rupees to enable him to pay a portion of the arrears, and as a sort of make-weight recompense for this gratuity offers him the district of Gandapore. The Sheristadar, who else would lose his situation, and instead of this would have his whole property confiscated, has complied, but stipulates to receive his sunud before paying the money. The Minister, as a proof of his sincerity, which the other party does not seem to value, has sent the formal written authority to the regular office under his seal to have the sunuds prepared, and they are prepared, but the question hangs upon this, as to whether the sunud is to be first signed or the money paid. Suraj-ool-Moolk insists upon the last, and the other must give in, and pay the money, understood to be an advance for the revenues of the coming year '58, whilst the arrears to be paid to the Munderees belong to the year '55. Their arrears for the whole of '56 and '57, the current year, will still remain unpaid, although the revenues for the succeeding year will be anticipated to pay the arrear due for the year before last. This is the condition of the Government."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 1, 1848.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 15th ultimo :—

"The Judge recently appointed to Pureinda, in conformity to an arrangement with the Resident that Judges should be appointed to districts, writes to the Minister that (*posse comitatus*) the troops given him to enforce his orders will do no work for want of their pay, that his time is amply occupied in pacifying them, and his office quite useless. Here the arrangement made with the Resident is seemingly carried out, that a report be made upon it to the Supreme Government; but it would have been better to have left it alone: it is inefficacious as to the purpose for which it was adopted, and entails a useless expense."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 6, 1848.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 19th ultimo :—

"Captain Boardman's battalion, after a nine days' restoration, was again disbanded for the third and, I believe, last time. The nine days' pay is denied them, and their nine days' service goes for nothing. Some of the men and officers have claims against Captain Boardman, which he could discharge did the Minister give him his pay, but the Minister very characteristically has desired that these creditors of Captain Boardman should be referred to him for payment. I question whether they will like this guarantee, although as a *pis aller* it evades for a time paying Captain Boardman; and the probability is it may be so much gained to the exchequer by not being paid at all."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 5, 1848.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, of the 20th ultimo :—

"I give you some information in detail in confirmation of what I have written to you. The son of Moulvee Kuramut Ali, the head of the City

Foujdaree Adalut, Moulvee Abdool Azeez, was appointed Judge of Raichore. He came to blows with the Talookdar of that place, Mirwur Jung, for his pay, and has since quitted his office and returned to Hyderabad, refusing to return to his duties until his pay be secured to him.

"The nephew of Moulvee Kuramut Ali, Hydaet Ali, also appointed Judge of a district, petitions the Minister repeatedly through his uncle to obtain some means of subsistence, and, according to usage here, meets with constant promises and as constant evasions."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 10, 1848*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 24th ultimo :—

"One of those events occurred here a few days ago which we have been long expecting. A father and son, soldiers in the Khas Rissala, who were starving, and whose applications for their arrears had gone through all the grades of deception usual to the Minister, and through the last,—that of having false orders given them,—at last, with their daggers drawn, seized upon Birdhee Lal, a confidential employé of Suraj-ool-Moolk, albeit in his private life a most respectable man, whom the Minister had employed as the channel of the deceptions he had practised towards them, to compel payment of the arrears which had been promised them. These people meant to intimidate to obtain their rights, in the absence of all others, by these means, but not to assassinate Birdhee Lal. In the confusion a struggle ensued, Birdhee Lal was not struck, but having seized upon the haft of the weapon his hand has been severely cut; he will in all probability lose the use of it. The Minister designed punishing the parties, but he has been advised to forego his intention, lest he should excite a general commotion in the Khas Rissala. When the Nizam was informed of the affair, he observed pithily enough that had the men been paid Birdhee Lal would not have been molested. The father and son have the sympathy of all the people in common with that of the Nizam. Where the Government ceases to do justice, the resort in every individual case of oppression must be, as it is here (we have recently had a similar scene, that is, some two years ago, at Lucknow), to the sword, and the right of so protecting one's just interest is admitted by the Minister's refraining from punishing them, in subordination to general opinion, and in the fact that though instances of such conduct have been frequent, and though the parties may have been killed in the *mêlée* which was caused in consequence of it, as in Suraj-ool-Moolk's house, where six or seven of his creditors who had made him a prisoner were killed by his partizan Arabs, there is no one instance of a person being punished for it afterwards, either by the law or the arbitrary authority of the Government. The case here literally is that one's sword must protect one's head,—indeed, one's pockets,—as well from the Government as the banditti. Suraj-ool-Moolk is said, unlike the Ministers his predecessors, who admitted everybody to their presence, from Meer Allum to Raja Ram Bux, to be rather cautious of his visitors, and the impression is abroad that he apprehends that there would be danger in admitting people promiscuously. There is no avoidance on the score of personal dignity, for there is no writer at the Residency whom Suraj-ool-Moolk would not indulge by his companionship and a seat at his board—*à propos*, Suraj-ool-Moolk, to profess English manners, dines off a table. The approach is easy and pleasurable.

"Birdhee Lal has resigned his situations, which are important and lucrative. He was right to do so; he cannot stand between the Minister and other parties, supporting his subterfuges, without incurring similar risk. It was the immediate consequence of his position, and if it be to be called accident, that accident; there is every probability, will occur again. But in all probability, when the naked daggers cease to haunt his day and night dreams, he will be prevailed upon to return to the profitable avocations he has just quitted; his resignation is quoted upon his own authority."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 21, 1848*.—We continue our extracts from our Hyderabad letters :—

"I have before described to you that this Minister, who is understood as

designing to promote the good of the country, had, as a part of his system towards it, established four central Courts of Justice; nothing was defined in regard to them. I believe they were intended to be Courts of Appellate Jurisdiction. We all know that it is necessary justice should be provided for a country, and Judges to administer it. The Minister could not have been slow to understand so much, but an essential ingredient was kept out of account—the payment of the salaries of his Judges and their departments. The scale has been worse than a blank—one of the Judges came (I believe I am not mistaken) to fisticuffs with his paymaster; another writes that he cannot get his salaries, for want of their pay, to do their duty. The Judge of the City Criminal Court, if he speaks truth, is two years in arrears; notwithstanding he is so much regarded by the Resident as to have given his sentence regarding certain dacoits at the Resident's house in consultation with the Resident, who compared the Company's code of regulations with his *futwa*. Similarly a Captain Boardman was desired to levy a thousand foot soldiers; they were embodied for nine months, during which period they received one month's pay, and at the end of that time, when they were dismissed, five months more. This also was so much money thrown away uselessly. The men were not armed within that period, though a band to illustrate a body of regulars was got up."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *January 3, 1849*.—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 26th ultimo:—

"The Nizam has engaged to pay seventeen lacs of rupees every four months to the Resident to meet the accruing pay of the Contingent, and to discharge part of the balance due to the Company's Government. A requisition has been made to the Talookdars to advance this money on account of the revenues of the coming year. The Talookdars are rich beyond computation, and beyond any right they have to be so. They are in the hands, too, of the Dufturdar, who dares not at the outset, whilst the impulses of His Highness's mind are strong in any direction, refuse compliance with any demand, and it has been arranged amongst themselves that the seventeen lacs of rupees now demanded should be paid. But the succeeding four months will bring a similar demand, and so on. Whence are all the demands to be answered? It is said that the Nizam will not permit to himself any breach of his engagement to the Resident, and will pay from his private treasury, which is not now overflowing. But that, too, must have an end, and all other resources, if there be not retrenchment, an ample retrenchment.

"An order to the Talookdars to pay is no financial measure. Syf Jung should be prepared to show that he claims his own, and should point out the resources from whence the payments are to be drawn. Till he can do that, till he can pay without anticipating revenues, the course will be just as much towards ruin as before."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 13, 1849*.—The following is the conclusion of our Hyderabad letters:—

"The poor Line-wallas are again starving. They refused to receive two months' pay from the Minister, and a promise of regular monthly payment on some reduced scale for the future, and the adjustment of their arrears when the general plan for payment of all could be carried into effect. They declined the offer, and have resorted, some thousand strong, to the Nizam's palace, where they have kept up a clatter for the last ten or fourteen days, beating some thirty or forty drums, which is their way of mutinying, to demand their arrears. It of course does not rest here, and delays and greater ferment lead to greater excesses, at times to bloodshed. The Minister has tenaciously adhered to his first offer, but has improved upon his plan, by promising to pay from his own funds the entire arrears of such of the Line-wallas as do not choose to accept his terms, and to disband them.

"He has obviated the Nizam's objection in regard to the reduction of his troops by offering to raise new levies in their stead. The Nizam then proposed to employ his own immediate dependants to muster the troops. This would have been to have preserved the old abuses of false musters,—paper troops and forged lists,—and the

Minister has peremptorily declined it. I hear the Nizam has at length yielded. The two instances of concession in regard to the Sahookars and Line-wallas should be instructive to Shums-ool-Oomra, and teach him that however the Nizam may hug his prepossessions, or be influenced by those about him, for a time, he is sure to yield to better measures in the course of time, and upon importunity he can do no otherwise, for, whether it be good or evil, the Nizam can supply no succedaneum to any measure. I love his habit of benevolence. I hope it will live in his heart, and not become a matter of taste, for then it will be ill directed, and the injuries which will proceed from a bad guidance—the result of a love of popularity—will destroy even the distinctive feature of his motive.

“I hear Raja Rung Row has offered the Minister, on a payment of 2½ lacs of rupees, to give acceptances for a payment in full of ten lacs of rupees, which he claims as the arrears due to his Sherista, that is, to troops paid through him. The Minister said he would prefer examining his accounts to accepting the composition. Following this, the Minister asked one of the persons serving under Rung Row what his salary was? The person said, Do you desire to know what the Government pays, or what I receive? The Minister's pleasure was to be informed of both, and the man said, The Government pays Rs. 150 for me, but Raja Rung Row allows me only thirty. I have three brothers, whose pay from the Government is Rs. 5 a month, but they receive seven only. *Ex uno, &c.*”

ENGLISHMAN, *July 13, 1849.*—The following is an extract of our last Hyderabad letters, reaching to the 27th ultimo :—

“Shums-ool-Oomra has adopted a system of paying two months' pay to all the departments in arrears. This system was proclaimed when the Minister had been two months in office, and was intended, the plan being to pay regularly subsequently, to mark that his administration had paid and would pay all accruing incomes. He has now been Minister four months, and I believe the two months' pay has been given to all the parties consenting to receive it, but there are yet many unpaid, and I do not hear that any provision has been made for paying the two months' arrears which have again accumulated. There is no improvement in the pending system such as can be in the smallest degree effective to meet the demand upon the Government. The ten lacs expected from Ellichpore, with such aids as the Minister will bring from his private coffers, will give for a time an appearance of relief; but without retrenchment, suppression of frauds, and reform, affairs will fall into their former course, and effectual relief be as distant as ever.

“I do not hear of so much corruption as before, but it is by no means extinct, it has changed hands. This might have been expected; vices that have prevailed are not so easily rooted out. But what is to be lamented is that it is practised with just as little concealment as before.”

ENGLISHMAN, *August 3, 1849.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 20th ultimo :—

“Meer Futteh Ali, a brother of the Nizam, with a rather numerous retinue, visited the tomb of his father, intending not to quit it till he received the arrears of his salary. He was persuaded to return home, perhaps by the exercise of a little authority in conjunction with the persuasion; he of course was promised payment on a future day. This mode of imploration would be the most effectual that could be used, provided the higher power was attached to the memory of the father, and had affection for his brother; but this is seldom found in the higher native families. The separate establishment provided for them from their boyhood, their dependence for their amusement upon their own servants, a total want of companionship with each other, the forms of respect in which the younger is brought up towards the elder, the disparity of their positions formed by the father, all tend to harbour jealousy and dislike, which could never be eradicated, although the motive existed which never does exist in the parties towards a mutual reconciliation and sympathy in affection. In after-life they never are associates but on occasions of ceremony.”

ENGLISHMAN, *September 25, 1849.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 5th instant :—

“Disorders begin to be reported. Boodhun Khan, a powerful Pathan chief, detained Raja Rung Row within the precincts of the palace, as he was proceeding to the presence, to demand his arrears. It is believed to have been done collusively. Boodhun Khan, I apprehend, stands very much in the position of Kummur-ood-Deen Khan, whose accounts, giving a balance in his favour for twelve lacs of rupees, Suraj-ool-Moolk had signed without examination—whether in a sober moment or otherwise, as in the case of his contract with Ismail Khan of Ellichpore, is not known. These accounts were afterwards submitted to an examination by His Highness in a Court fairly constituted, some Pathan chiefs forming part of the Court, and the account gave a balance either for or against Kummur-ood-Deen Khan, I forget which, of Rs. 54,000.

“The Munsubdars, the body that compose the Durbar, a very ill-used and poverty-stricken race, have obtained the Nizam’s sanction to a small part of them, the poorest of their class, being paid their entire arrears in consideration of their giving up one-third. The condition was rejected by but one man amongst them, who said he was too poor to make the smallest pecuniary sacrifice. The Sheristadar, Tez Rae, reported this to His Highness, who desired the party to be paid in full and discharged, and that full pay should be given to all with their dismissal who did not choose to submit to the retrenchment. His Highness will hear with some surprise that several of these men, who draw a salary and do nothing for it, have requested to have their full pay and their discharge.

“Will His Highness not perceive that the pittance which he desires to withhold from them is considered by them as more than equivalent to their prospects of being paid in future? will not this picture to him the distrust which prevails, and the unpopularity into which his Government and his person are falling? The Munsubdars are peculiarly the Nizam’s own; they are the gentry of the country, and would be considered the middling classes if they could only get paid and were not poor and starving.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *September 28, 1849.*—We hear from Hyderabad that a paper had been affixed to some part of the Residency, purporting to have emanated from the Princes of the Nizam’s family, in which it was stated that General Fraser drained the treasury (for the Contingent, we presume), that they were left starving, and without hope for the future, and that twenty-eight persons had been employed to assassinate him. This report reached our correspondent through two distinct channels, but as it appeared to have made no noise in the city he knew not what credence should be attached to it. The occurrence is, however, probable enough, as the public voice does attribute, and with much justice too, the exhaustion of the Nizam’s exchequer to that military vampire which British treaties have saddled upon him. As for any serious design against General Fraser, it need not be apprehended, nor do we suppose that the Royal family were privy to the insult, even if it took place.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 15, 1849.*—The following is from our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated the 5th instant :—

“The day before yesterday there was a scene which I expect commonly to see now. The Punnee Afghans constrained their Sheristadars to accompany them to Raja Ram Bux’s, to assist them in recovering their arrears. They remained at the Minister’s till eight at night, when they accepted the assurances that were made them of a speedy settlement. It would be ridiculous to believe that they gave any credit to the promises. They retired having made a first demonstration, and left the impression that it was an earnest of others that would follow for such good results as it might produce. Personal timidity has been ascribed to Raja Ram Bux, I do not know on what grounds; he has certainly exhibited more than ordinary courage in taking office under the circumstances which are said peculiarly to affect him. But although he purposely refrained from coming into his hall of

reception on the day of the mutiny, he adopted no extra precaution to secure himself against danger."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 29, 1849.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad :—

"12th.—The morning's report announces that the jemadars of the Pytans contemplate combining together and standing by each other in applications to the Government for their pay.

"The evening's report announces that the Line is going to mutiny immediately. It must come to that; the report has only the advantage of fixing a period.

"15th.—On the 13th the officers of the Line-wallas went in a body to Raja Ram Bux to demand their pay; only one man was admitted, and assurances, the strongest that language can give, were made that their pay should be given them after the Dewallee (this day). This is the commencement of the mutiny.

"On the 14th Raja Ram Bux prohibited the promiscuous assemblage, as ordinarily, of people at his house. He lives amidst tumult, he can have but little time to bestow on the affairs of State.

"I have just heard that yesterday, the 14th, Abdoola bin Ali and Oomar bin Aooz, after a consultation with the smaller Arab chiefs, waited upon the Minister to apprise him that the annual deficits in the pay of the Arabs had accumulated to five lacs of rupees, and that an adjustment of their accounts was indispensable. The Minister professed inability to act in anything, but desired them to accompany him to the Nizam (which certain Pytan chiefs did also unbidden), to whom their case would be submitted. The Nizam told his Minister he would not see him until he brought money."

ENGLISHMAN, *November 8, 1849.*—The following are extracts of letters from Hyderabad to the 25th ultimo :—

"The thing of all-absorbing interest amongst all but those who rule or influence is the default to pay the Contingent. The prescribed mode of payment is to give bills on the 15th of every month with punctuality for Rs. 2,25,000 or so to pay the Contingent stationed in the country, and Rs. 1,09,000 in cash on the 1st of every month for the troops of the Contingent stationed in the vicinity of Hyderabad. No money has been paid for the month of September, falling due on the 1st of October, nor have any bills due on the 15th instant been yet received. The primary object must necessarily be that these troops are paid regularly. The Company's Government, demanding payment of its debt, has enjoined the Resident to lend no more money to the Nizam, but to use *all his efforts* to obtain payment from the Nizam's Government. All his efforts, which are in every position and in this ought to be peculiarly powerful, have failed. The money due on the 1st October was paid from his treasury; arrangements for the bills due on the 15th will follow the same course.

"The system of regular payments from the Nizam's Government is broken, and there is nothing to rely upon that it shall not be so for the future if dependent upon that Government. The Company's Government do not desire to lend more money; the Nizam does not pay; the Contingent can't starve. What is to be the result? The thinking part of the community are anxious; the governing part of it engaged in intrigues for private objects, and vilely fishing up money out of the dirtiest sewers, all at the expense of Government. The administration either does not know its danger or does not know how to avert it."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 25, 1849.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 12th instant :—

"The Minister has not succeeded in providing money for the pay of the Contingent, which falls due on the 15th instant. Of the eight lacs which the Nizam had paid to the Resident, especially in part discharge of his debt of fifty-four lacs

to the Company's Government, five have been already absorbed by the unpaid arrears of the Contingent. The arrears for the last month will nearly extinguish this fund; and the succeeding month, or a very little later, will probably open a negotiation on the part of the Company's Government for securing regularity in the payment of the Contingent.

"If territory be assigned, I hope we shall have the apparatus of European functionaries, Company's servants to preside over the management, for whether the territories are to be held permanently or temporarily the appointment of collectors by the Supreme Government will alone do justice to either Government. A local appointment will be to set up a lordling over the Nizam's Government. The known favoured man of the English functionary may revel in entire absolutism, for there will be nobody sufficiently daring to complain of his excesses; and as the Resident will share in the responsibility of his appointment, the bias will naturally be to favour all his acts. A Government appointment will fix a just equilibrium; the servant of the Company's Government will be responsible to it for his acts, and the Resident will protect the interests of the Nizam's Government. He will hear of the wrongs committed in this case which he would not do if his nominee held the office."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 30, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 19th instant:—

"The reliefs of the Contingent take place this year. This force is kept two months in arrears, which are paid up when the reliefs take place, to enable those relieved to adjust their accounts at their stations, and to provide for the extra expenses of their march. The payment of these arrears will amount to near six lacs of rupees, which the Nizam is unable at the present moment to discharge. It is just possible that payment of the debt to the Company is not exacted now to enable the Resident to bring the whole amount of disbursements under one head, which is absolutely necessary if country be taken in lieu of a money payment, with a view to so settling the accounts as to leave no balance for future discussion."

ENGLISHMAN, *April 17, 1851*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 5th instant:—

"A party of Munsubdars, two or three hundred, have submitted to the Nizam, through the Urz-Begee, that they have received only six months' pay since the retirement of Rajah Chundoo Lal from office, that they are starving and can bear it no longer. They solicit, if it so please His Highness, to be paid and discharged—at all events to receive a final answer, that they may beg their bread. His Highness's answer to the Urz-Begee was, and this was all, that the new and old Munsubdars should be kept separate. One poor wretch of this body, after intreating every man in a place of power to save him from starvation, at length begged Lalla Bahadoor to give him one rupee to afford relief to his immediate sufferings; he did not obtain it, and went home and shot himself.

"A part of the Line-wallahs that mutinied have been ordered to be paid up and disbanded. The Nizam has produced from his hoards 15,000 sequins, equivalent to about a lac of rupees, which he has desired should be paid to the Khas Rissalah (a body of superior horsemen), and has enjoined them not to ask any further payment till a Minister be appointed. As this sum will go but a small way for their maintenance, it might be expected that a Minister will be shortly appointed. But as His Highness is not given to calculation of any sort it might be that this was merely an expression of his desire not to be molested."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *March 3, 1852*.—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated the 24th ultimo:—

"I hear that a large body of the disaffected Seikhs have assembled in the camp of the Nizam, who is now on a pleasure excursion in the country. They have not assumed a threatening aspect, nor will they: the Arabs are too much for them. The Nizam desired his Minister to satisfy them, as if the public treasury was teeming with wealth.

"26th.—Events foreboding disaster are thicker around us. I have told you that the Seikhs had assembled in large numbers in the Nizam's camp, they are said by everybody to be 700 strong ; they have gone to the camp to supplicate, and they have congregated in large numbers to give weight to their supplication, but there is always something to apprehend from having masses congregated together to seek for redress ; and here we have no idea of what is called constitutional means. About three hundred of these made their way to the Cotwal's Choultry of the village of Sooranugger, within 50 yards of the house occupied by the Nizam : they went there to supplicate, but an event terminates not unfrequently in a manner different from the design with which an affair may be undertaken. They appear as suppliants, but the propinquity of armed suppliants was inconvenient, and Talib-ood-Dowla was deputed by the Minister to offer them one month's pay as a small immediate relief to their indigence, under promise to pay them their arrears after mustering them ; the terms were accepted.

"The Seikhs are now on advantageous ground in the country : the muster will be made to occupy at least about two months, and the respective parties being by that time restored to their original position—in the Court within the walls of the city, and the Seikhs outside—evasion will be practised on the one hand, and the disappointed Seikhs will resort to their habit of levying contributions on the grain merchants on the other.

"The Government has gained a two months' release from an immediate disaster : it will continue to prolong its existence by such shifts, but how long ? I was little prepared when writing the above to expect that before the day had passed I should have to tell you of the occurrence of a distressing slaughter. About 20 Pathans went to the Minister to solicit payment of their dues ; there was inattention to their demand, and the Minister prepared to go out ; the Pathans approached him, with what intention I am not informed ; the Arabs usually in attendance on Suraj-ool-Mook, about 200 in number, were ordered to attack them ; 15 of the 20 Pathans fell and 5 of the Arabs. Suraj-ool-Mook's ear was grazed by a shot. These are melancholy events : no man in the morning can reckon upon what shall befall his house before the sun sets. Starvation or violent death seems to be the alternative. I have but just time for the tappal."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 6, 1852.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, of the 23rd ultimo :—

"The Nizam is in the country ; a numerous party of Seikhs, said to be 700 strong, has congregated in his camp. These demonstrations may be harmless for the twentieth time, but there may be hazard in every one of the twenty times. We have recently had bloodshed : the mutineers, so-called, have been the sufferers ; but where there is shedding of blood the results occasionally change sides."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 9, 1852.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 27th ultimo :—

"On Tuesday last a party of 300 Seikhs, of a body of 700 that had gone into the Nizam's camp to seek for redress, entered the village in which His Highness occupied a house, and took up a position within 50 yards of it. The intention was no other than to solicit payment of their arrears ; but fear was justly entertained lest a ferment casually excited might lead to tumult and bloodshed, and the Minister effected an arrangement with the Seikhs, which *pro tempore* is satisfactory. They receive, or have received, a small portion of their arrears, and the rest is promised them after they shall have been mustered, as preliminary to the adjustment of their accounts ; of course consistently with the practice of the Government, the muster will be evaded, and protracted to as distant a time as is possible, and then, as no payment will follow, the parties will revert to their original position. Now the Seikhs were 300 strong, they were to be soothed into forbearance ; this of course was good policy."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *May 5, 1852.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 28th April :—

“ We have had a dunga of a novel and threatening character. The novelty consisted in this, that the Arab and Rohilla creditors of a Pathan Jemadar co-operated with him to exact payment of the arrears due to him from the Minister. A body of about 200 men, composed of these three tribes acting in one cause, assembled at the Minister's and refused to allow him to visit the Nizam, which he was about to do, unless their demands were previously satisfied. The general body of Arabs were seen not to be with the Minister. Abdullah bin Ali attended him with a party of his band, but was lukewarm in the support of the cause he appeared to espouse. Oomer bin Aooz openly showed his defection by not attending. The Minister gave up his visit to the Nizam and effected an adjustment of his claims with the Pathan under the sufficient guarantee of Abdullah bin Ali. The example of the effectiveness of a co-operation between creditors and debtor, especially if Arabs be a party to it, has been seen ; and it now remains to be seen whether the successful example will have an extensive range. I rather think not. The Arab chieftains are men of wisdom and will act discreetly, they will not break the camel's back.

“ The event I have above described occurred on the 26th instant. On the 27th a party of about sixty Arabs of Rajah Ram Bux's new levies took post at the Minister's demanding their arrears of pay. The Minister's sawarree was ready at about 10 A.M., but his departure was postponed till near 2 P.M. It is supposed that this was occasioned by his apprehension of being interrupted, and not by any threat of the party to this effect. An arrangement with them will, as in the other instances of Arabs, soon be made.

“ The Minister has taken up a temporary residence within the bounds of the Nizam's palace, in a tent which he has had pitched for the occasion. His motive is by this act to express an urgent want for a sum of forty lacs of rupees for which he has asked the Nizam, but to which, as yet, His Highness's reply has been that he has neither money nor jewels to give, and a counter-demand that the Minister would pay his relations, the Line-wallas and the Contingent. In regard to the latter, now seven months in arrears, the Minister has informed His Highness that he only awaited the reappearance at his durbar of Lala Bahadoor, who has absented himself for the customary ten days' mourning on the occasion of his brother's death, to pay them, the financial arrangement for that purpose having been completed, and only requiring to be carried into effect.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *June 18, 1852.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 12th instant :—

“ The Contingent at Bolarum has received three months' pay ; the remainder of this force is just where it was when your paper of the 7th instant was published.

“ The Nizam has now engaged to pay money by the 15th instant, and, though not punctually to the day, there is every expectation that he will keep his engagement.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *July 21, 1852.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 16th instant :—

“ The events of interest are the financial arrangements and the relations which depend upon them. The Minister has not been able to redeem his engagement with the Resident to pay the Contingent, now overdue thirteen days, and the consequence is that the Resident protracts ordering out the troops at Bolarum to quell an insurrection raging in the country within forty miles of the capital, attended with plunder and torture of the Nizam's subjects, till money shall have been received from the Minister. The delay has been of several days. The amount of mischief which may occur within this period will not be ascertained ; but it is miserable to think that a protracted license to inflict torture and even death is given because of the want of money to enable troops to move.

“ By an order of the Bengal Government, pay had been heretofore given to the

Contingent at the beginning of the fifth month, which left it three months in arrears : a new reading has now been given to the order, and the Contingent, instead of the beginning of the fifth as heretofore, will be paid at the beginning of the sixth month, leaving it four months in arrears. This brings relief to the Minister's finances in the sum of something about three lacs and a half of rupees.

"Two evenings ago an order was brought from the Nizam to the Ministers of Finance, who were then in attendance on Suraj-ool-Moolk at his palace, that they should not go home till they had provided funds for paying the arrears of the Contingent. Lala Bahadoor was indignant at the message, which was delivered by a friend of Suraj-ool-Moolk, and the authenticity of which was therefore exposed to suspicion, and said that he would not stay, that he had paid one crore and twenty-seven lacs of rupees to Suraj-ool-Moolk, that to effect it the whole country had been sold to Arabs, and that he could do no more. Now this was an ebullition, and may have all that reliance placed upon its correctness which in certain situations belongs to unguarded expressions : but whether the statement was true or not it will not again be repeated. I should like to see a good English accountant employed to examine the Duftur accounts : but I should infinitely prefer the Dufturdars making a clean breast to General Fraser.

"Some hoondees given for the pay of the Contingent have been returned dishonoured to the Resident. It is pretended that they have not been accepted for want of advice. *Comment donc?* There was no advice, because value had not been given. I believe the Resident was apprised beforehand that unless value for the bills was given, according to an engagement made by the Minister, they would not be accepted."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *August 11, 1852.*—From our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 3rd instant :—

"One month's pay has been sent to Bolarum ; but whilst this has been coming two months' arrears, exclusive of the one month extinguished as a present payment, have accrued. There is of course no marching to Nachwarum, and the refractory Arab is left to commit his work of cruelty and plunder as his temper or his interest may direct him. We do not hear that money is coming in to the Government. Every requisition for it by the Government is an odious exaction, and gains publicity by the clamour which it raises. There is as yet no clamour, and I therefore conclude no arrangement is on the *tapis* to obtain money. The Contingent will fall into nearly as heavy arrears as before ; and the Resident's applications will be just as futile. Nothing has as yet occurred to give them efficacy ; censure and reprobation coming from the Resident are mere idle words, and words from him have ceased to be facts. Authority to act with effect is wanting to him, and it is devoutly prayed for that he may obtain it.

"But whilst I have said that no arrangements are made for procuring money I have meant to apply my observation exclusively in respect to the land revenues and customs of the country. Talookas have ceased to be saleable : there are no bidders. In their stead commands of fresh levies of Arabs are now in the market—one hundred for twelve thousand rupees : some sales have been effected, of which I shall apprise you in a subsequent letter. There is bad arithmetic in this financial project : eight hundred and thirty-three and one-third ($833\frac{1}{3}$) Arabs go to a lakh of rupees. Arabs will not be found to answer the demand ; but that is of no consequence to the Minister, who only looks to the consideration he receives, and not to service, any more from his new bands than from their predecessors, as witness Nachwarum. Then the reason why he does not offer commands of other descriptions of troops for sale is that as no other description of troops are paid nobody will bid for them ; besides the Arabs alone give protection, and a commander can only have protection, which God knows everybody requires, from his Arab command. Natives are possessed with the opinion that the Minister, in collusion with the English, is seeking to accelerate the downfall of the Government to throw it into their hands. This is stuff ; the administration is simply profligate, reckless, and selfish in pursuit of the one view of its administrator, which

is to exist, although for one day ; his projects do not give him a long existence as Minister. He acts under an assured conviction, whencesoever derived, that the British Government will not interfere with the Nizam's for two years, and is indifferent to the Resident's remonstrances ; but although it is, as I believe it to be, the intention of the British Government not to interfere at all, the conduct of the Minister will unavoidably force interference upon it. The country cannot be allowed to remain in its present state of anarchy, nor the Contingent to be rendered useless."

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE, *January 11, 1853*.—The following translation of a Persian letter from a person having the means of acquiring the best information upon these subjects has been kindly sent to us by our Hyderabad correspondent :—

"The spirit of mutinying, or rather, as in the present instance, of suing for subsistence, has gone into the highest quarters. Three princes, brothers of the Nizam, Meer Futteh Ali, Kummer-ood-Dowla, and Zoolfikar-ood-Dowla, have posted themselves at the Nizam's palace to sue for the payment of their allowances.

"The son of Akbar Jah, first cousin to the Nizam, has drawn a khunnath, a cloth screen, across the street before his house, and has shut up the direct road from the old bridge to the Char Minar, as the means of shaming the Government, which has taken all his father's property, into paying the arrears due to his father's retainers. A few days ago the widowed zenana of Jahandary Jah, the uncle of the Nizam, had adopted the same process, but matters were settled with them—I do not recollect how."

CURRENCY.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.



CURRENCY.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *April 28, 1846*.—Another example of the wretched system of misgovernment prevailing at Hyderabad has just fallen under our notice. It appears that Gudwal, a small dependent zemindaree paying a tribute of Rs. 1,15,000 per annum to the Nizam, enjoys the right of coining, which has been possessed by it from a very remote date; and, as was to be excepted in a kingdom where all manner of coinages pass current under the authority of the ruler, this little power has not been slow to take advantage of its privilege, and to drive a profitable traffic by debasing the coin of the realm. As a natural consequence of the opportunity thus afforded them, the Sahoo-kars are accustomed to send good rupees from Hyderabad, such as will admit of a lucrative recoinage, for the purpose of having them minted over again at Gudwal, where they suffer debasement to the extent of about 6 per cent in the rupee. The Hyderabad Government do not themselves derive any profit from these nefarious transactions, but are rather losers by the practice, inasmuch as their own money undergoes deterioration, and their right of seignorage is practically superseded by the monopoly of coining existing at Gudwal, yet such is their imbecility and helplessness, that they cannot put a stop to the injurious usage, of which they are aware!

On a recent occasion no less than Rs. 25,000, the property of some Hyderabad Sahoocars who had despatched good coin thither with a view to its debasement, were returning from Gudwal toward the capital, under a guard of forty sepoys, when a gang of armed freebooters made their appearance and plundered the convoy, leaving seven or eight of its defenders wounded—a result of which few persons save those interested will regret any part excepting the last clause. In order to preclude the possibility of tampering after the above fashion with the standard moneys of the realm, all powers of coinage vested in other than the immediate officers of the Sovereign ought to be withdrawn. Chundoo Lal did very unwisely when permitting the multiplication of mints, but we do not think that the charge brought against him of his having so acted with a corrupt motive was substantially just. It is true that he did establish works of this nature in different parts of the Nizam's dominions, but only upon express contracts that the coin issuing from them should be of the regulated value of the State. Pestonjee, among others, had permission to coin money at Aurungabad, where there has always been a mint for the service of the Soobah's Government, but he received strict orders to abide in his coinage by the Hyderabad standard; so that the old Minister is not morally responsible for the abuses of the system.

Another frequent instance of evil and suffering, likewise attributable to the defective nature of the Nizam's Government, is to be found in the unlawful use made of the transit duties, which the collectors have authority to charge according to a regulated scheme, but which are aggravated by them at their own pleasure, in the full assurance that the apathetic weakness of the executive will give impunity to their misdeeds. The consequence of this extortion is that a set of merchants have found themselves under the necessity of entering into a private arrangement with the collectors of certain districts, in which the charges levied upon goods passing through are regulated by special contract of a favourable kind, and that arrangement again throws the carriage of goods for the most part into their hands, whereby the Nizam is defrauded of his proper revenue on account of the prevalence at some points of a lower scale of transit duties than that established

with his sanction. We cannot, however, deplore this result since it is only retributive justice that the Sovereign should suffer for his omission to protect the merchants against the exactions of his own officers. His Highness it appears gave interviews to his Minister and the Sahookars on the 20th instant, but we have not yet heard what money-raising expedient was the fruit of their confabulation.

ENGLISHMAN, *July 19, 1849.*—The following is from a Hyderabad correspondent, dated the 7th instant:—

“The intelligence I am now about to give is of too much importance to the welfare of the State to be protracted waiting for actual results.

“The zemindars of Goormutkal and Narienpet, as feudatories of the Delhi Government, have the privilege of coining money at their own mints, necessarily upon the express condition that it shall not be of less value than the current coin of the realm.

“They have just started into depreciating the currency by an unprecedented mixture of alloy, by one-eighth more than has yet been tolerated, and agents from these zemindars are now employed in purchasing up the superior coinage of the country, called Halee sicca, the price of which has risen in the market in consequence from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. premium, to recoin it with the amount of alloy before stated, not as I understand it relatively to the value of the Halee sicca, but to that of an inferior specie called Shuhur Ohulpee, current by authority in the city and its neighbourhood, but which neither passes in the country, nor is received in the Resident's treasury.

“The effect of such a depreciation will extend to the whole transactions of the country. The exchange now obtaining with foreign countries will be enhanced, and with the increased price of grain all sorts of merchandize and labour will become dearer, whilst to the Nizam's Government the same revenues will as before be continued to be paid, though calculated to exchange for less than before; its servants and departments will equally suffer, without the Government deriving any advantage from the diminution in point of fact of their salaries. If the activity of these mints be considerable, it may occasion an entire drainage of the Halee sicca, and, by arresting the payments into the Resident's treasury and the transactions with the districts lead to the arrangements which must come at last for the better regulating the Nizam's affairs.

“The extent of mischief likely to accrue from the circulation of a depreciated currency is understood by the Sahookars, and it is to be hoped their exposition may sufficiently impress the Minister with a sense of his danger to arouse him to the exertion of annihilating those mints. The right, whatever may be the title or the prescription of the zemindars, is absolutely forfeited by their forgeries. The question would rather be as to what, besides their mints, they had forfeited to the Government by their flagitious conduct?

“It is further understood amongst the Sahookars that the Resident, who has recently addressed a second note to the Nizam's Minister regarding the payment of the debt to the Company, will insist upon receiving an immediate payment of a considerable portion of that debt. This has had no influence in enhancing the premium on the Halee sicca, for, as the Government of the Nizam has no credit with capitalists, it is assumed that the debt will be paid out of the hoards of His Highness and his Minister, which, consisting of the better sort of coin, will keep down the premium upon that coin by bringing a larger amount of the currency into circulation; but as a full and overflowing treasury will arrest for a considerable time the issuing of his treasury bills on his Government, hoondies have made a sudden start in regard to their exchange; they have risen on Calcutta to 29 per cent. from 24, not gradually but suddenly, and in the same proportion on other foreign markets.

“It would be too laborious to seek out precise data. It is sufficient for notice that mints exist in the Nizam's dominions which, seemingly under the sanction of the Government, issue a base coinage, and that the current coin of the

country is bought openly in the markets for the express purpose of being recoined into money of less value.

"The Halce sicca, being a currency of greater value than that which passes within the city, has necessarily a fluctuating value in the market. I do not know what its standard value may be relatively to the Shuhur Chulpee, but I have known it to be at a premium as low as 4 annas per cent., and at one time, during the war with the Peishwa, when there was a great demand for money at the Residency, as high as 4 per cent., bills on Calcutta had risen at the same time to 32 per cent. If these may be considered as maximum rates, rather as extraordinary rates, then have the exchanges and premiums at the present time undergone an unusual fluctuation, and may be accounted for as arising out of the facts I have stated.

"The maximum price of pure silver that has ever obtained here has been $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It is not sold by the tola; a hundred rupees is weight given in exchange for $118\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. It has now risen beyond all former prices, and sells at $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *September 14, 1849.*—The following is from our correspondent at Hyderabad:—

"The Nizam being told by the Resident of the mischief which would result from the mints of Gudwal and Seegoor recoinng the current coin of the country into a baser specie ordered that the coinage of those mints should not be current. This was ill-advised. The coinage of those mints preponderates (so they say) in the proportion of four to one, and this order caused an immediate stagnation of cash payments. The bad policy of the measure was pointed out to the Nizam, and the order has been rescinded, but it has had the effect, by exciting alarm, of bringing the currency into discount. It now passes for $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. less than it did; its standard value would give 10 or 12 per cent. less."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *February 22, 1850.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, the 14th instant:—

"In consequence of a notice in one of the papers that the mint at Seegoor debased the currency of the realm by its coinage, General Fraser had prevailed upon the Nizam's Government to suppress the mint: it has either taken to coining privately, or the currency of the realm is forged there in private houses. A party of men were taken up, some days ago, bringing money to the capital, which is said to be alloyed above the admitted average rate, in the proportion of $\frac{3}{4}$ to the rupee. Scandal points to some of the most opulent Sahookars of the place as the parties concerned in debasing the currency."

ENGLISHMAN, *February 27, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 15th instant:—

"A number of Sahookars of opulence have been concerned in counterfeiting the currency of the realm; the detection and proof are positive, and it would be a God-send, with the system of fines that prevails, did the Minister take advantage of the punishment due to the offence to commute it for a pecuniary fine; but either he does not understand his right, or fears to act lest he should again suffer the disgrace of having his measure in regard to them reversed by the Nizam. The Sahookars are favourites with the Nizam; he considers that they support his Government, and that their denying credit to the Minister is the effect of his Minister's character for the time being, and not of a want of regard to his personal government."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 17, 1850.*—A letter from Hyderabad of the 1st instant says:—

"Another lot of counterfeit coinage of about 9,000 rupees has been seized by the Government, but it is at fault to trace the parties concerned in coining. It is somewhat extraordinary that when several carriers of the money have been seized, when a Sahookar is openly claiming the money as his property, and when the tributary

Zemindar of Woonpurty is imprisoned for employing a mint to coin counterfeit money, that the Government, with all these means and appliances, should not be able to obtain proof. The names of the coiners are known in the mercantile community,—the coiners (impunity had so long waited upon their proceedings) have scarcely concealed themselves,—but the Government has never thought of adopting the simple process, the common suggestion of everybody who speaks on this subject, of examining the books of some of these reputed coiners. The transaction is said to be fairly entered; but if it be not so, a clue to trace the fact would be found in the very involvement of the accounts. There is no such ingenuity here as to give, nor is it thought necessary to give, speciousness to a lie; the lie of itself is all-sufficient."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *October 24, 1851.*—From our correspondent at Hyderabad :—

"False coinage has been carried on to such an extent in the districts of Woonpettee, Segoor, &c., that the standard currency of the realm, which alone the Resident receives in his treasury, is scarcely procurable to meet the demand for it. The Rothschild of the country had occasion for an immediate remittance to Calcutta of a lac of Company's rupees, to cover that amount of the bills he had given the Nizam's Government, and for which his resources there had failed him to that extent. He applied to the Resident to be permitted to lodge in his treasury the equivalent in the coin (the forged coinage) current in the country, by orders of the Government from the necessity of the case, the currency of the realm having been absorbed by the base coinage. I do not know whether his offer was accepted or not; but that is not to my purpose, which is merely to show that a pressure upon the market for a lac of rupees of this currency enhances materially the premium—a sure mark of scarcity. The Sahooor could certainly have procured a lac of rupees, and, much as the market is drained, that sum or ten times as much in bills, but then he could only do so by raising exorbitantly, unless time were given him, the prices upon himself, and, when his funds stagnated, upon the Government, which has to pay 34 lacs of Company's rupees on the 31st October, in default of other modes of payment, by bills, of which he is the principal contributor.

"The loss to the Government in the payments it has already made has been immense; the premium on the current coin of the realm has risen to 12 per cent. When the Resident drew bills to lend money to the Nizam it may be said to have averaged about 2 per cent. The Minister has sought the sanction of the British Government to be permitted to lodge the inferior currency in the Resident's treasury, and to redeem it leisurely, so as to keep down the rates of premium. Now as this inferior currency is the currency in which merchants' accounts, domestic and foreign, are kept, as it is in this currency that the Government itself is paid, and as this currency is in universal barter, one can't see the objection to the Government's receiving it, for it could have been employed as well to exchange for the superior currency and to purchase bills on Calcutta as to purchase food and clothing. The advantage to the Nizam's Government was that the demand for the superior currency, or bills, would be gradual, and not precipitate, so as not to bring down ruin by enhanced rates of exchange upon the purchaser.

"The proper standard of the currency of the realm is nine mashas of silver; the forged currency contains six and three-quarters, making a difference of 33 rupees 5½ annas per cent.

"I do not hear that the Minister's proposition is being carried out; I conclude therefore that the Government of India has not acceded to it.

"I quote the rates of exchange to show how greatly the pressure of the last payment to the Company's Government is felt at this place. Bills on Calcutta bear an exchange of 49-8 per cent., on Madras and Bombay of 38-8 per cent. If your capitalists could afford to be six months out of their money, and could find lodgment for it in the Resident's or Paymaster's treasuries, by authorizing bills to be drawn on the Presidencies, they might turn their remittances to good account. There are some Sahooors here who strictly confine their dealings to banking, and

do not dabble in loans ; they are generally branch establishments of foreign houses. Money might be vested with them at 4 or 5 per cent., and I consider the security competent."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 28, 1854.*—The following is from our correspondent at Hyderabad :—

"A difficulty has long existed, which is now gaining a prominence that cannot fail to engage the attention of the Supreme Government. A number of mints for coining money exist by special licence in the Nizam's dominions. The two mints known as those of Segeor and Gudwal have, for a period of perhaps forty years, been in the habit of issuing a base coinage, in the profits of which the Government has not had, nor has, any participation whatever, nor is concerned in any manner in sanctioning the coinage of this base money, which has been issued gradually to so large an amount as quite to overwhelm the legal currency. This base coinage was never encouraged nor sanctioned by the Government ; but it was not put down with the vigour necessary to arrest the offence. That it was not put down, I believe, may be attributed in some measure to the habitual laxity of the Government, to its powerlessness to exact obedience at places distant from the capital, but principally to the predominant influence of the coiners, men of large capital, accommodating the Government largely, and thus rendering it subservient to their views. This base coinage during the administration of Raja Chundoo Lal overflowed the market, to an amount so far exceeding the legal currency of the country that the Government received it into its treasury, and made it by proclamation a legal tender. I should remark that at that time the coinage had not undergone debasement to the low standard at which it has now arrived. The proclamation made it the current coin of the realm. It was that in which the Government kept its revenue accounts and paid its servants and departments, and the accounts of the Sahookars and merchants necessarily followed the same course. This coinage then, I may say, is, practically, by supersession of the other, the current coin of the realm, at least in the best portion of it. All the dealings at the capital are conducted in it, but we have a phenomenon, not altogether intelligible, that whilst the bulk of the money transactions is conducted in this currency, and commodities and bills of exchange valued by its standard, the old legal currency of the country alone passes in the districts, and is that alone which the Resident receives into his treasury, the pay of the Subsidiary Force having been fixed by its value relative to the Company's rupees, giving a difference of 21 per cent. The old coinage of the realm, which is now almost wholly supplanted, is called *Bagh chulnee*, from being the only currency which the Resident receives in his treasury, the Residency being called the *Bagh* ; it consists of different coinages varying in fineness (I do not write with the accuracy of calculation, but from the rough estimates of Sahookars) giving a difference of from 1 to 4 per cent. This coinage, which contains 9 mashas of silver, has been gradually debased into a coinage containing $6\frac{3}{4}$ mashas only of silver (which has been understood for some time past as the standard of this currency), giving a difference of Rs. 33, 5 as.— $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This coinage is called *Shuhur chulnee*, as being current in the capital, to distinguish it from the *Bagh chulnee*. It is reported that a large quantity of money is now thrown into the market of still less value, and its fineness is quoted, I do not know how correctly, as not exceeding five mashas of silver.

"Considering the difference in the value of the alloy between the *Bagh chulnee* and the *Shuhur chulnee*, it was to be expected, and it soon followed, that an immense amount of the *Bagh chulnee* was melted down (when the last was made current and bore a fictitious high value in the market). I have stated that the difference in the standard value was a fraction more than thirty-three per cent. But we had the commercial phenomenon that whilst the real value was so, the premium obtained in the market fluctuated between two and five per cent.—regulated, I believe, principally by the demands of the Residency for the better specie. And indeed at the time *Suraj-ool-Moolk* was paying a portion of the debt of this Government to the Company the premium had risen on *Bagh chulnees* in which

he had paid (I believe, I am not certain), to fifteen per cent. It is sufficient for my purpose to state that the premium was unusually large. It then acquired its rate by a known demand, which being but a temporary one, the difference in the value, after a short time obtained what I may call its equilibrium, and again fluctuated between two and five per cent. At present the Bagh chulnee stands, and has been standing for some days past, at a premium of twelve per cent. As this is occasioned by no temporary pressure upon the market, but is the result of an actual scarcity of the commodity, I consider that this premium, or something approaching to it, will for the future continue to obtain.

"I have stated that the rate of exchange on bills was regulated by its value in Shuhur chulnees. The bills on the English Presidencies may be quoted as being in the market generally somewhere between twenty and twenty-six per cent., and the bills of the Resident, taking into consideration the premium on the rupees in which he is paid, as averaging about eighteen per cent. The Company's Government, which pays about twenty-four lakhs of rupees annually to the Subsidiary Force, paying it at a fixed exchange of twenty-one per cent., may be taken to be subjected to a loss by its bill negotiations of about three per cent.—about seventy-two thousand rupees per annum. The premium on Bagh chulnee has risen, as I have said, to twelve per cent., and the Resident's bills last month were in consequence negotiated at an exchange of nine per cent., the market rate of exchange being twenty-three per cent., and by which the exchange on the Resident's bills were regulated. The loss by the difference between the present and the former rates gives about nine per cent., as no temporary pressure upon the market has occasioned this sudden rise of premium, but the actual scarcity of the currency in demand, the loss will continue undiminished, and I apprehend will progress. The coiners have not been punished, the mints are in full activity. A large absorption of the Bagh chulnees and a higher premium on them will be the consequence. If the Bagh chulnee so go out as to clear the districts lately ceded to the English of the currency, a further payment to the contingent of more than thirty lakhs will involve the Company's Government, taking its payments as fifty-five lakhs and its loss at ten per per cent., in an annual loss of five and a half lakhs of rupees. I am much under the mark : I calculate upon so entire an absorption of the Bagh chulnee as to leave the Resident, if his dependence for his supplies be upon this market, without any resource but to exchange his bills into Shuhur chulnees. The position of the Shuhur chulnees and the value of bills in relation to each other will then as now remain the same, and the Resident may have to receive twenty-three per cent. on his bills, and to pay his troops fifty per cent. or more, according to the relative value of the silver in the two currencies. The loss, say a difference of twenty-five per cent. between present and future rates, will be excessive and not to be borne.

"What then is to be done ? The Nizam, whose Government is at fault, must recall the base coin to recoin it into the legal currency of his Government at his own expense. He cannot ; he has no money. But he has a capital in his country ; let him break in upon that, sell a portion of it to the Company ; rates of interest are low, the sale will be profitable, and enable him to remedy this and other difficulties in his Government. Cession of territory yielding an annual revenue of twelve lakhs of rupees, two lakhs being reserved for management, would at a twenty years' sale give him two crores of rupees.

"There is another plan to stave off the apparently harsh measure of further dismembering the Nizam's territory, which I should like to see you discuss. Let the Company's Government coin twenty-four lakhs of the Nizam's legal currency. This will pay the troops for one year ; and if the charge on the coinage be only that of the mint and transmission, and no loss be sustained by the weight of silver (I have no data), I take it that that might be covered by the premium to which bills on the Presidencies would rise when the Resident had no longer occasion to draw upon them. There is no reason why this project should not be adopted as a measure of finance. Occasion might be taken by the Resident to dispose of bills gradually as market rates favoured his drafts. Did the Resident not draw, bills

would give a maximum rate, that beyond which the transmission of money for purposes of exchange would be cheaper.

"But what is to prevent the money coined in the Company's country going to the forge, as its predecessors have done? What security is there against it? None but that the Company's Government shall stop the mints of the country, or, continuing to give them operation, take them under its own charge, (by treaty) holding the right to punish forgeries. This would be making progress towards the right end, an end that must come, and being gradual the better for all parties.

"There is one favourite scheme among the natives and among some of the English, that those who have issued these coins and are men of known opulence be mulcted to pay for the expenses of the recoinage. I do not know what dispensation the impunity of 40 years may have given these persons (Raja Chundoo Lal's proclamation gave legality to their act). It certainly can have given them none to be exempted from refunding what they have fraudulently obtained. But the difficulty is here,—it would be as if carrying to the cart's tail all our best men upon 'change, and no lashes that could be inflicted would produce mulets to the extent required for the recoinage of the false money. The mulct, which would be but a bare return of the money made by their forgeries, if that were exacted, would be insufficient to cover the recoinage. Our mercantile community is much in the same way as that of Bengal in former years.

"There is one more consideration. The Government has sucked up a great deal of the wealth of these people by loans contracted in a period of years, yet unpaid and likely to remain so. If that go to redeem their mulets, the Nizam's Government will have no money for the expenses of the recoinage. Adjustment by striking off balances would bring no present relief to this especial exigency. The exaction of money as mulets from the Sahookars will be an arduous and an odious task. If the intention be to deal with the subject fairly, there is considerable difficulty. Else the Nizam is absolute lord and master. '*Vogue la galère.*'

"I have great hopes of relief to the Nizam's Government from a thorough revision of its entire accounts with its creditors and departments, but unless this be made by direction of the English Government, under the surveillance of its officers, the Nizam will be compromised."

"P.S.—I have been incorrect in my denominations. It was the Shuhur chulnee which Raja Chundoo Lal legalized—a spurious coinage, but not so debased as the Gudwal and Segoor, its offsprings which now preside over the market. The first toleration of a spurious coinage invited those which followed.

"The Nizam designed to have gone to the country on a pleasure excursion. He was apprised by Sultan Ghalib through the Urz Begee, in language as humble as it could be made, that it was indispensable His Highness should settle with him before he quitted his palace, either that dismissing him he should pay his claims, of which he presented accounts showing a balance of nine lakhs of rupees, or if the intention was to retain him, that assurance should be given him to that effect. We have thus the spectacle of the Nizam kept a prisoner in his own palace. Sultan Ghalib was there in dunga with a party of four hundred Arabs, to which he could have added as many more. The Nizam called in the Cutwal's guards to reinforce those of his household, and it is supposed that Shums-ool-Oomra's troops will also be called in to his support.

"The Seikhs making common cause, having a common interest with the Arabs, have joined their mutiny. Moosa Khan, a Patan, who has long had a dunga at the palace, has confederated with these parties, and about a thousand mutineers are congregated at the Nizam's palace, and possess the means of bringing twice their numbers or more to their support. This confederation of different tribes for a common object is new, and predicts the exercise of a stricter control over the Nizam than his servants have yet presumed to use. The alternative of bringing the English to his assistance, which the Nizam avoids with much pertinacity, must soon be put in requisition. The payment and discharge of the mutineers would, however, protract that consummation to a distant time."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 30, 1854.*—Our Hyderabad correspondent says, under date of the 16th instant :—

“ In reference to my last letter, it may be necessary to give you information of the state of the bill negotiations for this month. The Resident's bills have sold at an exchange of fourteen per cent., and it is supposed that they will rise and not fall in value for some time to come. Bagh chalnees, which were quoted in my last letter as being at twelve, have sunk to a premium of seven per cent. This fall in the price of the Bagh chalnee is occasioned by large importations of that currency into the market, not as the result of the ordinary barter between the country and the capital, but as an article of commerce. The premium on the Bagh chalnee, it may be inferred, will be regulated by the fluctuating demands of the country and the capital. When the Bagh chalnee is made an article of traffic, on account of the high price it brings at the capital, there will necessarily be a more than ordinary drainage upon the country, and I understand from Sahookars that it has already been so great that the districts which before resisted giving currency to the Segoor and Gudwal sicca, now, within a hundred miles of the capital, begin to receive it. I am not competent to form an opinion, and obtain none that I care for, as to whether the spread of the Segoor and Gudwal money in the country will accelerate the recoinage into money of the Bagh chalnee, or whether the high price of the Bagh chalnees, the result of its security, will deter the coiners from carrying what yet remains to their mint. If the premium on it do not exceed twelve per cent. the coiners will have an ample margin for their profitable speculations. As a first step, the grants for coinage, to whomsoever given, must be recalled immediately, especially those of Segoor and Gudwal, or another source of ruin will arise to the Nizam's Government.”

ENGLISHMAN, *February 15, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad :—

“ The subject of exchange, from its bearings upon the remittances of the English Government, is becoming of vital interest to the Nizam. It is now two months since the depression of the premium on bills was first felt as bringing a heavy loss upon the Company's Government, a loss likely to increase to an extent which would force upon that Government the necessity of constraining the Nizam better to regulate his mints. The difficulty continues, and from its having appeared in a different phasis it at once indicates that the depression was occasioned by the state of the market, and was not factitious, and is instructive to show, what I believe is understood as a mercantile axiom, that exchange, if not forced extraordinarily by extraneous circumstances, finds its own level.

“ The Resident, I presume from finding his bills on the presidencies unsaleable at their former prices, offered to sell bills on Oomrawutty, one of the provinces lately ceded to the English : they of course have been drawn against the revenues of the country. Heretofore the Residents have had occasion to purchase bills, and not to sell their own, on that mart. The premium on bills on Oomrawutty whilst this demand existed was ordinarily six per cent., and on one occasion it rose, I believe, to ten and a quarter per cent. Prices have taken a sudden turn in the market, and the tender to the Resident for his bills on Oomrawutty was a discount of four per cent. The Sahookars offered to pay him one hundred rupees here in exchange for one hundred and four at Oomrawutty. This comparison with former rates would make the Resident's bills on Oomrawutty more unprofitable than the direct remittances by his bills on the Presidencies. The present depreciated rates on Oomrawutty have given rise to the opinion that it is the effect of a combination. I believe it is partly so ; there has always been a combination against the Resident's drafts. But then this combination, unless influenced by the contingencies of the market, could never have so altered prices. The secret of this great difference of exchange is to be traced to the fact that the commodity, the Bagh chulnee rupees required by the Resident, has become more scarce in the market. There has been a drought, and, though it is impossible there can be a combination among the grain dealers throughout India, prices of grain have risen. The Bagh chulnees are nearly extinct ; combination or no combination, the premium on them

has risen, and must have risen. Without the contingencies referred to as my premises no combination could so raise prices.

"The tender of the Sahookars was refused, and the Commissioner in Berar, I believe, is directed to take up bills at Oomrawutty on Hyderabad. I do not think the project will answer; the mercantile establishments in Berar are either branches of the houses at this place, or are principals having branch establishments here. If there be a combination amongst the Sahookars, the Sahookars in Berar will support and give effect to the act of the Sahookars here. If the combination be denied (it can hardly have pervaded all Berar and its adjacency Nagpore), and the exchange be found at Oomrawutty to be at par with that at Hyderabad, then will the result prove that exchange finds its level in all commercial places, and that projects by a Government to obtain better terms are useless. I conceive that to appearance, the bills purchased at Oomrawutty may be at a somewhat lower percentage than that at which they were offered here; but this will make no actual difference to the Sahookar, who brings time as an element into his calculations. The bills given at Oomrawutty will have twenty or thirty days to run, and the difference of the exchange will be compensated by the difference of the time of payment, *pro* and *con*.

"I hear that the Minister is satisfied, from some engagements which he has lately made, that no more base money will be coined at the mint of Gudwal. I doubt the efficacy of the measure which has been taken for this end; it appears to me to be destitute of any efficiency whatever, as it leaves all in the hands of, and to the good faith of, the coiners. It is said that the vakeel of the Zemindar of Gudwal has entered into an engagement—that is, given a moochulka—that the mint there will be closed. A promise of this sort will scarcely bind the parties. I expect to see the mint a few months hence, when attention is withdrawn from it, again at work, but not so actively as before, because with greater secrecy. I presume the coiners will endeavour to escape detection by giving the appearance of age to their new rupees, from the importation of which to the capital the present working of the mint has heretofore been ascertained; but detection must follow in the end. The market rates of the Bagh chulnee will by their rise proclaim the greater scarcity of that money whenever that shall occur. One circumstance is noticeable in this binding of the vakeel by an engagement—it gives the inference that the mint had been sanctioned. It is no such thing. It has neither been sanctioned by Salar Jung nor any of his predecessors. It certainly has been tolerated. But then I would ask if the party principally concerned in the mint, and answerable to the Government for its proper conduct, has no other notice taken of his coining than that he shall be bound by a penalty bond not to coin again, whether impunity to those who have carried material to the mint to be coined, and are guilty only in a second degree, is not to be inferred?

"I am all this time abroad why the coiners, instead of melting down the Bagh chulnees, do not carry bullion to their mint. It would be much more profitable—a hundred and twenty-two Shahar chulnees buying one hundred rupees' weight of silver, or eleven hundred mashas; whilst one hundred Bagh chulnees give only nine hundred mashas of silver. I cannot understand this; and whilst the cry in the market is loud about the melting down and recoinage of the Bagh chulnees, I do not hear one word of there being an extra demand in the market for bullion, or of any bullion being carried to the mint.

"If instead of taking up bills at Oomrawutty the Commissioner was directed to send down specie, the cost of transmission would be compensated by the saving of premium on the bills. Its principal advantage, however, would be in the effect it would have on the price of Bagh chulnees, by reducing which it would enhance the price of the Resident's bills on the Presidencies."

ENGLISHMAN, February 27, 1854.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 12th instant:—

"The premium on the Bagh chulnees remains at a little more than eight per cent. The Minister, to obviate the results likely to proceed from this state of the money

market, has resorted to the expedient of reopening the Government mint for coinage of money to those who choose to bring bullion into it. One hundred and twenty-eight Segoor and Gudwal rupees, employed in the purchase of bullion and coinage, coin one hundred and twenty-two Bagh chulnee rupees, which at the present rate of premium, eight per cent., gives a profit upon the coinage of something near three per cent. ; but though there is this adequate profit, within the last two months that the mint has been opened, thirty-three thousand rupees only have been coined. This is attributable to the want of bullion, as the mint upon its present establishment can coin three thousand rupees a day. This tardy process of coining will neither meet the demand nor depress the premium, which, however, when it gets to five per cent., will make the coinage of bullion unprofitable to the speculator,—a result not likely to occur soon, nor to be obtained by any measure now in process. But as other mints are clandestinely at work there is very little chance but that they will melt down more of the better currency than the Government can coin. The Resident has not lately drawn bills, and to pay the Subsidiary Force last month I presume he has been obliged to break in upon the surplus balance, ordinarily a standing deposit in his treasury. If troops be sent to Persia the exchange negotiations at Bombay will probably affect disadvantageously the prices of Government bills in this market.”

ENGLISHMAN, *March 15, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 1st instant :—

“I have just been shown, in the *Telegraph and Courier* of the 24th February, that a gentleman had preceded me in the view which I have taken of the consequences likely to result from the depreciation of the currency in the Nizam's dominions. I congratulate myself that in this land of India, of official opinions and reports, which alone, even out of doors, have any value, any person has preceded me by publishing views concurrent with mine, and I shall be but too glad if his lucubrations or mine, which I presume are concurrent with his views, bring any person over to our opinion, or satisfy any one in office of their correctness, which is the great desideratum. But I would beg to assure the gentleman that from the *Telegraph and Courier* of the 24th of February alone do I know that any paper has been before published on the subject of the Hyderabad currency. I disclaim having any knowledge directly or indirectly of any paper, whether published, printed, or in manuscript, on this subject, and I am at this moment as ignorant of what that gentleman may have before published as he obviously is of what I have written. I have not seen the *Friend of India*, which, however, I desire to do if I can pick it up, as it cannot but be instructive. I understand my paper is said to be a dissertation on a currency question. I have not had the presumption to write on a subject but little understood anywhere, and regarding which the best heads in Europe are at issue. I take the opportunity to say that the Bagh chulnees stand at eight and a half per cent., and that the Resident, who is negotiating bills on Calcutta, the exchange on which stands in the market at $23\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or thereabouts in Segoor and Gudwal rupees, has been offered $13\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for his bills in Bagh chulnee rupees.”

ENGLISHMAN, *June 7, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 23rd ultimo :—

“In your paper of the 12th instant there is a notice to the effect that the Government has directed the Resident to send down to the mint, for recoinage, all local coins now in the treasuries of the several districts, and that supplies of Company's rupees are to be sent to Hyderabad from the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The information is loosely given, and I am unable to take its meaning as a whole. Whatever may be to come, nothing is as yet in operation. Your intelligence cannot mean to convey that the supply of Company's rupees shall be proportioned to the remittances of the newly assigned districts. This

* The money now coined at the treasury exchanges at a premium two per cent. higher than the Bagh chulnees ; the Bagh chulnees, a mixed coinage, being now eight per cent. higher than the Segoor and Gudwal, the new coinage stands at ten, and carries a proportionally higher profit to the mint.

would provide but a small sum, which would soon be absorbed in the common course of barter, and would be inadequate to answer any present, much less any permanent, purpose. It cannot be meant to provide by this means for the payment of the Hyderabad Contingent in Company's rupees, for, independently of the inadequacy of the returned funds, payment to the troops in Company's rupees, a large importation of which would occasion depreciation in their value, would be in point of fact to reduce the pay of the sepoy. But if the design of importing Company's rupees into the Nizam's dominion be to extinguish the base money now current in it the measure is wholly beneficial. But who is to pay the charge of the recoinage, the conversion of the lower coins of disproportioned value into the higher? I take it that the charge will be greater than thirty per cent. There is obviously a mistake, unless absorption by recoinage of all the moneys current in the Nizam's dominions, as I have supposed, be designed, in your information that specie from the lately assigned districts is to be transmitted to the mint for a supply of Company's rupees. If there be no ulterior object in this exportation, a return in Company's rupees to the Nizam's country could be more advantageously effected upon bills of exchange. These do not bear at present a higher premium than fourteen per cent., and might be made for a time, till demand enhanced prices, advantageously available as a finance measure. The transmission of specie in local rupees could not provide the Company's rupees under a charge of a hundred and twenty-two to a hundred.

"If the Government devises a new mode of paying its troops, it is obvious that it is to obviate the loss now incurred by exchange. The measure devised, as I understand it from the information communicated by you, is wholly incompetent to effect that object. The Contingent troops are stationed in all parts of the Nizam's dominions, and their pay must continue to be regulated by the exchange which the local currencies will bear to the Company's rupees. I take this measure therefore to be but the beginning of an end yet to come."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 9, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 29th ultimo :—

"The state of the money market here may possibly give you useful information in connection with the design of importing Company's rupees into the Nizam's territories. It is now understood here also that such is the intention of the Government of India; but as yet there is no explicitness about the motive, beyond this, that it is intended to make the Company's rupee the legal currency of the lately assigned territories.

"The price of all commodities and bills of exchange is regulated by its value in the Seoor and Gudwal rupees.

	Rs.	as.
Bills of exchange on Calcutta at per cent.....	23	0
Bills on Benares at per cent.	23	6
Bills on Madras at per cent.	23	0
Bills on Bombay at per cent.	23	15
Company's rupees per hundred	24	0
Bagh chulnees per hundred	10	0

"The Resident has lately drawn bills on Calcutta and Benares for three and a half lakhs of rupees, at 11 and 12 per cent. advance, in Bagh chulnee rupees. By the rates above given you will perceive that the 11 and 12 per cent. in Bagh chulnee rupees correspond to the amount quoted as the exchange in Seoor and Gudwal rupees. The Company's rupees converted into Bagh chulnees would give Rs. 112 as. 12 per cent. If it could possibly be admitted that Company's rupees would continue at the same rate of exchange, the difference of Re. 1 as. 12 per cent., if that even were a net gain, would scarcely compensate for the trouble which the importation of the money would occasion. But this is not to be expected. With the influx of large sums in Company's rupees into the Nizam's country the price would also go down, and come so low as to preserve a sort of commercial equality between remittances by bill and exportation of Company's rupees. In such case the price of the Company's rupees when bills were at Rs. 23 may stand at 20

per cent., if not lower, in Seegoor and Gudwal rupees, and converted into Bagh chulnees by the same proportions at about nine per cent. This can be no profitable transaction if the value of the Company's rupee is to be regulated by its exchange in the Hyderabad currency, which it will continue to be till that currency become extinct. Any information you could give on this subject will be very acceptable here."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 6, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 24th ultimo:—

"The mints that have coined bad money are ordered to be suppressed. This, of course, evinces that the injuries occasioned by a base currency are exciting attention. I wish, however, the authorities, the parties concerned and empowered to put down this abuse, were in distinct possession of a fact circulated through the country, and universally believed (I have no legal testimony of it), that the base money is forged in the city, in the Begum Bazaar, the Karwan, and the Residency and Cantonment Bazaars. Almost every Sahookar avows his knowledge of the fact, but no one will incur the odium of bringing it to light by adducing proofs of it before the authorities.

"I cannot for the life of me see any one advantage in the project of introducing partially the Company's rupees as the legal currency in the newly assigned districts; but for the very reason that I see no good in it I consider the project to have purposes which my mind has not reached, or that it has not been able to embrace all that the arrangement involves. I cannot conceive the Government acting so entirely without a purpose. I have at the least, in spite of Voltaire, considerable, though not unqualified, deference for high authorities and their ways."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 30th, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 15th instant:—

The Resident has brought the subject of the mint before the Nizam's Government, and there is some bustle at the Minister's in assaying the different monies which are current in the Nizam's dominions, either by sanction of the Government or its toleration. The project is to recoin money of a corresponding fineness to the Company's. The difficulty of the undertaking will be apparent when they come to make their estimates for the recoinage. There is another difficulty of no small importance. The difference in fineness between the Company's and the Seegoon rupees is fifty-five per cent., and with a portion of them 110, while the commercial value of the Company's rupees is twenty-five per cent. The construction of a rate for the Company's rupees relatively to the Seegoon, in which all dealings are now conducted, will make a difficulty of no small importance.

"I hear but now that the assay at the Minister's of the Seegoon rupees gives a better result than what I have described. The rupees were found to contain eight mashas, and seven mashas and two ruttees, of silver. To my inquiry from sahookars as to how they came to quote six and three-quarters and five mashas as giving the fineness of the Seegoon rupees they alleged that their communication rested upon the general belief prevailing in the money market. They still consider their information correct, and expect it to be confirmed when the Seegoon rupees may be brought to the mint for recoinage. I understand that the Nizam's new rupees will contain a fraction above nine mashas of silver. An indispensable preliminary measure will be to check the coining of base money.

"The condition of the money market has become such, from the great influx of base money, that traders having bills upon the sahookars pay a premium of from twelve annas to one rupee per cent. to obtain transfers upon their constituent houses in lieu of cash. The large capitalists exchange transfers, or, upon the strength of their credit, pass sealed bags, called badlas, supposed to contain money, to each other—a bad substitute for bank notes.

"If the Government of India should decide upon sending twenty-four lakhs of the Nizam's money coined at their mint to the Resident, it would stave off the loss now sustained by their bill negotiations by a double operation. The great influx of Baghchulnee rupees which that would bring into the Nizam's country

would reduce the premium they now bear, and bring, relatively to the Seagoon rupees, higher prices for the Resident's bills on the Presidencies ; and as he would cease to draw the rate of exchange would rise, of which a profitable advantage might be taken."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 20, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 5th instant :—

"The following order has been issued by the Resident :—

"*' The Company's rupee having been established as the currency in the Raichore Dooab, the Resident directs that the troops serving in those districts for the future shall be paid in that coinage.'*

"The troops have hitherto been paid in the Hyderabad Bagchulnee rupees. I do not know the rate established for the conversion of these into Company's rupees, but I presume the mean of the commercial value of the Company's rupees, which, I understand, fluctuates in the districts (I speak without proof) between eight and twelve per cent., will be the established rate for paying the Lingsoogoor detachments. If the rate, twenty-one per cent., at which the Company pays the Subsidiary troops and the Contingent be fixed for the reduction of the Bagchulnee rupees into the Company's, there will be a disparity of about nine per cent. in the payment of the Lingsoogoor troops and the other portions of the Contingent, to the disadvantage of the former. For instance, if a person paid at Lingsoogoor in Company's rupees present to the Resident a hundred Company's rupees for a bill on Calcutta, he will obtain a bill for a hundred rupees; whilst, on the other hand, if a person from any other cantonment of the Contingent present the hundred and twenty-one Bagchulnee rupees which he receives as the equivalent to a hundred Company's rupees for a bill on Calcutta, the Resident, according to market rates, will receive from him a hundred and twelve rupees, and return him nine. I cannot doubt but that this disparity has been provided against, and that the payments in the respective currencies mentioned will be brought, as far as may be practicable, to equalize.

"Sahookars carry Company's rupees to the legitimate mint of Hyderabad to be recoined into the legal currency of the Nizam. This I suppose to be fact, as two per cent. is quoted as the profit which is made by the transaction. This corresponds with the calculation I am enabled to make from the proximate—not entirely accurate—data, which alone I possess. This too is a matter for consideration.

"I hear that in consequence of the depreciated value of the Bagchulnee rupees in the Raichore districts the detachment at Lingsoogoor have asked to be paid in Company's rupees, at the rate of twenty-one per cent. which has been established. I apprehend they have made a mistake, and because I think so I allow my letter, which I should have else annulled, to go to you."

ENGLISHMAN, *November 28, 1854.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 15th instant :—

"A report is in circulation that Bengal sends us immediately more than fifty lakhs of Company's rupees, for circulation in what are called the assigned districts. This is, of course, the beginning towards an end, and we are anxious to ascertain both the design and the scheme by which it is to be carried out. I presume the extinction of our debased currency will be insisted upon as a *sine quâ non*, and unless it be so the addition of another currency to those already numerous afloat in our market will only be to increase our perplexities."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 19, 1855.*—From Hyderabad, the 7th instant :—

"In the assigned districts the collections are now being made in Company's rupees. These will receive a denomination from the Government of India, and they will have in the market a commercial value differing from the other. The one will necessarily be a losing, and the other a profitable rate. The discrepancy, which will entail a loss somewhere, certainly not on the bankers, must be removed, as it will be prejudicial either to the Government or to those to whom it may pay its money at the higher denomination. It cannot be that the Government means

simply putting its money into circulation to leave it there ; some ulterior measure is projected, I presume, to obviate loss ; there is no discussing the subject until the whole scheme of the Government of India is known : as it stands at present it appears most crude."

ENGLISHMAN, *April 19, 1855.*—The following is from our Hyderabad correspondent :—

"Till recently we have had nothing but the common occurrences, which are too tiresome to repeat. But within the last few days events of no small importance have occurred.

"It came to light some days ago that one Purbhoo Doss, a confidential officer of Burran-ood-Deen, in his department of mint master, had debased the legal coin of the realm, by putting into the currency from two to four ruttees more alloy than he was authorized to do, making a difference at the minimum rate of alloy of two rupees twelve annas, and at the maximum of five rupees eight annas, per cent. It appears that with this amount of alloy the Company's rupees can be profitably broken up to be re-coined into the Hullee Sicca—when coined at its legal standard value the best currency of the realm ; and accordingly it is reported that Purbhoo Doss carried to the crucible thirty-two thousand rupees of the Company's coinage. We know that political economists deprecate nearly as much coining money of a superior fineness, such as shall permit of its being profitably melted down, as coinage of a debased currency. The Company's Government in relation to the value of silver does not coin money which can be melted down, to be sold profitably as silver ; but the circumstances of the mint of Hyderabad have brought its currency into that condition. If the Government of India cannot do better for itself by the adoption of other measures, would it not be wise to reduce the fineness of their currency ?

"The Rajah of Wunpurtee, known to you in your editorial capacity, has been desired by the Resident to attend at the Nizam's capital to answer to certain charges made against him : I believe two are for highway robberies ; one for seizing upon the neighbouring zemindaree of Gopalpet, and imprisoning her who held it, and her son, a minor ; and, lastly, for coining base money at his mint of Seegoore. Everything here is so distorted that every question has two sides to it, of an almost equal balance, and there is no speculating upon results. An incidental occurrence has, however, been produced by the call of the Rajah to the capital, which, if properly managed by the Nizam's Government, may be of great advantage to it. The sahoocar at Wunpurtee who conducted the mint for the Rajah, apprehending danger to himself, left Wunpurtee to seek for shelter (certainly under an erroneous notion) in the cantonment of Secunderabad. He was arrested by the Nizam's Government when within ten miles of the capital ; and his books, which were seized with him, disclose that almost every sahoocar of note was concerned in the coinage of base money. It would be difficult to treat this numerous body, in other respects as respectable as sahoocars ordinarily are, as felons, but the Government for its own sake will vindicate its authority and repress future wrong by fining suitably these malefactors.

"It cannot bring obloquy on itself, by giving impunity to these offenders, for that in point of fact would be to encourage the future perpetration of the same offence, and probably to compel the English Government, whose interests are mixed up with the coinage of the Nizam's realm, into an interference which it would rather avoid, and to dictate a course of measures for the better management of the mint."

ENGLISHMAN, *May 12, 1855.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 29th ultimo :—

"The Rajah of Wunpurtee has come down ; the Resident will investigate—personally, I believe—the charges that have been made against him by the Nizam's Government. I intended to have written all that has as yet transpired regarding his case, but this letter is already too long, and I would rather present facts to you, which I shall be able to do in a few days, than speculations."

ENGLISHMAN, *May 19, 1855.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 6th :—

"A commission consisting of Major Briggs, Captain Barrow and Moulvee Ahmud has been appointed, under the direction and by the authority of the Resident, to investigate the charges which have been brought against the Rajah of Wunpurtee by the Nizam's Government. The commission sits under the provisions of an order of the Court of Directors, to which advertence is made in Lord Dalhousie's minute of the twenty-seventh of May one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one (extract from paragraph forty-first, page thirty-nine) in the following terms :—'He (the Resident) will be instructed to give, on every fitting occasion, the service of the Contingent troops, and, if need be, those of the Subsidiary Force also, for the maintenance of the sovereign's just authority. In so doing he will exercise the power with which he is vested, of judging in each case of the fitness of the purpose for which the troops are required, and of demanding subsequently the adoption of such measures as are the proper consequence of his interposition.'

"There has been one sitting; the Rajah of Wunpurtee does not deny that he coined money at his mint, nor that the Secgoor rupees, challenged as of under-value, are of the coinage of his mint, but he sets up the plea that he had licenses from two several Ministers for coining money, and that no prohibition from any of the numerous Ministers who in a period of many years, whilst he has been coining money here, succeeded to the administration, has ever been made to his coining money at his mint, nor objection taken to the sort of money he was coining. The question may possibly involve many difficult considerations. There is, however, one thing certain—the Rajah of Wunpurtee will receive ample justice, and will have nothing to complain of in the proceedings taken against him."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 11, 1855.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 29th

"The trial of the Rajah of Wunpurtee is concluded. He has been convicted of levying war, of forgery, and of coining money, and is sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Punishments, from long usage, have been systematically lenient, and it was proper that in his case it should be the same.

"It has been usual here to pay the Subsidiary troops in what are called Bagchulnee rupees, a *mélange* of Hali, Govindbux, and Narainpet Siccās, in the proportion to the hundred of twenty-five Hali Siccās, thirty-eight Govindbux, and thirty-seven Narainpets. The sepoys' pay being established in Company's rupees 21 per cent. is allowed for the commutation of that currency into the Bagchulnee. The Resident has within the last two or three months instructed the paymaster of the Subsidiary Force that the troops will henceforward be indiscriminately paid in the following currencies, at the rates, in respect of the Company's rupees, of their assay valuation :—

Hali Siccās, for 100 Company's rupees	119	11	1
Govindbux, " " " "	119	13	5
Narainpet, " " " "	122	5	1
Sigoor, " " " "	132	13	10
Gudwal, " " " "	129	6	6

"All accounts here being kept in the Sigoor and Gudwal rupees, which in the market bear an equal value, and prices of all commodities being fixed in them the value of a payment in any of the currencies can only be understood, as to its relative quantity, by being reduced to the Sigoor and Gudwal. The different currencies constantly fluctuate as to rates of premium. I shall adopt those which have obtained this month for the basis of my calculation. Other rates of premium will necessarily give other results, but they will stand in much about the same proportion to each other as that which I now give. I have stated that the troops were paid 121 Bagchulnee rupees for 100 Company's. The premium on the Bagchulnee is six per cent., and gives in Sigoor rupees 128 rupees 4 annas.

Hali Siccās.....	119	11	1	at	10	per cent. is	131	10	7) Sigoor 132 13 10 Gudwal 129 6 6
Govindbux.....	119	13	5	at	8½	per cent. is	129	11	7	
Narainpet	122	5	1	at	2½	per cent. is	126	9	9	

"From the comparison of the produce of the several currencies above enumerated with that of the Bagchulnee it will be apparent that the Government has

done no injustice to its troops—that in whichever of the currencies the troops may be paid, with the exception of the Naraipet rupees, the troops will be gainers.

“Company’s rupees are received in Berar from the ryots at an exchange of 21 per cent., and disbursed to the troops and departments stationed within those districts at the same rate. The commercial value of the Company’s rupees is differently proportioned by the assay and the market; it remains to be seen what the conflict of these two rates may produce. It was right to fix at a high rate the value of the Company’s rupees as the medium through which the revenues were to be received, for the accommodation of the ryots, &c., to preclude their suffering from the fluctuations of exchange; but as the commercial value will not come up to that rate of exchange, the result, which is the effect of commerce, is attributed to a combination of the shroffs. I know that there is combination among them, but it ought to be understood that what is frequently called combination is no other than a result unavoidably derived from the state of commerce. That it may be understood whether depreciation of the Company’s rupees in Berar is the effect of combination or the natural result of the commerce of the day, the rate of exchange between Bombay (to pay their bills on which, the sahoocars remit Company’s rupees) and Berar should be ascertained, and an allowance being made for conveyance, insurance, interest on time, and certain small profit, if then the depreciation be found to be much below this, there will be some right to assume that there is combination. But if the value of the Company’s rupees nearly corresponds to the price of bills fixed for the day, then is the depreciation the natural result of commerce.

“The Spanish dollar, I observe from your quotation of Mr. Cranford’s letter, was fixed by the Government at a low rate; the natural result was that none were ever received in the Government treasury. The Company’s currency in Berar has a high rate put upon it; the consequence will be that nothing but the Company’s rupee will be paid into the Government treasuries.”

ENGLISHMAN, *September 20, 1855*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 6th instant:—

“I hear that the payment made to the Contingent troops at Ellichpore in Company’s rupees, being understood to be under the value of their pay as before received by them in Hyderabad rupees, is to receive correction. As it will be impossible to control the commercial value of the Company’s rupees, the correction can only come by an additional payment to make up the deficiency to the troops in Company’s rupees—that is, to commute the Hyderabad rupees, in which their pay is established, into Company’s rupees, not upon assay, but upon an average commercial valuation.”

ENGLISHMAN, *August 29, 1861*.—Our own correspondent writes us from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 15th August:—

“The sahoocars here have suffered largely in their opium bargains. One considerable house is bankrupt; some have been saved by their correspondents, and some others are safe because they will not pay. A sahoocar, Marwaree of course, has been forging pice, which became twelve per cent. cheaper in a day, suddenly, and not by progression. This was a cruelty, a severe one, superadded to the high price of grain to the day-labourer, who is paid in pice, whilst all the traffic exchanges are made in annas, as elsewhere, sixteen to the rupee. This Marwaree, by name Moolchund, has been apprehended, and I hope will meet with condign punishment.”

STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.



STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

ENGLISHMAN, *November 13, 1862.*—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 3rd instant :—

“The Government of India has ordered the construction of a railroad from Sholapoor to Hyderabad. This will unite us to Bombay, and of a railroad from Hyderabad to Kudapah, otherwise Kurpah, which will approximate us to Madras. The larger portion of the community will be satisfied with this ; it remains to be seen whether it will not give, as it ought, universal satisfaction. It will, of course, bring many advantages, but that which I take most delight in is that it will bring persons of various nations and of varied opinions to our capital, and instruct our people that there are other ways than their own of thinking.”

ENGLISHMAN, *March 11, 1864.*—From a letter dated Hyderabad, February 29:—“The English Government is about to construct a railroad between Sholapoor and Hyderabad, and certain preparatory measures for its construction have already been taken. If it could be prevailed upon to commence without delay the construction of this road, it would be the means of providing for the maintenance of many persons, and of saving many lives. With such an object in view, the Government, if it understand the matter as we do here, will certainly not delay to give its attention to the subject. Famine and cholera are now raging in Berar. Jowaree, which in good seasons was as low as fifty seers the rupee, now sells at ten seers.”

TIMES OF INDIA, *November 20, 1869.*—As considerable uncertainty exists in the public mind in regard to the project of the railway from Kulburga to Hyderabad it may be as well to state how the matter stands. The strictly political arrangements were completed by Sir R. Temple whilst the late Nizam was living ; but considerable uncertainty still remained as to the ways and means, and the ultimate responsibilities of profit and loss. Great progress has very recently been made. A recent despatch from the Duke of Argyll having laid down the principles on which the undertaking should be executed and managed, active negotiations followed between Mr. Sanaders (the Hyderabad Resident) and Sir Salar Jung. The Nizam's Government, we believe, are prepared to construct the line as a State affair of their own, or they would undertake it in financial partnership with the Government of India. If the latter course be preferred, they offer to lend our share towards the capital. All these various alternative proposals are still under the Viceroy's consideration, with the nice questions of interest, guarantees, profit and loss, control over traffic management, and others which arise out of the primary considerations of proprietorship and right of direction. It would seem that under any circumstances the making of the railway will not be given out on contract. One of our Bombay contractors recently made application to be allowed to tender for part of the work, but was informed that it would be constructed departmentally. The Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department under the Hyderabad Resident, Major Meade (Madras Staff Corps), with one or two experienced professional subordinates, is now surveying the route, and he expects to be entrusted—under the general control of the Supreme Government, P.W.D.—with the entire work. This officer is one who makes it his study to accomplish great ends with a minimum of

means, as may be seen in his plans for the cotton railway from Khangaum to join the G. I. P. For the Hyderabad line his rough estimate fell far short of a crore of rupees, being a little over £7,000 per mile, broad gauge. The Nizam's engineers can have nothing to do with the work. Not one of them—unless it might be the European Principal of his Engineering College—would as yet be of any use in works of this kind. The financial questions named above are still under negotiation, but this will not interfere with the progress of the work, as they will be settled long before the surveys and other preliminaries are completed. Everything now promises well for the line to Hyderabad, and Sir Salar Jung has fully met the views of the Resident so far as the arrangements have proceeded.

TIMES OF INDIA, *January 20, 1870.*—*The Railway to Chanda.*—"From Colonel R. Strachey, R. E., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department, to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, dated 3rd January 1870.

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's No. 29—, dated 6th December 1869, submitting a minute by yourself, proposing to undertake the survey of a line of railway from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Chanda and thence to some point on the Godavery below the 3rd barrier; the construction of such a line being advocated in the special interest of the coal of Chanda, the cotton of Hinganghat, and the forests of Aheree, as well as with a view to the connection of the Godavery navigation with Central and Western India.

"2. The importance of these several objects is fully recognized by the Government of India, and although the available information as to the extent of the Chanda coal fields and the probable yield is still imperfect, there appears to be good ground for the expectation that the construction of a cheap railway in this direction, at least as far as the coal fields, will be justified. The Governor General in Council is therefore pleased to sanction the employment of the officers whose services are stated to be available for surveying and investigating this project, and drawing up an estimate of the probable cost of carrying it out. The first object of the survey should be a line of railway as far as the coal fields, but if the time will admit of it and you have officers available the Governor General in Council will not object to your extending the surveys as far as the 3rd barrier of the Godavery.

"3. The information which is at present before the Government of India is not sufficiently complete to enable the course of the line to be indicated with any precision, but it is evident that Hingunghat, as a great cotton mart, and the chief collieries of the Chanda district, are obligatory points. And since Hingunghat is to be on the line, the map shows that Wurdha, as recommended by you, should probably be the point of junction with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, in order that the cotton may have as direct a route to Bombay as is consistent with keeping down to the lowest the total mileage of new railway to be constructed.

"4. The precise point where the coal-field should be entered cannot be named until more certain knowledge has been attained of the extent and locality of the coal measures of the district. If the coal found near the town of Chanda is sufficient in quality and quantity to meet all demands on it, the line might go there; if Googoose is the more favourable locality for coal working, the line should go to this place. Again, if works at the three sites where coal has been found, *viz.*, Chanda, Googoose and Bullarpoor, are likely to find simultaneous employment, it will be a matter for consideration how the main line should be carried so as to serve all the localities in the most convenient manner, and whether branches would be needed or not. Possibly the coal from the Googoose pits might be brought down the river to Bullarpoor, if an extension of the line to that place was desirable.

"5. Beyond the coal-fields the main object of the line would be to give a connection with the navigable portion of the Godavery, and thus open out a route for the export of coal and the produce of the Central Provinces to the sea and to the Madras Presidency.

"6. The possibility of an eventual junction with Hyderabad should be also kept in view in considering the general direction of the line near Chanda. When the line from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Hyderabad is constructed, a junction from Chanda to Hyderabad would give the means of distributing coal all over the southern part of Deccan and the northern portion of the Madras lines, a matter of the greatest economical importance. Such a junction, if crossing the Pranheita river near Chanda, might, it is believed, be carried through some of the best cotton districts in the Nizam's territories, and from it the communication to the Godavery might perhaps be made on the right bank of the river. These points call for careful consideration.

"7. In any event it may be concluded that Wurdah, Hingunghat, and the neighbourhood of Chanda will be on the line. Between Wurdah and Hingunghat there exists a road 21 miles long, and for the most part bridged and metalled. A line drawn south-east from Hingunghat strikes at a distance of 12 miles the southern road to Chanda, which is partially metalled and bridged. If, then, the levels and curves of these roads can be adapted to any suitable kind of railway, and if they possess sufficient width for a single cartway and a single railway track, the expense of the embankment of the land, and possibly some of the bridges, will be saved. Nor is this the only advantage to be gained by utilizing the road, for all materials can be carted to the works at less cost, and existing branch roads will act as feeders to the railway, while such commerce as the construction of the present road has created in the villages in its neighbourhood will form the nucleus of an expanding trade. So far, therefore, as present information extends, there seems ground for inquiry whether the line of the road should not be followed where practicable.

"8. It is possible that this condition might necessitate the adoption of a narrow gauge, and it is almost certain that the bridges would, if utilized, not bear the weight of a broad gauge locomotive. Considering the absolute necessity for economy of first cost in the construction of railway by the State, the question of the gauge cannot be finally decided without reference to the comparative cost of different gauges. But it is so certain that the economy in the use of a gauge of say 3 feet 6 inches over that of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway will be very great, that the Governor General in Council has little doubt of its superiority in this case, whether the width and circumstances of the existing road render such a limit necessary or not. The line, therefore, where it deviates from the road, might be located with sharp curves, and the whole designed for a 3 feet 6 inches gauge, but an alternative estimate for a 5 feet 6 inches gauge railway for low speed on the same location should be also framed. In the estimate for the narrow gauge the special arrangements proposed for the transfer of coal and other goods at Wurdah should be included, and their details explained. On this subject the Governor General in Council will only further remark that the cost of shifting goods at a junction is an absolute amount which may be determined for each article, and balanced against the saving which might result from the use of a narrow instead of a broad gauge for a given number of miles, and that mechanical means can be adopted for reducing the cost of transshipment of any particular kind of traffic to a minimum.

"9. It may be added that the coal traffic on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway will probably be mainly to supply the wants of the eastern portions of the Great Indian Peninsula system of lines, and can hardly develop into a very large business. The main demand on the Chanda coal will, so far as an opinion can now be formed, eventually be for the railways of the central and southern portions of the Deccan and Madras, and attention should from the outset be given to this feature of the question.

"10. It should be impressed on the officers entrusted with the investigation of this scheme that the greatest economy must be studied in designing this railway for the special wants that it is desired to supply. The expected traffic is not a highly organized one, comprising passengers of many grades in society, but that of a few staple articles of produce requiring little special accommodation, and the principles embodied in the general instructions to officers employed in drawing

up projects for State Railways are entirely applicable to this line. The road and subway must be good and substantial, while all elaborate buildings and expensive works may be postponed until the development of the country and of its trade has made their construction desirable."

TIMES OF INDIA, February 4, 1870.—*Railway from Gulburgah to Hyderabad.*—Sir Salar Jung has just given another proof of the enlightened spirit in which he administers the affairs of the Nizam's dominions. He has sanctioned the construction of a line of railway from Gulburgah to Hyderabad, and a proclamation has been issued in the Persian tongue inviting contributions. All who wish well to the Sirkar are asked to assist in providing the necessary capital. This can be done in two ways—either as a loan to the Nizam's Government, or by subscribing for shares. In the former case interest will be paid at the rate of six per cent. per annum; in the latter, five per cent. will be guaranteed, besides a proportionate share of the net profits. Punctuality of payment may be safely reckoned upon, as the funds will be drawn from the four lakhs annually accruing, as a minimum, from the Berars while under British management. The line will, of course, be constructed by English engineers appointed by the Imperial Government, but who will be required every six months to submit to the Sirkar a full account of income and outlay. These accounts will also be laid before the British Government, who will choose certain of the shareholders to examine and report upon them. Whatever suggestions these representatives may think proper to make will receive due consideration.

A shareholder who wishes to dispose of his interest in the undertaking must first give notice of such desire to the Sirkar, which reserves to itself the power of granting or withholding permission to do so. Neither can shares be transferred without previous notification. The total amount of capital required is estimated at £1,150,000, the decision having been given in favour of the broad gauge system, though the narrow gauge is preferred throughout Europe as being equally safe, and very much cheaper both to lay down and to work. The reason, of course, is to be found in the unwise preference given in this country to the broad gauge, but it does seem rather hard upon the Nizam's Government that it should be not only constrained—no matter how gentle the pressure—to embark upon an undertaking for which it entertains the slightest possible sympathy, but also to incur an expenditure that might have been avoided had the British Government only displayed a little more sagacity a few years ago.—*Englishman*, January 31.

PIONEER, February 15, 1870.—*The Opening of the Khamgaon Railway.*—The ceremonial at the opening of the Khamgaon Railway on the 3rd March will be a somewhat imposing affair. Captain Chamier's Battery of Artillery has been ordered from Aurungabad to Khamgaon, and will arrive there probably on the 24th instant; Colonel Dowker's regiment (3rd Cavalry Hyderabad Contingent) from Hingolee is expected on the 25th; and Colonel Wyndham's regiment (Infantry) from Ellichpore on the 26th. Sir Salar Jung was at Hingolee on the 11th. He will be accompanied to Khamgaon, it is said, by 500 of his Arabs. It is arranged that the Viceroy, the Resident, and Sir Salar Jung will pay a visit to Akola also, but it has not yet been definitely settled whether they will visit Akola in the first instance, proceeding thence to Khamgaon, or *vice versa*. At Akola the Commissioner's Cutcherry will be used for the accommodation of the Viceregal party. Sir Salar Jung's Camp will be between the town and the Civil Lines, and the Resident's Camp between the Commissioner's Cutcherry and the Akola Club. At Khamgaon Lord Mayo will be accommodated in the new Cutcherry, which has been very tastefully prepared for his reception. Mr. Morris, Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, will probably accompany the Viceroy from Jubbulpore. A number of civil officers are expected from Khandeish, and the whole of the officers of the Berar Commission have been granted leave of absence for the purpose of being present.

TIMES OF INDIA, February 17, 1870.—*The Railway to Goolburga.*—From the Consulting Engineer for Railways, dated 12th January.

Submits a report for his inspection of the unopen line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway between Sholapoor and Raichore.

Resolution by the Government of Bombay.

The line to Goolburga can be opened for passenger and goods traffic on the 1st February 1870. The speed of passenger trains should be restricted till the fencing is complete and the line thoroughly boxed up, to an average of 15 miles an hour. It has given Government pleasure to note the remarkable progress of the works between Sholapoor and Goolburga during the last three months. The arrangements made by the Agent, and the energy and vigour with which the works were carried out by the Resident and Assistant Engineers, have been most creditable. * * *

A copy of the Consulting Engineer's report should be sent to the Secretary of State, whose attention should be drawn to the obstructive spirit displayed by the contractor's agent for the works south of Goolburga, and also to the delays in the preparation of the iron-work for the Krishna bridge. Government direct the Agent to take all legal steps in his power to secure the vigorous prosecution of the works on Contract No. 19, and to serve notice on Mr. Bray that if the works are not finished by the date to which his contract has been extended, the works will be carried on at his expense by the Company's officers, and he will be proceeded against for all losses sustained by reason of his failure to complete his contract within the stipulated period.

TIMES OF INDIA, November 14, 1871.—We believe there is good ground for the statement just made to the effect that the determination duly arrived at to construct the Nizam's State Railway on the new economical principle of light rails and narrow gauge has at the eleventh hour been reversed. But as the policy of the Government of India in regard to its new railway system is firmly established, we may yet hope that this recent aberration will be recovered from, and that the Hyderabad line will yet be constructed on the modern method. To depart from this settled plan, either in regard to our own or Native State railways, is really to perpetuate the break of gauge and in a way that will cause endless trouble. Unless the comprehensive plan with which Lord Mayo started shall be tampered with in the Deccan for a pusillanimous excuse, or in Rajpootana for the convenience of the salt traffic, the new system would gradually absorb the old by the interposition of the third rail; and the spare light rolling stock of the Nizam's line would before 1885 be regularly travelling to Poona. If we are to begin thrusting the present cumbrous and ruinous system right and left into Native States, all chance of a gradual approximation to uniformity will be lost. It does not look well, just when the one strong section of our railway system, the East Indian, is breaking down, for us to thus inflict a copy of it on Native States, either because they can be made to pay for it, or, because of our silly apprehensions about them, we are not content with a method of getting into their territory ten times more effectual than any we now have. Is it the wretched Abdoola's dagger that has changed the gauge of the Hyderabad railway, and inflicted a needless million of expense on the Nizam's State? After the official countenance that has been given to Dr. Hunter's crude notions and glaring anachronisms about the "rebel camp on the frontier," there need be no surprise if the scale has been turned by the childish argument just indicated. Be that as it may, we are glad to find for the credit of Colonel J. S. Trevor that he cannot be held responsible for this reactionary step in the matter of the Hyderabad line. This last vacillation occurred before the new Under-Secretary had time to join the Simla State Railway Department.

TIMES OF INDIA, June 10, 1872.—In a recent issue we pointed out that very often in the dealings of our Supreme rulers with Native States scant measure of justice and consideration is meted out to them, and that thereby our

true imperial prestige is lowered. One illustration of this disposition we cited was the apparently one-sided arrangement come to with H. H. the Nizam regarding the railway now under construction by the British D. P. W. in his dominions, for which he has been made not only to give up all the required land to British jurisdiction in perpetuity, but also to provide all the capital, and guarantee all the interest.

In connexion with this subject, some paragraphs have been recently going the round of our contemporaries regarding the alleged or threatened veto placed by the Supreme Government on an appointment made by the Nizam, of a European gentleman to manage the financial affairs of this railway company, which has been locally formed by H. E. Sir Salar Jung to furnish to the British Government the requisite capital for the undertaking in direct furtherance of their expressed wishes. We have made some inquiries as to the truth of these reports, and have met with statements of a sufficiently startling nature. For the present we suppress details, as we understand the matter is engaging the attention of Lord Northbrook; and we have much confidence that his decision will be such as to supersede the necessity of our taking up the matter more fully.

Suffice it to say that the Calcutta authorities, not content with getting the capital of the railway provided ready to hand by the Nizam's Government, issued, as we are credibly informed, an order to that Prince, before Lord Northbrook's arrival in India, calling on him to cancel the appointment of a European gentleman of experience, who has been employed by Sir Salar Jung to organize the affairs of the railway company on a European model, and in such a manner as to protect the interests of the shareholders by arranging a regular system of share certificates and accounts, and promptly paying to them their dues in the shape of guaranteed interest and other matters, which the ordinary constitution of a native Government treasury renders it unable to cope with. Moreover, we learn that the appointment had been originally made under the full approval of the Resident, Mr. Saunders, whose ready sanction in such a case was surely only natural, looking to all the circumstances. There is, however, it appears, a treaty of last century which makes the consent of the "Company's Government" necessary in order to Europeans being employed by the Nizam's Government. We are assured that this treaty, though sought to be disinterred on the present occasion for the purpose of stopping Sir Salar Jung's career of progress, bears clearly on the face of it that its sole end and aim was the wholly different and temporary purpose of compassing the discharge, and preventing the re-engagement of French military officers then in the Nizam's army. Even putting out of account how times have changed since the days of the brilliant Raymond and the making of that treaty, we cannot but hold that the sanction of the British representative at Hyderabad, which it appears was duly obtained, was sufficient. Even if not, that the exercise of the obsolete right of dissent by the Calcutta authorities—if such right of dissent to the act of their own officer exists—could in the present instance be justified by no argument. That a British Government should be found laying a prohibition on the employment of an Englishman by a Native State for the peaceful purpose of introducing an English system of accounts must in any case appear sufficiently novel and startling; and it surely would need very strong counter-considerations in order to render such action defensible. But instead of any counter-considerations existing in the case now under review, it would appear as if every consideration of fair play and expediency demanded the removal of any such restriction on the Nizam's Government in this case, namely, in the management by it of the very capital which it had, from public spirit or under "moral pressure," agreed to provide for expenditure on what is virtually a British undertaking.

The Government of India must surely feel that the regulation of the complex affairs of a joint stock company to the formation of which they have committed the Nizam's Government cannot be efficiently carried out without the aid of some European officer. And it is surely not too much to say that the good faith and honour of the Supreme Government should be considered pledged to the support

of the Nizam's Minister in all his arrangements necessary for furnishing this railway capital, for which he consented to become responsible only on the urgent representations of the British Government. It may safely be assumed that His Excellency would never have so become responsible had he dreamed that the British Government would be on the watch to thwart the railway company whenever formed, and to discredit the undertaking with the shareholders by prohibiting his employing "any European" (for we believe the threatened veto extends to all Europeans) for its management.—nay, further, by requesting him to befool himself before his own subjects by dismissing from his service the confidential officer whom he had just employed under the sanction of the British Resident at his Court. It can well be imagined what must be the feelings with which a high-minded and generous native ruler like Sir Salar Jung must view such a requital of his strenuous efforts at seconding the British Government in its objects and policy. Unless all apprehension of similar checkmating action in the future be promptly removed, which we trust Lord Northbrook will effect, can the consequence be otherwise than altogether to deter Native States from co-operating with us in schemes of advancement and progress?

The present consequence of the rumoured adverse action of Government regarding this appointment is that the railway shares are just now selling at 20 per cent. discount, representing a most unjustifiable loss inflicted on the trusting shareholders. Further, as calls under such circumstances cannot be realized, Sir Salar Jung is, we hear, actually reduced to pay the British Government the amounts of its monthly indents for expenditure on the line now in progress from his own treasury. Can the Secretaries at Calcutta, or whatever authorities have made this muddle, fail to perceive that such a wide range of interests (were it only the pecuniary ones) will be affected by any aggressive action in this case as will prevent this matter being so readily hushed to rest as has usually been the case with grievances of Native States in times past?

In a time of profound peace, and in dealing with an ally of unswerving loyalty like the Nizam, what can be alleged as a reason for forbidding him the services of our countrymen? We would repel the idea that the Foreign Office can stoop to the meanness of being jealous lest complete success should attend the Minister in the carrying out of the very scheme which he generously undertook at their own urgent instance. We absolutely refuse to entertain the notion that any British administrators would be better pleased if he should fail in producing the required capital,—if this railway, which they have urged on him, were to become the cause of financial embarrassment to our ally. If Mephistopheles had a seat in the supreme executive, that accomplished politician might suggest such a course with the malevolent object of making the Nizam once more the debtor of the Government of India, so that, his creditor perhaps proving remorseless, as on a former memorable occasion, another assignment of territory might be finally extorted from him. Verily some will be driven to imagine all these possibilities passing in review before the mind of "Our Faithful Ally," whose past experience of the Government of India is that of a relentless creditor, who mercilessly piled up against him charges for the Hyderabad Contingent of 40 lakhs per annum, charges which its own subsequent reduction of its cost to 26 lakhs proved to have been quite unjustifiable, and regarding whose pecuniary dealings with our ally Colonel Davidson, the Resident, has put on record the following statement:—"The wonder clearly is that, instead of owing only 43 lakhs of Company's rupees at the end of 50 years of such a system, our claim did not render the Nizam hopelessly insolvent."

Thus far we have noticed this question of our Government's refusal to allow the appointment of a European account officer at Hyderabad, not from any desire to deal out censure to any one at this stage. Though we are pretty certain that the attempt was made to enforce the veto, yet as the point is, we understand, again referred to Government, we have no occasion to reflect on any particular authority as yet, nor have we any right to look for any other than a fair and just decision. If Lord Northbrook's attention is once fairly drawn to the

matter it cannot slip past him comparatively unnoticed. It is an opportunity which gives him a special opening to prove, at the outset of his career, his regard for the just interests of Native States, and to evince his desire that, according to the spirit of the Royal promise, which he quoted with so much loyal spirit, they be strong and prosperous, and to give them the much-needed assurance that jealousy of their strength and prosperity is *not* a part of the policy which he will allow to emanate from his Foreign Office. This invaluable service, not so much to the Native Princes of India as to the British Empire itself, we look confidently to Lord Northbrook to perform.

TIMES OF INDIA, October 7, 1874.—The Hyderabad State Railway will be opened to the public to-morrow, and preparations are being made for celebrating an event which is a triumph of peace with the princely rejoicings formerly reserved for the cruel victories of war. Every exertion has been made by the Engineer in charge to hurry forward the completion of the line, so as to allow the opening ceremony to take place before the advent of the Ramzan, or fasting month, commencing on the 13th instant, which would have prevented Sir Salar Jung and the other Mussulman notabilities of the State from being present or from taking any part in the accompanying entertainments. For a moment, however, it appeared as if the inauguration of the line would have to be deferred. A considerable slip occurred ten days ago in a large embankment halfway down the line, which at first excited apprehension as to the possible effect the accident might have on the opening of the railway by the appointed date. Fortunately, however, all alarm on that score has been removed by the celerity with which the damage has been repaired.

Invitations to the ceremony and subsequent festivities have been issued by the great Minister of the Nizam with a liberal hand. The whole civil and military community of Secunderabad, the civil officers of Berar, the chief officials of the G. I. P. and Madras Railways, and a number of office-holders of various sorts and degrees from Madras, Poona, and Bombay, have all been invited to come and enjoy the hospitality of Sir Salar Jung. On the Bombay side a special train will leave this city to-day, starting about an hour before the regular train. It will arrive at Begumpett—the point of junction of the city and cantonment branches—at 4 P.M. on Thursday. To accommodate the expected guests, or at least a portion of them, a number of tents have been pitched in the public gardens which Sir Salar Jung recently presented to the city of Hyderabad. Tents have been fitted up for half the number of guests invited, it being assumed that a considerable number will put up with friends in and around the cantonment. The Resident has undertaken, we believe, to provide for all the ladies who come from a distance.

The following is a general sketch of the programme to be followed. On Thursday afternoon Sir Salar Jung, accompanied by a large number of the nobility and most influential men in the city, and by the Resident with his staff, will leave the Hyderabad terminus, and run up the line, to the cantonment terminus at Trimulgherry. No ceremony will take place there, but the furthest point of the permanent way having been reached, a return will be made to Begumpett to meet the guests expected by the special train. The united party will then triumphantly sweep with flying colours into the Hyderabad terminus, when the formalities of declaring the line open will be gone through. In the evening there will be a large dinner party, to which 350 guests are invited, in the public gardens, and that will be followed by a magnificent display of fireworks from the eminence immediately overlooking the grounds. When the Commander-in-Chief visited Secunderabad in February last a miniature fort was erected on the summit of the commanding position, and its mud bastions and battlements were lighted up at night with a blaze of fireworks; a hurricane of crackers and a cyclone of rockets produced a lifelike representation of the manner in which Magdala was stormed. The stronghold survived the assault which was then delivered against it, and on the present auspicious occasion it will once more be called on to do duty, and reproduce the most exciting features of a successful attack. But this time the siege will be of a

purely emblematical character, and the real assault will be delivered on Hyderabad dirt and Hyderabad fanaticism, both of which will be swept in headlong rout into the muddy waters of the Moosey by the irresistible charge of Pemberton's iron horse. On Saturday there will be a large dinner party at Sir Salar Jung's, where upwards of two hundred guests will be entertained. The two other chief noblemen of the State, Shums-ul-Umra and Vicar-ul-Umra, will also give dinner parties, but for only sixty guests each, there not being room to accommodate a larger number in the houses of those noblemen. On Monday there will be a picnic at the Meer Alum tank, the beautiful sheet of water lying embosomed among low rocky hills about two miles south of the city. On this lake are a small paddle steamer and a steam screw launch belonging to Sir Salar Jung. These vessels will be brought into requisition to convey the party to a shady grove situated at the head of the lake, where refreshments will be served. The day's entertainment will wind up with a ball at the Residency. On Wednesday the special train will return, doubtless carrying back with it the bulk of the guests from a distance. Those, however, who choose to stay longer with their friends may do so, the return tickets being available up to the end of the month.

The great work which from to-morrow will establish direct railway communication between the most splendid city of the Deccan and Bombay has been constructed at the sole cost of the Nizam's Government. Sir Salar Jung appropriated a million sterling of the State funds for the purpose, and our Government undertook to carry out the work through its own officers. A subsidiary railway system on the metre gauge, planned by Mr. Johnson, C.E., is, we believe, determined upon, and it will act as a feeder to the main line now finished. The State railway has, as Mr. Molesworth, the Consulting Engineer to the Government of India for State Railways, pointed out, considerable political and commercial importance. The cause of order and good government, for which the administration of Sir Salar Jung has done so much, cannot fail to profit by the establishment of regular and rapid communication between Hyderabad and the rest of the country. There is a large trade already between the Nizam's territory and that of our Government, cotton, sugar, oils and grain being largely exported, while the Hyderabadies import our goods to the amount of £400,000 a year. Without doubt the imports and exports will be largely increased by the facilities which the new railway will afford. The length of the line is about one hundred and twenty miles, which includes a branch some six miles long. The material for the permanent way was originally brought out for the Great Southern of India Railway, but when it was decided to construct that line on the metre gauge the iron work was handed over to the Nizam's railway. The broad gauge was preferred for this line, because it was considered desirable to work it through the agency of the G. I. P. Railway Company, and a break of gauge would, of course, under such circumstances have been highly inconvenient. It is to be hoped that this useful and important line, running through a fertile country, and connecting a great city of large population and considerable wealth with the system of Indian railways, will escape the common fate of such enterprises in this country, and pay a dividend on the capital invested in it. But whether it turns out a financial success or not it will prove to be a great public benefit, and we cannot conclude these brief remarks without expressing our best wishes for the prosperity of the Nizam's State Railway.

TIMES OF INDIA, October 12, 1874.—Opening of the Nizam's State Railway.—Festivities at Hyderabad.—The following is from our special correspondent, dated Hyderabad, 9th October :—

“Yesterday morning at daybreak the special train which left Bombay at 1 p.m. on Wednesday with the guests invited to be present at the opening of the Nizam's State Railway entered the Nizam's territories, and arrived at Shahabad at 7 a.m. The third-class waiting-room at the station had been newly paved, whitewashed, and decorated with flags and evergreens. An excellent breakfast was hospitably provided for all the guests by the Nizam's Government. At 9-30

the train started for Waddi junction, where the new line begins. The engine was gaily decorated with particoloured flags and fresh-cut flowers and evergreens. The morning was very fresh and cool, and all the guests, whose numbers had now been considerably augmented by accessions from Berar, Madras, and elsewhere, were in excellent health and spirits notwithstanding the fatigue of travelling all night.

“Waddi junction is as yet incomplete; it will, no doubt, shortly be a very fine station, but at present some heaps of building stone and a few huts built of palm-leaves are about all that the casual eye can observe. The country itself for the first 20 or 30 miles along the new line is flat and not very fertile. The soil is black, and rarely more than five or six inches in depth, the limestone foundation cropping up every few hundred yards. Dotted over the plain are villages built of this limestone, and presenting a somewhat formidable appearance, with walls and bastions which they have inherited from the warlike past. In nearly every village there is a round tower, doubtless to serve as a citadel, and some of the larger *gaums* are protected by loopholed bastions. These fortifications, which one sees in every direction all over the vast plain, so admirably adapted for cavalry raids, speak eloquently of the times when the Mahratta horse swept the Deccan under chiefs who were half kings half brigands. These villages could only be taken by artillery or by escalade. Chittapore station, the first which we come to on the line, is built of the limestone of the country in a very pretty style. The verandah and flat roof of the India bungalow has been treated with Gothic or, more correctly, Early English, art feeling. The flat-pointed arches and other details do credit to the taste of Mr. John Bell, who is, with reason, suspected of the design. The interior is covered with chunam of snowy whiteness, and hard as marble, the superabounding limestone of this region yielding the material. I may here mention that the next three stations are also built of limestone, and are on the same groundplan as that at Chittapore, but the details are classic instead of Gothic. They are all alike excellent specimens of masonry work, and far superior to the stations which we see elsewhere in India, or indeed on our English lines. In every case comfortable quarters are provided in adjacent buildings for the station-masters.

“As the train drew up to the Chittapore station numbers of the inhabitants ran out to see the unwonted sight. Men, women, and children regarded the train with wonder, their open mouths showing at once their magnificent teeth and their admiration. A small body of police irregulars—fine men, but not overdrilled—drew up on the platform, and scrutinized the carriages to see Captain Dobbs, the Judicial Superintendent of Railways, who had taken charge of all the arrangements from Shahabad onwards. Having at length spied him, they looked nervously at one another, and were evidently at a loss as to the proper course to take when they saw the great sahib for the first time in a railway carriage. They fidgeted with their sabres, and appeared inclined to draw, but the Jemadar suddenly recollecting himself gave the order to salute, which every man did after his own impression of what a real Europe salute is. Chittapore contains some 6,000 inhabitants within its fortification, without mentioning the pariahs, who dwell in leaf-built huts outside. A Native Christian community is here still to be found, whose origin dates back to the time when the Portuguese missionaries proselytized with such zeal and success under the impulse communicated by the genius of St. Francis Xavier. In a little graveyard a Christian emblem of the Cross testifies to the faith which these native followers of Christ have kept from extinction for two hundred years. The population in this region and onwards for miles is obviously sparse and poor. The cattle are thin and not numerous. At Seram there is a handsome stone bridge of twelve spans, each of forty feet. The station is unfinished. The village appears to be pretty extensive, and is walled and bastioned. We can see more trees than houses within the walls, which are rapidly falling to ruin. The soil hereabouts becomes richer, and for the first time we passed a field surrounded by hedges, but it was a solitary one. A hospital has been erected at Seram by the Nizam's Government for the railway servants, as well as for the natives generally. It is said that the jealousy of the jagheerdars has prevented the establishment of

similar Hospitals at the other stations along the line. The railway passes for the most part through their properties, and the conservative instincts of these semi-independent chiefs are as strongly pronounced as those of the proudest barons of Europe ever were.

"A few miles before reaching Illapore, which is 40 miles from Shahabad, the character of the country begins to change—grass and brushwood taking the place of arable land. Further on we leave the black soil and the limestone behind us, and begin the ascent to the Hyderabad plateau. Trap rock completely supersedes the limestone. Just at this part of the line the carriages oscillated considerably, owing to the curves and twists which here abound, the object of the engineers begin to avoid steep gradients.

"Tandoon is a large place, with a broad ditch surrounding the half-ruinous wall. Trees in this part of the country are more numerous, and as we ascend the ghats jungle appears. It was found very difficult to collect workmen to cut a way for the line through the jungle, which is not healthy, and is very difficult to traverse. Special arrangements had to be made for the commissariat of such men as could be induced to undertake the work, and the whole operation severely taxed the patience of the engineers in charge. As seen from the railway carriage, these ghats though not so bold as those west of Poona are better wooded, and almost as picturesque, though not so grand. Here and there we get glimpses of park-like glades of considerable beauty. As we approach the plateau of the Deccan the scenery reminds us of the Surrey hills.

"At Illampalli, 77 miles from Shahabad, a triumphal arch was erected, and most hospitable arrangements were made for the refreshment of His Highness's guests. Continuing our journey across the Hyderabad table-land, we leave the valley of the Cogna, which we have hitherto followed, and take that of the Moosey towards Hyderabad as far as Paltipore. At that point the line diverges, for political reasons, and winds among rocky valleys as far as Begampet Hosain Sagar junction. The masses of grotesque boulders, which form a marked feature of the landscape on either hand in this part of the country, sometimes assume forms of cyclopean fortifications. Begampet is an outlying part of the Secunderabad cantonment, and the line having been brought to that point runs on to Hyderabad, where there is at present a temporary terminus near the native city. Thence it turns to Secunderabad Station, where a branch from Begampet meets it, and going on to Trimulgherry it reaches its ultimate terminus under the guns of the entrenched camp. Here it is intended that the guards and drivers, &c., shall have their quarters, and the engines their sheds.

"The line is a single one of the standard gauge. It is looped at the stations, which are also provided with goods sidings. The cost of construction has been about £8,000 a mile, and it has been constructed in the best style for that sum. The principal bridge on the line is that over the Cogna, which has fifteen spans of thirty feet each. The minor bridges are numerous, and do not require any special remark. The line was laid out in 1870 by Major Meade, of the Bengal Staff Corps (now Engineer-in-Chief of Scindiah's State Railway); and Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Sieveking, Mr. Renny, Mr. Rigghy, Mr. Berkinshaw and Mr. John Bell have been also associated in the construction of this line. The G. I. P. Railway Company will work the line for a percentage on the earnings, with, of course, a fixed minimum.

"When the special train yesterday, after passing the Pattipore and Illampalli stations, arrived near Begumpet junction, a train from Hyderabad with Sir Salar Jung and the Resident and their respective suites approached, the two trains joined, and both engines being placed together in front proceeded to Hyderabad, where, as I have already informed you by telegraph, it was received with a royal salute of 21 guns. I will not dwell upon the incidents of the reception, for I do not desire to trench upon the province of your able Hyderabad correspondent. When the train drew up at the platform, the Resident, in his genial and hearty way, presented the guests to Sir Salar Jung, the distinguished Minister whose name will always be associated with the success of this great work.

"In the evening the guests who were not otherwise provided for were quartered in spacious tents in the splendid gardens which Sir Salar Jung has thrown open to the city. Large marquees were sumptuously fitted up for a banquet, to which some 350 ladies and gentlemen were invited. To Mr. Wilkinson, Superintendent of the Gardens, Mr. Elsworthy, Engineer in charge of general workshops and stores, and Mr. Heenan, Superintendent of Coal-fields, great credit is due for the admirable arrangements in the gardens for the comfort and amusement of the guests. The scene at night was wonderously beautiful and fairy-like.

"The illumination of the grounds was planned with excellent taste. A parterre of illuminated tulips—the tulips being variegated paper lamps skilfully set out on the grass—was, I think, the prettiest effect of the whole, and that is saying a great deal. On the ornamental lake a little ship, with the lines of her rigging worked out in light, was also a feature. And I should not omit to mention the triumph of Mr. Silberger's petroleum gas, the first gas ever seen in Hyderabad. Several of his machines were distributed over the grounds, and produced great quantities of very brilliant gas."

The Meer Alum Lake and the Jehan Noomah.—"This morning all the guests rose early to visit the Meer Alum Lake. This beautiful piece of water was pleasantly ruffled by a cool and health-giving breeze, such as you in Bombay never enjoy from year's end to year's end. Sir Salar Jung and the Resident were on board the large steam launch, which was crowded with the guests. After cruising about for an hour or two the whole party landed, and proceeded to the Jehan Noomah—the magnificent palace and grounds of Shums-ool-Oomrah, Co-Regent with Sir Salar Jung. The gardens, though not of any great extent, are unsurpassed in brilliancy and effect, flowers and foliage and walks being admirably combined. Having enjoyed ourselves amongst the flowers, we sat down under a magnificent awning in front of the main pavilion; the palace is composed of a number of pavilions, whose white walls and chaste elegance reminded one of the interior of the Trianon, but the exterior is far superior to anything that Versailles can pretend to. Breakfast was served in a spacious hall, round the lofty sides of which ran a light gallery. The table was Parisian in its elegance, and thoroughly English in the solidity and excellence of the viands which were displayed amidst the flowers, the vases, and the tazzas. Even plum-pudding was not absent. The grave and venerable host, whose features and dress, and even complexion, recalled the portraits of Dante, sat between Sir Salar Jung and the Resident, and did the honours with quiet dignity. Breakfast over, we visited the different pavilions, and saw many European curiosities which seemed to have superseded efforts of native ingenuity. A mechanical presentment of a droll fellow who opened his mouth for fish to jump down his throat out of a barrel might be taken as a representative of these specimens of European art. While passing through a courtyard we saw what was certainly not less interesting, a flock of beautiful storks and some pelicans being fed.

"And then we were invited to look at a sight that does not often gratify European eyes—an elephant suckling her young. The mother was a huge animal, ten or twelve feet high; she roamed the woods in happy freedom till recently, but being caught she resigned herself to the situation, and twenty days ago gave birth to a fine baby elephant. The little stranger is at present of the dimensions of a small bullock, or say of an adult Highland cow. The mother stood tranquilly eating tufts of long grass which the mahout handed her, and before putting a wisp in her capacious mouth she used it as a fan to drive the flies from her offspring's tender hide. The (comparatively) little fellow moved in and out between the two pillars which served his mamma for front legs, and played with the grass, putting it into his mouth just as he saw her do. But with maternal solicitude she generally snatched it from between his toothless gums, and ate it herself, to get it out of harm's way.

"When the infant elephant wanted refreshment he helped himself. Standing under the body and partly between the forelegs of his mother, he twisted his trunk out of the way as best he could, and put his capacious mouth up to the small and shapely breasts that hung just over his head, and almost between her forelegs.

A protuberance under the belly about the size of a forty-gallon cask apparently serves as a reservoir for the mammae, which were almost human in contour and size. In colour they were the same as the rest of the body. I regret I cannot give you any information as to the flavour of elephants' milk. No one, so far as I know, has had the courage to 'milk' the formidable mother. The youngster seemed to be very active but not at all frisky or playful. He takes a serious view of the responsibilities devolving on a child that has to grow to the height of so colossal a parent.

"It was nearly one o'clock when the guests left the Co-Regent's hospitable palace.

"In the evening the Resident, Sir Salar Jung, and a numerous party attended a very excellent amateur theatrical entertainment at the Theatre Royal, Secunderabad. [* * *]

"After the theatricals came dancing, and after the dancing will come early to-morrow morning a grand durbār.

"*Saturday Morning*.—Perhaps the most important event in the recent history of the State founded by the wily Asof Jah just 150 years ago took place yesterday afternoon, when the line of railway to the city of Hyderabad was declared open. A special train containing the Minister Sir Salar Jung and other nobles of the State left the city terminus at 2 p.m. and proceeded in a leisurely manner to Trimulgherry, where the terminus for the military cantonment has been established. The permanent way has been completed only up to a point 300 yards north of the 76th Messhouse; on reaching this point, where a royal salute was fired by a battery of the Royal Artillery, the party returned to the Hussien Sagur (near the large tank) junction. Here they met the special train engaged to convey the guests of the Nizam's Government invited from Bombay, Madras, and intermediate stations along the G. I. P. and Madras lines. The Minister's train was then attached to the guests' special, and the united company (in 40 carriages) were conveyed to the Hyderabad terminus; this being reached (about 4 p.m.), the line was declared open by Sir Salar Jung, and a royal salute was fired by the Nizam's Artillery. When the ceremony was concluded the guests proceeded to the tents which had been provided for their accommodation in the public gardens, or drove off to the residences of private friends.

"In the train which conveyed the Chiefs of the State to Trimulgherry there were very few Europeans, principally those officers only who had been engaged in the construction of the line, because the trip entailed a drive of several miles from the cantonment to the city at the hottest part of the day, and back again, after the line had been declared open, unless one should choose to dawdle about vacuously during the interval of three and a half hours which intervened till the commencement of the banquet in the evening.

"If I were to permit myself to hazard a conjecture as to the probable number of guests who arrived to participate in the festivities attending the completion of Sir Salar Jung's great work, and partake of the princely hospitality of the Nizam's Government, I should say that they mustered some 70 or 80. When joined at the Hyderabad terminus by a number of others from the cantonment and elsewhere, guests of the Resident, they presented a formidable aspect in numbers, and included officials and non-officials of every grade and description, though the great majority were of course Government *employés*, covenanted or uncovenanted. There were vastly important people, such as High Court Judges, Secretaries to Government, and Cutcherry despots of sorts. The assigned districts had sent their contingent of Revenue and Settlement Officers, Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners; Railway management and engineering, together with the science and art of Telegraphy were duly represented. The best-abused department in India, the D. P. W. (Queen's and Nizam's), did not fail to place its representatives in the front rank—smart fellows of the class who can tell the exact point of difference between the *extrados* and the *intrados* of an arch, and who have attained perfection in the difficult art of macadamizing a soft loamy road with a thin covering of coarse gravel. Commerce had despatched its delegates from Bombay and Madras, and cotton its lairds from the region in and around the East and West Berars.

"Your readers are of course aware that the Hyderabad State owes this important step in the development of its resources to its great and enlightened Minister, Sir Salar Jung, whose wise and beneficent regulations for the welfare of the people over whom he virtually rules have, like those of the sage Sultan Allah-ud-Deen, 'dimmed the lustre of the princes Ferdun and Naushirwan' of ancient Persian story. A detailed account of the line I must leave for another occasion or your 'special,' and content myself in the mean time with stating that it leaves the G. I. P. at Waddi, the second station beyond Goolburga in the direction of Madras, and that it is 120 miles in length. I may remark, however, that the opening of the new line, besides conferring the highest possible benefit on the city itself from a business point of view, will be of the greatest convenience to the troops occupying the cantonment. Up till the present time the main points of departure for Secunderabad from the great line of travel which crosses the Peninsula were Sholapore and Goolburga. The roads leaving these stations united at Homnabad (a small town not far from the site of the ancient Bidur), and continued thence in a single track almost due east. The distance from Secunderabad to Sholapore was 200 miles, and to Goolburga 146 miles. The latter was the route generally followed more recently by troops, and a very unpleasant march it made. In the dry weather it was covered several inches deep with dust, and in the rains with several feet of mud. The nullahs were unbridged, and the traveller was frequently detained for days on the banks of some swollen stream. There were no scenes of natural beauty on the road, which runs through a level, uninteresting country almost bare of trees, and of course during the greater part of the year entirely destitute of verdure. The camping grounds for the troops were generally bad, dusty, and dirty, while the dāk bungalows were disagreeably occupied, like all neglected domiciles in the East (and West too for that matter), with swarms of tenants who steadfastly refused to pay the regulation Halli Sicca rupee for their night's lodging, and would not even condescend to write facetious remarks in the khansamah's book.

"In the evening there was a grand banquet given in the public gardens—the Regent's Park at the Nizam's capital. This piece of ground is handsomely laid out with parterres of flowers, verdant lawns, and gravelled walks. It possesses cool and shady paths, arched over with the orange and mango, where the 'silver-bodied damsels with dusky tresses' of the Hyderabad zenanas may walk in seclusion; while the lofty quasi-battlemented wall which surrounds the gardens effectually secures them from the prying glances of any native Peeping Tom of Coventry. The grounds boast also of several artificial ponds whose bosoms are thickly matted with tangled heaps of plants affording shelter to numerous colonies of dab-chicks and such-like small game, and also to a few swans. About the centre of the gardens stands an iron pavilion painted in brilliant and striking colours. It is meant to be ornamental rather than useful, and contains on its walls several pictures, generally of a very cheap and tawdry description, but among them is one of the present Nizam recently painted by a local artist, which is a capital likeness. It is furnished also with marble and alabaster statuettes, and a variety of nick-nacks from Europe, so dear to the eye of the native, and so congenial to his taste. The zoological quarter of the gardens possesses two full-grown tigers shut up in cages so small and narrow that the inmates can barely turn themselves. There is also a young tiger, who spends his time more pleasantly, chained to a tree in the open. Young Master Stripes's chief peculiarities consist in his enormous paws, and his wonderfully placid disposition considering his origin. If it were not for his size he would make a charming pet for some unmarried lady sighing to expend her struggling affections on some object of devotion.

"The order at first for military officers attending the banquet was full-dress, which is not a pleasant kind of vesture when the thermometer stands at over 80°, and the temperature is further increased by the subjective caloric which accrues from the exertion attendant on eating and drinking, and carrying on an animated conversation. Fancy being buttoned up in a tight-fitting tunic and belts, even though both are lavishly bedaubed with gold lace, which causes you to shine a glorious and resplendent being! However, the order was ultimately cancelled at the

instance of somebody who retained, amid the benumbing influences of red-tapeism, sufficient *nous* to comprehend the discomforts and possible perils of the situation.

"About 9 o'clock dinner was served up in a suite of tents pitched for the purpose, Sir Salar Jung having personally received his guests at the entrance to the drawing-room suite. It was the worthy Minister's earnest desire that his numerous guests should enjoy themselves to the utmost of their bent, and that they should carry away with them the recollection of this evening's enjoyment when they shall have said good-bye to the plains of India for ever, when they shall have become elderly gentlemen with grandchildren, to whom they may recount the magnificent hospitality of the Hyderabad Minister. Come, then, let us do our duty as guests. '*Nunc est bibendum, sodales.*' What does the illustrious Hafiz sing? 'Is my heart' dispirited in the assembly of friendship? All the gildings of art are not worth a single cup of generous wine.' Here, boy, some more generous wine, another bottle of Simkin! I wonder what the old Venusian would have thought of the vintage of champagne by way of a change from that of Falernum—'*Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?*' I begin to dread that I—who never had the moral courage to speak out the responses in church, and am strangely alarmed at the sound of my voice—shall be driven to get up and propose the health of the Nawab Sooraj-ud-Dowla Sir Salar Jung Bahadoor, G.C.S.I., with Highland honours and one cheer more three times over. *Evoe parce, liber!* Hold! hold! I must restrain myself. I see a certain 'cold greys' fixed upon me, and I dread a compulsory interview to-morrow morning. Besides, the speeches will come off presently—all in good time, and I can then expend my pent-up energies in cheering madly at the top of my voice.

"Ladies, of course, grace the scene, but they are all of European blood there or thereabout. Our wives compel us to take them wherever we go. They suspect we are only too glad to get away from the domestic roof with its numerous petty cares and worries. They see through our base design, and make a point of accompanying us wherever we go, so that we may always carry our happiness with us. The native gentlemen, our Hindoo and Mussalman friends, arrange their matrimonial entanglements far differently, and in a manner infinitely more satisfactory. They are masters of their own houses, and their word is law; so they make their womankind stay at home, and gossip, if they so please, to their hearts' content in the recesses of the harem.

"The speeches, the illumination, with *oil* and *gas*, and the fire-works, I must leave over for the present. The mail goes out directly, and if I write two lines more I shall certainly miss the opportunity of despatching this budget."

"*The Banquet.*—At half-past eight o'clock on Thursday evening the guests, upwards of three hundred in number, sat down to dinner in a specious marquee.

"Sir Salar Jung, Mr. Saunders, the Resident, and Mrs. Saunders occupied the places of honour. The variety of uniforms and dresses, British and Oriental, lent great brilliancy to the scene. Dinner was served in the best English style, and champagne and other wines abounded. When dinner was over, the Resident rose and said: 'I will ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to fill your glasses and join me in drinking the toast which my friend the Minister has allowed me to propose, and which is sure always to be warmly responded to in every assembly which, like the present, is composed for the most part of my countrymen. Although my friends the nobles of Hyderabad cannot actually join us in drinking toasts like the present, they fully sympathize with us in the feelings of loyalty and devotion to our Sovereign which dictate our national custom of proposing the health of Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family on occasions of ceremonious conviviality like the present.' This toast, as well as those which followed, was drunk with all the honours.

"The Resident then said: 'I will now ask you to drink the health of His Excellency Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. His Excellency would, I know, have been very glad to have been able to be present on this auspicious occasion, had the duties of his arduous office not required his presence elsewhere, as I am well aware what a deep interest he takes not only in His Highness's State Railway, but in everything which affects the welfare and prosperity of this State.'

"After this toast had been responded to, the Resident said : ' Although our right royal entertainer, the youthful sovereign of these territories, is personally known but to a few of us, you will, I am sure, one and all, join with me in drinking to his health, long life and prosperity, and in invoking every blessing which the Almighty can in His bounty pour down upon him.

" "Sir Salar Jung, ladies and gentlemen : It is now my duty and high privilege to offer to the enlightened Ministers of His Highness the Nizam, first, the congratulations of Her Majesty's Viceroy in India, and, next, the felicitations of this large assembly, on the event we are met to celebrate. I cannot do better than convey the sentiments of His Excellency the Viceroy in the language of his Foreign Secretary, who writes as follows :—

" "His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council has heard with much satisfaction from your telegram of the 15th instant that it is proposed to open His Highness the Nizam's State Railway on the 8th October next.

" "His Excellency in Council desires me to request you to convey his cordial congratulations to His Highness the Nizam, and his Ministers, Nawab Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., and the Ameer-i-Kabeer Shums-ool-Oomrah, Bahadoor, on the completion of this important undertaking, which connects the capital of His Highness's dominions with the railway system of India, and brings it into direct railway communication with the three presidency towns.

" "His Excellency in Council trusts that this railway, which was commenced in 1870, and has been undertaken on the responsibility of His Highness's treasury, and executed entirely from the resources of the Hyderabad State, will prove remunerative in a financial point of view. His Excellency in Council is satisfied that it will prove of lasting benefit to the territories and subjects of His Highness the Nizam, and he appreciates most highly the enlightened policy of the Ministers during whose administration the Railway has been commenced and completed."

" "I am sure we must, one and all, endorse and reiterate the language I have just read. For my own part, I am convinced that no greater boon could have been conferred on this State and its people than the Railway which has just, by the liberal, enlightened, and public-spirited policy of the Ministers, been given to it. Of course I freely admit that to the Government of India and our own countrymen it is a convenience of the first magnitude. His Highness's Ministers will not think less of it on that account, reciprocating, as I know they do, our great satisfaction on those cordial relations of amity and alliance which have ever subsisted between the two Governments, and which it is the wish of the Government whom I have the honour to represent may long continue. I conclude with the sentiment—" May His Highness the Nizam's State Railway prosper, and fulfil all those aspirations for its welfare which have been uttered to-day."

"The Resident next proposed in a few words the health of Sir Salar Jung.

"Sir Salar Jung, in replying, said :—" Your Excellency (turning towards Mr. Saunders), ladies and gentlemen : You have done me a great honour by drinking my health in such an enthusiastic manner. I am no speech-maker, and this must be my excuse for being brief in returning thanks. I value highly the good-will you have displayed, and sincerely thank you for all your kind wishes. I have also to record my high appreciation of yours, as well as the good wishes of the British Government for the success of H. H. the Nizam's State Railway."

"The Resident next proposed the health of Major Pemberton and the officers of the Railway staff, which was responded to by Major Pemberton.

"The Resident then said : ' I would now ask you to join with me in drinking to the prosperity of the great Company to which we have this day affiliated our newly-born offspring. I most willingly bear testimony to the very conciliatory and liberal spirit in which the necessary negotiations for concluding with the local administration a satisfactory working agreement have been carried out by the executive and administrative officers of that Company, viz., Mr. LeMesurier, the able and experienced Agent of the Company—who has, I regret to see, through ill-health, been unable to attend—and Mr. Conder, the conscientious and most astute Traffic Manager of the Company. To Major White, the talented and very efficient

Consulting Engineer to the Bombay Government, I must tender my warm acknowledgments for the professional advice and effective assistance he gave Major Pemberton and myself in bringing the above negotiations to a conclusion which I have reason to believe and hope will be equally satisfactory to all parties.'

"Mr. Conder briefly returned thanks on behalf of the Railway Company for the kind remarks that had been made. He regretted very much that Mr. LeMesurier had not been able to be present, and he was quite sure he was thinking of them at the time. Mr. LeMesurier had asked him to state that it was ill-health alone that had kept him away. In conclusion, he (Mr. Conder) hoped that all the anticipations of the success of the Nizam's State Railway would be borne out.

"Major Tweedie, First Assistant Resident, then said that he thought they would all agree with him that it would not be right for them to part without drinking one other toast. He wished them to fill their glasses and drink the health of the British Resident. (Hear, hear.) If it had not been for the interest with which Mr. Saunders had worked at this great scheme he thought he might say that the enterprise would not have been carried to the successful conclusion to which it had been. He proposed the health of Mr. and Mrs. Saunders.

"After the speeches were concluded, hosts and guests proceeded to the garden, and a display of fireworks in the best European style took place. Fire balloons were sent up, and all the resources of Hyderabad pyrotechny were brought into play. Monsieur Deluny, an artist of French extraction, settled in Hyderabad, must be mentioned in connection with this display. The triumph of the whole was a representation of a train in motion, the wheels and all the parts being represented by lines of light. Coffee was handed round during the evening, which was deliciously cool, and it was late before all the guests had retired to their tents."

TIMES OF INDIA, *October 13, 1874.—The Festivities at Hyderabad.*—The following is from our own correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 9th instant :—

"*The Scene at the Banquet.*—In finishing off this morning's communication I made a promise that I should take up the story of the banquet again, and I now proceed to do so. In looking round the tables one could not fail to be struck with the dress and deportment of not a few of the guests. For instance, on my left sat two officers holding commissions in the Nizam's regular troops. The hue of these gentlemen coincided with the dusky tint which we are assured by certain learned ethnologists belonged to our common progenitor, Adam. They were gorgeously arrayed, these young bloods, in green and gold, placed in effective contrast with red and silver. The forage caps which they wore were fashioned and ornamented something after the pattern which so materially enhances the appearance of our own native light cavalry. My young friends, doubtless setting great store by the proper maintenance of a gay military bearing, and anxious to show off their handsome headpieces, kept them on, chinstrap down, during the whole time of dinner, offering a delightful treat to the ladies. I was led to reflect that perhaps this was a way they had in the Nizam's army; and it might be that these warriors, like the knights of Branksome Hall, lived day and night in their war paint. Nearly opposite me sat a young native gentleman corpulent of body and fair of countenance, who attracted a considerable share of attention. He was the most astonishing youth to get outside his victuals I ever saw. He avoided the coarse luxury of flesh meats, but absorbed all sorts of sweets with a rapidity that seemed nothing short of miraculous. Like Nasidienus's guest, he bolted whole tippy cakes at a mouthful. *Ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas.* Another gentleman, European this time, on seeing placed before him (unwonted sight) a fragment of pomfret brought all the way from Bombay as the firstfruits of the blessed railway, ejaculated with much energy and uplifted hands, 'Good gracious! what's this? a flying fish? Really never knew they caught them in the Hoossein Sagur!' But I must leave off criticizing my neighbours, who are all very excellent people, and doubtless of inestimable value in their own individual sphere. *Quid tu? Nullane habes vitia?* Of course I have no end of them, so let me address myself to listen to the rain of speeches which is threatening to deluge us.

"*The Speeches.*—Mr. Saunders is on his feet, engaged in proposing the health of our Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, whom God bless! Next he proposes the health of the young Prince H. H. Meer Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadoor, the present Nizam, whom Allah and the Prophet and the four holy men bless. Then comes the health of the Viceroy of India, followed in its turn by the toast of the evening, the Ministers of the Hyderabad State, especially H. E. Sir Salar Jung and Shums-ool-Oomra, under whose auspices the State Railway has been executed. This toast is drunk with wild enthusiasm, which is quadrupled when Sir Salar Jung, his countenance suffused with the most pleasing smile to be seen from Cape Comorin to Lake Manasarowar, rises to return thanks. He spoke briefly, and in so low a tone, addressing himself to the Resident, who sat on his right, that I could not hear a word he uttered, in the midst of the half-subdued excitement. Mr. Saunders is again on his feet, in his calm un-Demosthenic attitude of oratory, and he proposes the health of the officers, absent and present, who had been connected with the railway from its first commencement to its happy completion on this auspicious day. Major Pemberton, R. E. (Engineer-in-Chief Nizam's State Railway), replied, but distance robbed me of the benefit of his long and doubtless interesting speech. Several other healths were drunk, including that of the G. I. P. Railway officials, whose uniform kindness was above all praise, &c., &c. Somebody responded in the absence of somebody else, and all went well, everybody being amazingly delighted with everybody else. At last the stream of postprandial eloquence was brought to a conclusion by Major Tweedie, First Political Assistant, who proposed the health of the Resident in a highly eulogistic speech, every word of which was only the just tribute due to merit. The gentleman's oration was rather longer than he led us to expect, but doubtless as he warmed to his subject he found it a difficult thing to break off from so congenial a theme.

"*The Fireworks and Illuminations.*—Along with the last 'one cheer more for Mr. Saunders' a move is made to get into the open air, and presently the whole company is streaming in the direction of the pavilion, whence they are to view a display of fire-works. It would be tedious to detail the individual devices of rockets, Catherine wheels, turbines, spirals, crosses, crescents, &c.), or to record how many balloons, rising by the agency of heated air, floated away into the night. The device of a fiery railway engine with train and tender attached was exceedingly well done, and called forth universal approbation. As the display took place on the bank of one of the artificial lakes, the general effect was greatly enhanced by the reflection of the streams of fire on the water. The pyrotechnic demonstration, which was infinitely superior to the Bombay attempt of March 1870, was concluded about half past eleven o'clock. Apart from the exhibition of fire-works, the gardens were beautifully lighted up with an infinite variety of oil lamps. Some were arranged along the borders of the flower beds, and made to represent individual flowers themselves by virtue of the coloured media through which their light was transmitted. Certain of the garden plots were surrounded by lines of small wickerwork archways which were lighted up with oiled cotton wicks placed in open saucers, and protected from the wind by thin sheets of talc. Round the margins of the different ponds were arranged tiers upon tiers of such soft lights, the resulting brilliant illumination being mirrored back with charming effect from the unruffled surface of the water. The main pathways of the gardens were planted at regular intervals with English lamp-posts, which were lighted by *gas* manufactured from kerosine oil.

"The crowd inside the gardens was very dense, and embraced all classes from the wealthy sahoocar, whose riches might have been stated at crores, to the impecunious coolie, who never possessed three rupees at one time in his life. The stealthy-looking native loafer seemed to penetrate everywhere without let or hindrance. Dirty-looking individuals, whose total wardrobe would not have been valued at two pice, roamed about the drawing-room suite of tents, feasting their eyes on the galaxy of European beauty which lounged enticingly on sofas and settees. Armed men wandered about in groups, apparently under some sort of discipline—military police doubtless. Some of them were fine powerful-looking fellows.

"I had nearly omitted to state that during dinner H. H. the Nizam's Garrison string band played operatic airs under the direction of Herr Luschwitz. There was also another kind of music supplied on the premises, to abuse and vilify which shows a fine, cultivated taste and a delicate ear. I allude, O my countrymen, to the bagpipes. On leaving the banqueting tent I found half-a-dozen pipers, 'all plaided and plumed in their tartan array,' the tartans and feather bonnets being borrowed from the 72nd (Duke of Albany's Own) Highlanders. These gentlemen professed their ability to play all kinds of pipe music, and promised to gratify my longings for the "Pibroch o' Donuil Dhu." However, having wandered into the crowd, I forgot all about Donuil Dhu and his pibroch, and so missed the opportunity of hearing the pipes 'wake the wild strain anew' for the purpose of summoning 'Clan Conuil.' The only summons I received was one about 12 o'clock, inviting me to come home in terms which I knew too well would admit of no delay, and would brook no question. So saying good-bye to our princely entertainer, Sir Salar Jung, who presents each of his departing guests with the well-known slim bottles of attar of roses, I tumble into my long-expected gharri, and am driven off into the murky night, fagged in body certainly, but serene, happy, and contented in mind.

"*The Meer Alum Tank.*—Saturday, 5 p.m.—My last communication, I find to my intense disgust, was despatched too late to catch the outgoing mail. The Post Office people, with that hopeless fatuity which distinguishes them in this quarter, gave no intimation of the change of hour till too late to save the mail. However, to the business in hand.

"Yesterday morning, at an early hour, a party numbering over 70, invited by the Ameer-i-Kabeer (Shums-ool-Oomrah) left Chudderghaut for the purpose of enjoying a sail on the Meer Alum tank, and then returning to breakfast at the Nawab's garden-house, the Jehan-i-Numah.

"The tank, as I have already told you, lies embosomed among the low rocky hills which form a distinguishing feature of this part of the country, and is situated about a couple of miles due south from the city. It is a work of comparatively recent date, having been executed only 70 years ago, under the superintendence of a European Engineer. The bund is constructed entirely of stone and lime, without any embankment of earth. It is about a mile in length, with an average height of 25 feet, and is built in a succession of small and equal-sized arcs, the whole series being so arranged as to form one great arc or crescent, with the convexity directed up the valley. The resulting curve reminds one somewhat of the Saracenic style of arch, which is the almost invariable form seen in and around Hyderabad. The points where the extremities of the several arcs meet are prolonged forwards so as to form strong piers of support. When the tank is filled to overflowing, as it is at the present season, the surplus water escapes in a shallow cataract over the top of the bund at a point where the work has apparently sunk a few inches below the general level. The uppermost tier of the sloping pile of masonry is composed of single blocks of stone, about four feet in length and two in breadth, which are laid parallel to the axis of the ravine. Along the top of these stones the natives have marked out for themselves a somewhat perilous pathway of communication between the two sides of the valley. The bund has frequently been reported by many otherwise competent professional judges to be much too fragile to resist the enormous weight of water which pushes against it when the reservoir is full. However, the proof of its stability lies before us. The tank is filled to overflowing nearly every year, and still the tough line of masonry discharges its arduous and important duties in a most satisfactory manner. Three years ago an alarm was spread that the bund was threatening to give way. Guards were stationed on high ground in the neighbourhood, duly provided with pieces of ordnance, for the purpose of giving timely warning to all whom it might concern and who happened to dwell in the track which would be pursued by the sweeping torrent. These panics are periodical, their periodicity may be relied on in the future notwithstanding the assurances and reassurances of the past.

"At the point where the road leading from the city debouches on the bank

a low stone pier has been run out into the water for a short distance, by way of accommodating those who come to enjoy a sail. Sir Salar Jung placed on the tank two or three years ago a steam launch, a small paddle steamer, and a few sailing boats—all of which, on request being made, are with great kindness placed at the service of pleasure parties. An excellent bungalow situated on the water's edge near the pier furnishes the wearied visitor with shelter from sun and rain, and night even afford a night's lodging if necessity arose. The favourite resort of picnic parties lies at the head of the tank (it is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long), where there is a shady grove of trees. There is also a small island near the centre of the lake, but its surface is so completely under the dominion of rocks, boulders, and thorny bushes—all highly inimical to the gauzy attire of the conflicting sex—that the spot is rendered entirely useless for picnicking purposes.

"*The View from the Tank.*—The tank and its surroundings, near and remote, offer a very striking and attractive *coup d'œil*, especially so when viewed under the soft opal light, as we have seen it of a morning, dulled by those steel-grey banks of cloud which are not uncommon at this season of the year. There are presented to the eye in and around this locality most of the elements which go to make up beauty in a landscape—verdure, trees, rocks, hills (rather low certainly), and a fine sheet of water. Away on a peak to the right, at the distance of a few miles, rises darkly the square form of the jealously guarded fort of Golconda, which no European may enter—nay, even approach—and live. The hill bounding the southern limit of the tank rises very gradually from its margin, its sides speckled with grey masses of boulder or carpeted with patches of the brightest green. At one point a rocky promontory springs up boldly from the water's edge, but not so precipitously as to prevent its rugged front from being occupied with numerous trees and shrubs. It is crowned with an imposing group of buildings, the tomb of a wealthy and distinguished Mussulman. Rocks and tomb all lie snugly ensconced in deep foliage, and the site selected for Ali Khan's final resting-place shows that grief had not interfered with nor obscured the good taste of his sorrowing friends. The Nawab's breakfast presented nothing of remark. Such meals offered to Europeans at the houses of the native nobility are pretty much the same as the former are accustomed to at home, only that there is set before the host a huge dish of superexcellent *pillao*, which it is the correct thing to taste and appreciate if you can.

"In the evening there was a theatrical performance given in the public rooms by the Secunderabad Dramatic Society, composed of officers and ladies of the garrison. The pieces selected were "Boots at the Swan" and "Slasher and Crasher."

"I must leave my criticism of the pieces to another occasion, as at present I am hardly pressed for time, but let me mention the acting of Captain Trevor and Mr. Hanaway as being very excellent indeed—also, of course, that of all the ladies."

TIMES OF INDIA, *October 15, 1874.*—*Festivities at Hyderabad—The Durbar.*—The following is from our own correspondent, dated Secunderabad the 11th October:—

"It had been arranged that a durbar should be held yesterday morning, for the purpose of affording the Resident an opportunity of laying before the Nizam a letter which he had received from the Government of India, offering the congratulations of the Viceroy on the completion of the State Railway. The company invited to be present on the occasion assembled inside the city walls in a large courtyard belonging to Sir Salar Jung, where upwards of 40 elephants, mounted with every description of howdah, had been provided to convey the party to the Nizam's palace. Little more, however, than half of this number was put into requisition, as the gentlemen expected to attend the ceremony put in an appearance in very diminished force. The number of officers from the Cantonment was absurdly small, being limited to the General Commanding and his Staff, with two or three red coats from the Infantry, and as many blue tunics from the Artillery. The black coats were strongly in the ascendant, most of whom were visitors from a distance. A

considerable sprinkling of them seemed to be gentlemen of the press, to judge from their inexpressible inquisitiveness, and the pertinacious way in which they 'wanted to know, you know,' everything. I did not hear the nasal tones in which our Yankee cousins communicate with their fellow-creatures, but doubtless the ubiquitous reporter of the *New York Herald* took his place in one of the howdahs.

"*The Scene in the Streets.*—Exactly at the appointed hour, 8 o'clock, a start was made. The elephant carrying the Resident and the General took the lead, the others following in uncertain order. The procession was preceded by a multitude of chuprassies bearing long iron-tipped rods painted red and checked with silver (tin) bands, from the points of which depended bunches of tassels formed of black and grey cords. The procession moved slowly along the dirty and ill-paved streets of the city, which were crowded with the characteristic savage-looking mob of Hyderabad. The police guards—not bad-looking fellows on the whole, and gorgeously attired in red turbans, brown continuations, with green coats faced and slashed with yellow—turned out in front of their stations in honour of the *elephantade*, 'carrying swords,' if not with the approved expertness of a 16th Lancer, still with a tolerable approach to the correct thing. The rickety-looking balconies were loaded with people, but no women were to be seen except those of the very poorest class; and then only the uninteresting portion of the sex, that is, the old and ugly, suffered the Feringhi to obtain a glimpse of them. On reaching the Char Minar—a lofty and conspicuous building (now undergoing repair)—the procession filed off to the right. At this point, on the occasion both of our going and our returning, somebody executed a flourish on a bugle not unlike one of the quicksteps of the Rifle Brigade. The street we now found ourselves in was lined with armed men, not on duty, but simply lounging about in their usual every-day fashion—idle, dissolute vagabonds, who ought to be improved off the face of the earth, or made to engage in some productive labour for their living. These cut-throat warriors were dressed in the most extraordinary varieties of uniform and costume, and belonged to a great diversity of races—Arabs, Rohillas, Africans, Scindians, Sikhs, and even Turks. The Arab mercenaries seemed especially numerous. All were attired in their ordinary loose garb, of a colour originally white. Each man was armed to the teeth, carrying with him his cumbrous matchlock, the stock of which was heavily loaded for the particular benefit of an adversary's cranium. Their girdles were stuck full of a wonderful variety of weapons, designed for the purpose of cutting, stabbing, and otherwise maltreating and mangling the body of any one who dared to entertain a difference of opinion from them, or presumed to belong to another master. Happy and proud was that descendant of Ishmael from whose waist there projected a huge pair of holster pistols. His value as an agent of assault, and therefore his personal worth, was increased at least twentyfold. These men live only for the sake of quarrelling and fighting, but their natural propensities in that direction have in these latter days been very considerably restrained by the obnoxious interference of the British Government. There are about 6,000 of these ruffians in the Nizam's service. The general mob of so-called soldiers was got up in the most grotesque uniforms and combinations of uniforms which the maddest of mad Cardwellized compulsory half-pay Majors could dream of in the innermost recess of a tailoring Hanley. All the styles and fashions, however, agreed in one respect—namely, that they were shabby and ragged, and dirty to the very last degree of filth. I noticed in the crowd a few cast-off uniforms of the Royal Horse Artillery, but the yellow-braided jackets which had once graced some burly European gunner or stout-bodied driver sat loose and limp on the slim figures of their present native proprietors. The street we were traversing was occupied chiefly with the shops of cloth merchants; and these worthies sat among their bales of goods serenely smoking their hookahs, and scarce deigning to lift their eyes to cast a glance at the procession of infidels, though the latter were going to pay their respects to the Sun of the World and the Leader of the Faithful.

"*The Troops.*—Halfway down the street we turned to the left, and were carried through a gateway which was just wide enough to admit of an elephant passing

without bruising his sides. If seated on the Irish jaunting-car kind of howdah, known as a *char-jamah*, one had to look sharply after one's legs, as a crush against the sides of the gate would have been decidedly unpleasant, to say nothing more serious about it. Though the way was narrow, still the arch was sufficiently high to obviate the risk of our being swept off the elephant's back, howdah and all, as happened to Colonel Tod when entering one of the cities of his beloved Malwa. We now found ourselves in a large open courtyard encumbered on the right with all kinds of rubbish, while on a spot of cleared ground to the left was drawn up a guard of honour composed of the Nizam's Regular Troops, foot and horse, and doubtless both of them *corps d'élite*. Close down on the line of procession stood the Hyderabad blues, resplendent in tunics of blue faced with yellow and gold, monstrous jackboots, turbans of red and gold, and curved sabres. They numbered not more than 25 men with 4 officers, and in the whole troop there was not a horse worth 300 Halli Sicca rupees. A short distance in rear of the Royal Horse Guards was posted a body of foot-soldiers, consisting of about 200 men, a band of music occupying the centre of the line and dividing it into two squads. The rank and file were dressed in green tunics with red and yellow facings, and undecided pants; while their person was overtopped by something in the shape of an elongated cooking-pot. The officers stood sword in hand at saluting distance in front of their men, who remained with arms at the 'present,' or as nearly thereby as was possible of attainment, taking into consideration the infinitesimal amount of drill to which they had been subjected. The band consisted of perhaps a score of performers furnished with brass instruments, which they laboured away at, all out of time and tune; but their earnestness in the matter was very commendable. These gentlemen wore hats something in the shape of a Dutch butter-tub inverted. I have no hesitation in seriously affirming that the circumference of each man's *topee* at its crown exceeded in length the tallest man on the ground. On our return we found that this gallant body had received the addition of a mounted officer—doubtless the Colonel Commanding, whom urgent private business had previously detained from attendance on his public duties—with that promptitude which is demanded in less popular services.

"We passed through a second gate, which was guarded by half-a-dozen ragged soldiers, and emerged on another courtyard situated exactly in rear of the great 'Cathedral' of Hyderabad, the Mecca Musjid. In the centre stood a small reservoir of water formed of masonry, and planted about with rows of lamp-posts brightly coloured. On the left the road was lined with another body of troops to the number, perhaps, of 70 or 80 files. This lot was got up in white uniforms, coat and trousers, with black belts not necessarily leather. Their headpieces were constructed of some black shining substance, the general outline resembling that of a grenadier's bearskin. The top was surmounted by a bulky knot about the size of a 68-pounder ball. A cotton tape two inches broad meandered negligently across the front, and tended to relieve the black monotony of the surface. Some wore slippers, and some showed themselves quite independent of any covering for the feet. The officers, three in number, were distinguished by wearing silvered bands across their 'helmets.' They stood in advance of their men, but judiciously refrained from showing the hue of their blades. The line remained with arms at the 'present,' but the attitudes were nearly as numerous as the individual soldiers. The muskets were all flintlocks of ancient date. The bayonets belonged to no particular era or pattern, but displayed a charming variety of shape, length, and thickness, and maintained uniformity solely in being without exception dimmed and spotted by the rust of decades.

"Yet another gate to navigate, and we pass two detached sentries mounting guard over nothing whatever. One of these patriots had numbered perhaps twelve summers, and he bore a musket in proportion not to his years but to his inches. Our course now lay along a path bounded by the high outer wall of the palace on the left, and a row of tumble-down huts and guard-houses on the right. The guards turned out or not, just as they felt inclined. Amongst those who had conceived some notion

of military duty was a guard of half-a-dozen boys whose ages varied from six to sixteen. On arriving at the outer gate of the palace we dismount from our howdahs. But before dismissing the troops I may be allowed to remark that not only were they provided with arms and equipments of the very worst description, but they were decidedly poor in regard to physique. Of drill and discipline I should think they have only the very faintest notion, and while they might be perfectly irresistible in looting an unprotected village they would be utterly harmless against a European enemy.

"The Palace.—After a short delay we ascend the steps of the palace, and pass along a narrow 'lane' laid with white dungaree. Turning to the right we find ourselves in the inner courtyard of the building. It is a square enclosure, in the centre of which stands a large masonry-built reservoir. A number of *jets d'eau* are engaged in trying to spout—foolish little squirts, which even Trafalgar Square would be ashamed to own. The whole yard is surrounded with a series of open pavilions supported in front by columns of the Corinthian order of architecture, which are made to form piers for elaborate arches of the Saracenic style—the invariable form of arch met with in this neighbourhood. From the roofs hang immense numbers of massive glass chandeliers, with drops and shades in a great variety of lively colours. Large mirrors adorn the walls of the most important of the pavilions, and there are couches at intervals for the benefit of the weary—if ever people are weary within the precincts of a palace. There is no garden inside this enclosure, and only two or three trees, one of them a tall and stately palmyra.

"Halfway across the court the company was met by Sir Salar Jung, Vikar-ul-Umra, and a bevy of other nobles. Mr. Saunders, and certain other political people up to the ways of the place, received the salutation of welcome, which consists in catching your friend gently by the arms and looking over his shoulder first on one side and then on the other.

"The Durbar Pavilion.—The carpeted pathway is laid all the way across the yard up to the pavilion, where the young Nizam is seated in expectation of his visitors. This room, which is situated in the centre of the eastern side, is pretty much like the others. Glass chandeliers of green and gold, pink and gold, purple, plain, &c., &c., adorn the roof, and great mirrors supply the place of a wall. The tables scattered about the apartment bear each its own clock, all of a different description, and most of them given to chiming and playing pretty little airs. The Prince is seated on a low musnud, about two feet high, which occupies a position in the centre of the room, between two rows of pillars. When Mr. Saunders had paid his respects personally to the youthful occupant of the throne of Secunder Jah he proceeded to present the members of the party. You step up in front of the musnud, lift your hand to your head in native style while gently inclining your body. The young Nizam-ul-Mulk does ditto ditto, on which you wheel off to your left, in order to make room for the next *presentee*. This important part of the ceremony being completed, seats are taken, the Europeans to the right of the Nizam, and his court behind and to his left.

"Personal Appearance of the Young Prince.—He is a very interesting-looking child—for he is only nine years old; and, though so young, he went through the duties of his office with a calm self-possession truly wonderful. His dress consisted of a white turban, on the top of which was inserted a small bunch of gold tissue. Several of the higher nobility had similar head-dresses. He was enveloped in a robe of pale flowered silk, the bosom of which was crossed by thin lines of yellow braiding, and its border edged with a strip of brocade tipped with gold lace. His waist was bound with a green kummerbund, over which was fastened a gold belt.

"The Nobility.—The dresses of the nobility were much more gorgeous than the neat and simple attire of their young master. They shone effulgent in satins and velvets of purple, green, and French grey, with bejewelled sword, belts, and glittering necklaces of fabulous worth. Sir Salar Jung was dressed, as is his wont, very plainly—a simple white robe with silver-laced sword-belt but no sword. Vikar-ul-Umra was also attired in a long white dress, which stuck out

above his ankles in an odd sort of way, as if it had been expanded by a concealed hoop. His appearance reminded one of the familiar picture of the dancing dervish. His sword-belt was of gold richly jewelled, but he too carried no sword. Round his neck hung a splendid necklace of large emeralds.

"Conclusion of the Durbar."—Presently Mr. Saunders rose from his seat and read the Viceroy's long letter of congratulations about the new railway having placed the State of Hyderabad in communication with the rest of India, &c., &c. As the letter was written and read in English, the young Prince was not much wiser for the delicate flatteries heaped on his juvenile head. When Mr. Saunders had sat down, paper, pen, and ink were brought—the ink-bottle case covered with velvet of the royal colour, yellow—and the schoolboy Nizam set to work to provide Lord Northbrook with his autograph, as a substantial proof that his education in at least one of the 'three r's' had not been entirely neglected. *Pan* was next handed round in small boxes. The visitors just touched the gift and then brought their hand to their forehead, when the packet was slipped off to become the perquisite of an usher of the yellow rod, or some other such absurd courtly nonentity. The *darbar* did not last more than half an hour. When the Resident gave the time everybody rose and individually went towards the Nizam, bowed, touched his head with his hand, and retired—no backing out like an old cart-horse, or tripping over one's sword like a militia colonel at St. James's. You bow and retire as Nature designed you should—your front to your front.

"The late Nizam."—The company next proceeded to inspect the other pavilions in the courtyard. One of them, in the south side of the square, was draped or painted throughout with yellow, and was left bare and deserted; no chandeliers, no mirrors, no couches, no anything. A couple of doors were pointed out—nailed up, however—as leading into the room where the late Nizam breathed his last. His body was of course removed after death, but a wax image still remains, as if the late lamented were merely sleeping, instead of enjoying the seat reserved for him as a faithful Mussulman in paradise. Having completed the circuit of the pavilions, we returned in the way we had come, Sir Salar Jung, Vikar-ul-Oomra, and the other members of the nobility accompanying us outside the entrance of the palace, where the elephants were in waiting.

"The Shoe and Chair Question."—Before scrambling up into my 'buggy' howdah, let me, reminded by the mob of slipper-bearers who crowded and jostled after the native nobility, briefly allude to the 'shoe and chair question,' as it has been termed. Twenty years ago European officers were not allowed either to wear their shoes or to sit in a chair in the presence of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk. Officers attending at the palace used to arrive in full dress and *slippers*, which last they left behind them on crossing the sacred threshold. This inconvenient and awkward custom was settled at length as Europeans desired it, but met with very considerable opposition from a punctilious Oriental Court. Contrast with this the condition of our Political Agent at the petty court of Mandalay, where he must still leave his shoes outside the palace, and on his stocking soles traverse a suite of dirty passages before he arrives at the tawdry and not over-clean reception-room of the Lord of the Twenty-Four Golden Umbrellas and ever so many score of white elephants.

"We returned by the same route as that by which we had arrived, and through exactly the same scenes. In the Minister's courtyard we dismounted from our elephants and 'broke off,' more or less hungry and thirsty, especially the latter.

"The sage reflections I have—no, I must wind up, more tired with this quill-driving than I was with the fatigues of the morning—ininitely."

TIMES OF INDIA, October 16, 1874.—*Festivities at Hyderabad.*—The following is from our special correspondent dated Hyderabad, 11th October :—

"The Durbar."—My last letter concluded with a brief mention of the excellent amateur theatricals in the pretty little theatre built by Sir Salar Jung at Secunderabad. When the curtain descended the audience did not depart—from anything but the usage in such cases. It simply moved *en masse* into the ball room under

the same roof, and danced into the small hours. The hour of 6 A.M. had struck on Saturday morning when the last contingent of the revellers re-entered their quarters in the public gardens at Hyderabad, and met the more prudent individuals, who had withdrawn from the ball betimes, sallying forth to proceed to the Residency, where we were all to assemble and form in procession to go to the durbar at 8 o'clock. When we arrived at the Residency we found twenty-seven elephants of unusual size drawn up in line, and looking quite imperial in their red housings. The procession, headed by a detachment of spearmen, set out for His Highness's palace, traversing the improved parts of the city, where the roads are wide and well-made. The houses are generally of one storey. Pure white stucco, hard and glistening, covers all, and lends an air of cleanliness and lightness to the streets. At intervals we pass under splendid arches, which are triumphal in their aspect if not in their purpose. These structures are, like every building in Hyderabad, rendered dazzling bright by the snow-white covering of chunam. Near the centre of the town we come to the magnificent Char Minar, so called from the four minarets which at once support and adorn it. The minarets rise to a great height from the four corners of a square, and at about a third of their altitude spring gigantic arches which carry a mosque as it were in mid-air. The effect is indescribably grand. No structure exists in Europe to which I could compare it. But if the Londoners want to replace Temple Bar by an Arc de Triomphe which would not fear comparison with that of Paris they could not do better than take as a model this architectural glory of the Deccan.

"*The Dinner*.—The procession in due time arrives at the Nizam's palace, and your 'own' correspondent, strong upon his own ground, relieves your 'special' of further duty with respect to the durbar. But he will forgive me if I repeat an observation I have already transmitted to you by telegraph relative to the self-possession and dignity of His Highness. The complete absence of either *mauvaise honte* or its opposite was very noticeable. The little Prince is perfectly well-bred and has a noble and engaging air. His Highness's complexion, ladies may be pleased to hear, is that of the purest Australian gold, and his black eyes denote intelligence. His chief delight is a pony, which he rides to his heart's content when he is not obliged to sit in durbar.

"In the evening, the Nawab Vicar-ul-Umrah, the uncle of the Nizam, gave a magnificent entertainment to the Resident, the Secunderabad colony, and the guests from Berar and elsewhere invited to be present at the opening of the railway. Sir Salar Jung, the Co-Regent, the Nawab Shums-ool-Umrah, and a number of the *haute noblesse* of the Deccan came to meet the Europeans. The Nawab and his little son received the guests on the steps of one of the pavilions of the palace.

"The house and grounds were, as I have telegraphed to you, beautifully illuminated, great art being displayed in avoiding glare by subduing the light with coloured glass or paper. The outlines of the different pavilions, and of the arcades which connected them, were marked out by rows of lamps, and the night being dark the effect was excellent. When the guests had all assembled they were marshalled across a couple of gardens to the pavilion, where the banquet was spread in a hall admirably proportioned and of wonderful simplicity and elegance. The roof was carried on three rows of Byzantine arches springing from slender twin columns, which did not interrupt the view, and the whole extent of one side of the hall was open to a garden gayly lit up, where a military band played airs from the *Grande Duchesse* and other comic operas. The decorations of the hall were of the simplest—slight ornamental scroll work within the graceful curves of the arches being the chief; the dazzling white of the smooth hard stucco which covered walls, pillars, and arches alike was unstained by any colour. Handsome candelabra—of Parisian manufacture we heard—hung from the ceiling in such numbers that there was barely room for bouquets of flowers to be suspended between them. The tables were laid out in the most refined modern European style, flowers and foliage, vases and tazzas replacing the grossness of the piles of food which it was once the fashion to place upon the hospitable board. The dinner was served *à la Russe*. That the reader may know the gastronomic progress which has been

achieved in Hyderabad, I will send you my copy of the bill of fare, which was laid upon the plate of each guest. Here it is *verbatim et literatim* :—

CARTE.

Saturday, the 10th October 1874.

Dinner—"A LA Russe."

SOUPS.
Julien.
Tail.

FISH.
Salmon with Anchovy Sauce.
Mackarel with Lobster Sauce.

JELLIES.
Standing Pie.
Corn Jelly with Game.
Chicken Salad.

ENTRÉES.
Oyster Patties.
Oyster *Vol-au-vent*.

CUTLETS.
Lobster with Egg Sauce.
Ducks Salmi with Olives.
Pigeon Glassy with Sauce.
Chicken with Tomato Sauce.
Chicken with Vermicelli.
Chicken Russool with Mushroom.
Chicken Coombaith with Macaroni.
Mutton with Colkin Sauce.
Mutton Outlet with Pickle Sauce.
Shoulder Mutton Roll with Mushroom.
Mutton Glassy with Caper Sauce.
Sheep's Tongue with White Sauce.
Oakwell Beefsteaks.
French Beefsteaks with Onions.
Veal with Lime Sauce.
Rabit Falsee with Macaroni.

RELEVÉS.
Cock Turkey Roast with Truffle Sauce.
Young Turkey Glantine with Gravy.
Ox Tongue.
Goose Roast with Apple Jelly.
Saddle Mutton Roast.
Leg Mutton boil with Caper Sauce.
Loin Beef Roast with Yorkshire Pudding.
Hunter's Round Beef.

Corn Breast.
Hunting Hump.
Corn Round Beef.
Veal Hind Quarter Roast.
Calf's Head boil with White Sauce.

PIES.
Pigeon Pie.
Chicken Pie.
Various kinds of Vegetables.
Curry and Rice, Pillaos.
Moghli Curries.
Europe and India Pickles.

SECOND COURSE.
Plum Pudding boil with Brandy.
Queen Light Pudding baked.
Currant Champagne.
Pudding boiled.
Almond Pudding baked.
Slice Pudding baked.
Tarlets.
Cheese Cake.
Cream Puffs.
Jam Puffs.
Tarts with Cream, Pineapple.
Tarts of various kinds with Merring Toast.

TRIFLES.
Italian Cream.
Jelly with Candied Fruits.
Blanc-mange.

SAVOURY DISHES.
Macaroni.
Asparagus with Butter Sauce.
Anchovy Toast.
Woodcock Toast.

DESSERT.
Ice Pudding with Brandy Fruit.
Noyeau Fruit and Pineapple.

"*The Fatal Fireworks Accident.*—It was understood that after the banquet there would be a display of fireworks, to be followed by ostrich races and other amusements. We therefore left the beautiful dining-hall, where we had fared sumptuously, and proceeded in very joyous mood to the pavilion we had first entered. Going out upon the spacious terrace in front of it we saw a few rockets go off in the large garden below. A flight of fire balloons followed. Then three or four more rockets were sent up from the middle of the garden at a distance of some forty yards from the terrace. The rockets were unusually large, and the explosions were very loud; but a tremendous explosion that suddenly startled every one on the terrace was infinitely more significant of mischief. It was accompanied by an angry flash, and a native was seen to be blown a distance of some yards and to fall at full length on the ground, where he lay motionless. Pieces of plaster fell from the pillars of the terrace amongst the guests; the glass of some of the lamps was broken, and the lights put out. A rocket mortar had exploded. Still no one realized fully what had happened, and the rockets contained to go up. In a moment, however, the word

went round, in a whisper, that two natives were injured. Instantly Drs. Windaw, Gostling, Law, and North, and a military surgeon whose name I did not learn, ran to the assistance of the sufferers. I had just seen one gentleman rush past me down the steps into the garden, when I happened to turn my head and saw Major Bell lying on a sofa behind the group, still looking at the fireworks. A surgeon was staunching a wound in the right side, and a more jagged wound was observable on the right wrist. Every one seemed to learn at the same instant that the officer was hurt, and they rushed towards the couch, to tender assistance or sympathy. But Dr. Windaw made the crowd stand back to let in the air, and the Major, who at first was in great pain, experienced some relief. Of the extent of the disaster my telegram will have informed you. The Major was only superficially wounded in the abdomen, the splinter of iron which struck him having fortunately expended its force on the wrist, where the wound, though severe, is not dangerous. But of the natives two of those in the garden were killed instantaneously, one died while his thigh was being amputated, and a fourth died in an hour or two. Four others were terribly wounded. A fifth death is reported to me on the authority of an eye-witness. A native attendant standing in a doorway in the building and behind the spectators grouped on the terrace was, it is stated, struck by a splinter which passed over their heads, and his brains were scattered about, and he fell dead to the ground.

"When the frightful nature of the catastrophe became known the display of fireworks ceased, and measures were taken to relieve the wounded. A surgeon sent to say that a man was bleeding to death and he had no instruments. The Nawab immediately produced an excellent set of surgical instruments, in good order, though not quite sharp. In no other nobleman's house in Hyderabad, probably, would such articles have been found, either blunt or sharp. But Vicar-ul-Umrah is believed to have every imaginable article within the walls of his palace, and all so arranged, and in such order, as to be instantly available. The surgeon's instruments did good service. Two legs and an arm were amputated on the grass of the garden before the assembled crowds, the Resident himself fanning the agonized face of one poor fellow. The Nawab and Sir Salar Jung also went about giving aid. Of course, the night's gaiety underwent a total eclipse. When the dead had been carried out of the garden and Major Bell removed in a palanquin, and the other wounded removed to the hospital, the elephants were called for, and with a gloom in our hearts, which the splendid illuminations and other signs of festivity around did not at all diminish, we passed out into the dark and lampless streets, and returned sadly to our quarters.

"I see that the telegram which appears in your paper of Friday states that Sir Salar came out to await the Bombay train at *Illampolli*. I wrote *Trimulgherry*."

TIMES OF INDIA, October 17, 1874.—In his first letter from Hyderabad our special correspondent mentioned that the Nizam's State Railway which followed the valley of the Moosey up to a certain point diverged there for political, or, rather for military, reasons, till it came within the limits of the Secunderabad Cantonment at Begumpet, whence it was again free to make its way towards Hyderabad. The object was to avoid the guns of the Nizam's fortress of Golconda, and get the trains within the influence of our own Secunderabad. The direct route would have been not only the shortest, but the best in an engineering point of view, and it would have cost a lakh or two less than the one actually taken. But political considerations have been allowed to overrule every other in connection with the line, and this little departure from the straight path need not be cavilled at. The interests of the two States being identical, whatever is most convenient to overselves must necessarily be best also for the Government of the Nizam, and in paying for that which suits us best. His Highness and his advisers have the satisfaction of knowing that from this point of view the money is spent for their own good.

Nevertheless it may be open to doubt whether the interests of both States would not have been better served if due attention had been given to commercial and

financial as well as political and military considerations in the construction of the Nizam's State Railway. The Hyderabad Government wished for a railway that would have opened up the country and advanced trade without burdening the finances of the State. A metre gauge line, traversing the more productive and populous parts of the country, appeared to Sir Salar Jung to be best adapted to the necessities of Hyderabad. But a military line, taking the shortest route to our military position at Secunderabad, six or eight miles from the Nizam's capital, was what appeared to certain wise heads of Calcutta to be the one thing needful, and the Government of His Highness was fain to concur in that opinion, and find upwards of a million sterling to construct it. Now this shortest route happens by ill luck to pass through the most sterile and the least populous part of the country. There are vast tracts in which little grows besides grass, and the cultivated districts are few and far between. No doubt the railway will in course of time considerably improve the agricultural condition of the region. Land hitherto lying waste will now be brought under cultivation, since the means of transporting its produce to distant markets is at hand. Population will increase in the walled villages scattered all over the boundless plains that are to be seen from the windows of the train as we move along. The railway will bring population to the land, and the population will bring passengers to the railway. The process will be beneficial, but it would not have been necessary to wait for its results if the line had been taken at once through a more populous tract of country.

However, the Nizam's State Railway, notwithstanding those drawbacks, is a great achievement. It is a guarantee of order, and will certainly do much to dissipate prejudices—political, religious, and social. Hyderabad will no longer be a sealed book to the outer world, and we may expect to see the country make rapid progress in various matters in which it is at present somewhat behindhand. When the public opinion of the rest of India is able to make itself felt we may expect that all influences which check the free development of the country will be considerably modified. Now that the Protecting Power has secured its own means of communication, the light tramways which are needed for purposes of intercommunication will no doubt cease to be regarded as unnecessary or vexatious. Hyderabad is rich in minerals, but they cannot be worked without inexpensive railways or trams to lessen the cost of carriage. At Kummum a great coal field has been discovered. A shaft has been sunk by Mr. Heenan, the Superintendent of Coal Fields, and coal of a very fair quality raised at the cost of only four rupees a ton; with proper appliances the output would be practically without limit—one of the seams is twenty feet thick—and the cost per ton for working need be very trifling. But the coal can only be brought to Hyderabad at present in bullock cars, and its cost when delivered at the workshops of the Public Works Department there is forty rupees a ton. Even at this price, however, it is found to be cheaper than charcoal, and Mr. Elsworthy, the Superintendent of the Workshops, reports that it is of excellent quality for generating steam power. It is not very bituminous, but some of the seams would yield coal from which gas could be made. Sir Salar Jung is understood to be very anxious to turn the Kummum coal field to account, and plans and specifications for a railway of an inexpensive kind to bring the coal to the capital are already drawn up. Iron ore yielding seventy-five per cent. of iron has also been found in great quantities, and the surveys that have been made show that lead containing a considerable proportion of silver is amongst the mineral treasures of the country. There are, besides, valuable forests, which are at present nearly inaccessible. The country teak excels that of Rangoon in hardness, and possesses a beautiful grain, which renders it very effective for cabinet work. The soil is generally fertile, and the climate healthy. Cotton grows wild in some provinces. The resources of Hyderabad are much greater than ever was supposed until the present capable administration caused them to be explored and catalogued. What is now needed is that the measures necessary for working them should not be checked by adherence to a worn-out policy. There is an old treaty which prohibits the employment of Europeans by the Nizam, or even their settlement in the country,

without the express permission of the British Government. Those provisions—intended originally to guard against the presence of French officers amongst the Nizam's troops—have been actually interpreted in a sense hostile to the common arrangements of loyal British subjects. They are by no means obsolete. If an Englishman were to propose to establish an industry in Hyderabad with the approval or under the patronage of the Native Government, he would find that he would only be permitted to do so if the representatives of his own Government took a favourable view of himself and of his undertaking. The knowledge of the possibility of this power of interference being exercised chills all enterprise. The vexatious extent to which interference with matters wholly non-political is carried in Native States by the Political Department would astonish the British public at home if the facts were made known. But the Native Governments dare not complain, lest worse should happen them; and the baneful system continues unchecked by anything but a dim consciousness that if the abuse of power be too gross it will become the common talk of the bazaar, and thus attract the attention of the Press. Viceroys and Secretaries of State have little knowledge of the odious character of some of the proceedings in which their great names are sometimes taken—not wholly in vain—by fussy officials who have not an idea in their heads beyond the extension of the fields of patronage, and who know no pleasure in life sweeter than that of demonstrating that a Political is an infinitely greater man than a Prince. Railways and the various influences which always come in their train will greatly modify the tone of these High Mightinesses, who will find themselves subject to the observation and criticism which keep public functionaries in the Presidency towns on their good behaviour. In this way the military advantages which we shall gain by the construction of railways to the various capitals of the Native Princes will be fully compensated by the political emancipation of the Princes themselves from the almost servile position of dependence on the will and pleasure of Foreign Office officials, which the regular running of the railway trains will be sure to bring about.

The Nizam's State Railway, even in the first week of its existence, promises to pay its working expenses. Fifteen hundred rupees a day will pay for the two trains which are at present deemed adequate for the passenger and goods traffic, and on Wednesday last eleven hundred rupees were taken at Secunderabad alone. When the people get accustomed to travelling by railway no doubt they will use it in numbers sufficient to justify the running of additional trains. The Nizam's Government would do well to improve the Custom-house arrangements; clearance at present occupies five days. No doubt strong representations will be made from the Residency if this grievance be not spontaneously abated, so we may be sure that it will not last long. If the British Government should kindly volunteer advice upon this point, it is to be hoped that the Regents will not only at once accede to the reasonable request, but requite the service by drawing attention to the shameful delays of the Madras Post Office administration in delivering letters in Hyderabad. Letters and newspapers which arrive by train at five in the evening are only delivered by noon next day. The postmen employed are very worthy fellows no doubt, but they cannot read English, and letters which are addressed to one man are handed to another with great composure. The delivery is beautifully uncertain; it may take place at nine in the morning, or you may not get a sight of your letters till twelve. There is no reason why the delivery should not be made within an hour after the mails arrive. When the Customs grievance is removed by the Nizam's Government, and the Post Office one by that of Madras, the State Railway will make more money and carry more letters. Meanwhile the dividends on the sixty lakhs' worth of shares that have been issued to the public must come out of the Nizam's treasury, which is fortunately in a position to bear the burden. The guaranteed interest is six per cent. The fifty lakhs' worth which the Government has reserved for itself will not, we fear, yield it six per cent. just at present. But those who are not sanguine count upon two or three per cent., pending the opening of the country

by the subsidiary lines to which we have referred above. When the resources of the Deccan State are fairly developed the Nizam's railway will doubtless justify the hope to which Lord Northbrook gives expression in the letter to His Highness, that it will prove a financial success.

TIMES OF INDIA, October 17, 1874.—*The Festivities at Hyderabad.*—From our special correspondent at Hyderabad, dated October 13 :—

"The Residency Ball came off last night. Though many of the guests had already taken their departure the stately rooms of the Residency were crowded, and the dancing was kept up till this morning. The Minister and several members of the Nizam's family were present. Sir Salar wore a long close-fitting tunic of green Genoa velvet of so dark a shade that it appeared to be black. Every button was composed of a large diamond of the purest water, surrounded by a row of little diamonds, and the golden belt which was around his waist was bound with a clasp of large size, the whole surface of which was covered with diamonds. A small white turban completed his costume, which was very tasteful and *distingué*. The beautiful diamonds, and the Star of India which he wore on his left breast, were just sufficient to relieve and set off the sober richness of the velvet, and did not appear at all barbaric. The Resident and his wife—distinguishable amongst the throng by her regal presence—received their guests with true Hyderabadec hospitality. The military Contingent from Secunderabad was naturally the strongest, and their brilliant uniforms gave quite a martial character to the assembly. I saw gallant officers whom I had galloped with over the plain to the far north-east of the cantonment between five and six that morning 'going in' for every dance on the programme for the night, though the claims of the service were to call them again to the saddle at an unearthly hour this morning. *Sic itur ad astra*: some sacrifice is necessary when we desire to shine at once in the tented field and in society. No one in Bombay need flatter himself that such feats can be repeated in the mild vapour bath which forms your climate. The dry bracing air of the Deccan alone renders them possible.

"*Secunderabad and Trimulgherry.*—Since the arrival of the special train on the new railway last Thursday evening the guests have been living their lives at railway speed. As a rule we have gone to bed at two and got up at five. The only exceptions that I know of were the 'Specials' of the Bombay and Madras papers, who laid them down at three and rose at four, both hours being a.m., of course. For they had to write while others slept. Take my own case yesterday. Having finished my last letter to you between two and three o'clock in the morning, I proceeded to sleep the sleep of the just, until four sharp, when I was summoned to arise and proceed to Secunderabad, six miles off, which was to be my point of departure for Trimulgherry, three miles further on, where I was timed to 'fall in' with a certain military force and march upon an imaginary enemy who had taken up a very uncomfortable position on a line of hills several miles due west. I rose and found the night pitch dark, but as a trap had come to take me to the cantonment there could be no flinching. Through the night, then, I drove to Secunderabad, which slumbered in peace amidst so many appliances of war. There I got a mount, and went off in the direction of Trimulgherry, which has apparently the peculiarity of being at all points of the compass at once, for all the local authorities whom I consulted pointed north, south, east, and west to show me the exact position in which it lay. Soon, however, I heard guns on the south-east, and acting on the military maxim 'march on the sound of the cannon' I rode to the south-east. The guns apparently heard of my approach, for they retreated before me rapidly and I heard them no more. Having thus shut up those guns I took a survey of the situation. In a very broken plain of immense extent, where an army of a quarter of a million of men might manœuvre with ease if they could avoid breaking their necks over the little rocks and holes which were scattered at intervals amongst the tall grass, the eye could detect but one solitary horseman. The day was in the first flush of its early youth, and the grass was damp with the morning dew; the breeze came over the plain fresh and cool like that over the downs in far-away England. There was nothing to remind the wayfarer that

he was in India; the green grass, the rolling plain, with pleasant little woods at intervals, and the simple-looking unaffected line of low hills which bounded the view on the west—giving no idea that they were the lairs of tigers, and were loathsome with the trail of cobras—might well delude a more credulous person than myself into the belief that he was not several thousand miles away from the land of his birth.

“But hark! The sound of a gun comes across the plain from the west. A puff of smoke rises above a wood in a hollow a couple of miles to my proper left, then another and another, followed at intervals by the reassuring reports of blank cartridge. It is clear that the enemy has been meanly hiding in the pretty little wood down in the dell, and he is being very handsomely shelled out of it according to the best theory of war. My duty is plain, and I march to join our countrymen in arms. Turning the flank of the wood with all the horse I can dispose of I find myself in full view of Major Ellis’s battery of field artillery. Strengthened by the reinforcement which I have brought up, the gallant fellows feel themselves in a position to follow up the enemy, whom they have dislodged, and who makes for the hills in the distance. They limber up, and the nine-pounder guns go straight over the country as they find it, up hill and down dale, avoiding nothing but holes, which a sergeant in advance looks out for as he goes at the gallop. Away we go, the cool wind blowing strongly in our faces as we rush along right in its eye. The guns are deeply beholden to the splendid Australian horses—some of them perfect pictures—which take them over everything without accident or delay. When we get within a mile of some high rocks we find that the enemy has made a stand. The trumpet sounds, and in an instant the guns are unlimbered, and the order is given to find the distance. One-half the gunners estimate it at 2,000 yards, the other at 1,800. Having corrected their estimates, the word is given, and the enemy is pounded in first-rate style, and has again to beat a retreat. We are after him, and this time we catch him on a hill only 1,200 yards off—one sergeant thinks it is 1,400, but that does not matter. This time the enemy is finally disposed of, and we begin to find that another enemy is attacking us in the rear—in other words, that the sun is burning our backs in a very uncomfortable way. At half-past seven, therefore, the trumpet gives the signal to retreat, and we go in the direction of Trimulgherry, which this time lies due east of us. The guns form in line, and march past, trot past, and gallop past. The last time I saw artillery galloping past was on a certain summer evening in 1867, when 60,000 of what were then considered the best troops in the world were reviewed at Longchamps before the Emperors Napoleon III. and Alexander II. The sight taken as a whole was magnificent; the very earth shook as the multitude of guns swept past; the masses of the stately Guards and the brilliant Zouaves themselves did not give the beholder such an impression of irresistible power. Yesterday morning it must be allowed that numbers were lacking, but on the other hand the horses, the harness, and the guns were better than those which were considered so magnificent in the army of the Second Empire. There is a neatness, compactness, strength, and finish about everything connected with the Royal Artillery which no other artillery can boast of. Having satisfied myself of this fact by the inspection of Major Ellis’s battery I trotted off to view the palatial barracks at Trimulgherry. The first block we come to is built of hewn stone, and will last as long as most things; the others are built of something covered up with stucco, and will stand till they fall. Externally they are all fine structures, fit to be the abodes of the conquerors of the East. Within they are lofty and airy, but being built in two storeys the soldiers do not like them so well as the one-storeyed barracks further on, which are not troubled with stairs. All the larger barracks are given up to the bachelors: the married men’s quarters are constructed at a little distance, and are of very modest dimensions. There is a reading-room, and a couple of schoolrooms in which little boys and girls are learning their A B C, and of course there is a canteen. This latter convenience implies a prison, and looking across the plain we see the noblest pile of all, with a lofty tower and crenellated walls and other architectural devices, and are pleased to hear that it is

set apart for the victims of the law. It is so grand that it is called Windsor Castle, and none but the timid would hesitate to commit a crime to procure admission there. A splendid garden forms part of it, and I have no moral doubt that the inmates are provided with punkhas, and coolies to work them. Trimulgherry is a place of magnificent distances. The officers' quarters are a morning's walk from the barracks, and the entrenched camp is a good march from both. The artillerymen have been lately employed in throwing up redoubts, which will add to the troubles of any one marching on the entrenchments, but as a hill on the further side commands the whole the first duty of General Blake in the event of a war will be to get out of the entrenched camp as quickly as he can and seize the hill, presenting his camp to the enemy as a poor equivalent. It is said, indeed, that a fort is to be built on the hill in question; if that be done Trimulgherry will feel much more secure.

"Having viewed the barracks and the field works I was shown over the stables, which are very spacious; everything is kept in first-rate order. A native groom is allowed to every two horses, but the privates do most of the grooming and harness-cleaning themselves. All the steel work is bright and shining as silver; a Prussian cavalry officer once asked whether the English did not plate their artillery harness with German silver. If they did it would not look so bright.

"The barracks and the field works and the stables having been duly inspected by your special and his courteous guide, he had the pleasure of witnessing all the routine work which the commandant of a battery has to get through in a forenoon. This letter would be a column too long if I were to catalogue the endless details which had to be attended to,—the documents, written and printed, to be signed,—and the accounts to be verified. Every conceivable thing, from the sentencing of a criminal to seven days in Windsor Castle to the surgical examination of a broken surcingle, comes within the scope of his duties. When all seemed over, word came that forty gunners who had studied gunnery in classes under the subalterns were ready for examination. At noon we stepped over to the lecture room, and the examination began. 'If a gun be fired with one wheel six inches higher than another, where will the recoil press? Describe the different kinds of shell, and the way they are made. If a gun send a ball 12 feet to the left of a target twelve hundred yards distant, what rectification must be made? By what calculation do you arrive at the result?' Forty questions of a similar character were put by the subalterns and answered straight off by the men. Only one mistake was made in the answers given. When half past 12 had overtaken us it was announced that nothing more was needed that morning, which was comparatively a light one! Still one occupation or another brought us to three o'clock before I found myself nearing the public gardens in Hyderabad, which I had left eleven hours previously. An envious elephant made an attempt to prevent your special from re-entering them. The mahout being ordered to take the brute off the roadway, so as to allow the trap to pass, he essayed to do so. But Mr. Elephant refused to go into the field or quit the Nizam's high-road. Therefore he was urged on at an accelerated pace, which ruffled him greatly. Catching sight of the horse and trap he sagaciously concluded that we were the cause of his being bullied by his mahout, and he turned to make at us and wreak a dreadful revenge. The mahout was, however, equal to the occasion, and, reaching down over the animal's forehead, firmly stuck a finger in the eye next us. The elephant struggled and grunted angrily, but the intense pain made him give way, and he turned the opposite direction. Then we had the satisfaction of seeing the mahout thrash the ruffian over the head with untiring energy for several consecutive minutes. And so we reached the gardens in safety. Such are the dangers of the road in Hyderabad. A poor pedestrian was killed not far from the same spot by an elephant, with even less provocation: a year ago; in that case the mahout put out an eye *after* the mischief was done; by the promptitude of the mahout in our case I was spared to assist at the Resident's ball at night, and write this letter thereafter."

TIMES OF INDIA, *October 19, 1874.*—*Last notes from Hyderabad.*—From our special correspondent, dated Hyderabad, 14th October:—

"The chief incidents of the festivities attending the opening of the Nizam's

State Railway having been fully described, either by myself or by your regular Hyderabad correspondent, I shall in this concluding letter merely throw together such odds and ends of information relative to the Deccan capital and its surroundings as I find unused in my note book—or rather in my memory.

"An Armed People."—The first thing that strikes the eye of a visitor in Hyderabad is that every man goes armed. Even little boys frequently have daggers or pistols in their cumberbunds. Every respectable man goes about with the 'five arms,' which are as essential to his happiness as is a gig to a well-to-do Englishman. The magical number is made up with a charming variety of weapons; there is the gun, which is generally a matchlock seven feet long, and very handsomely inlaid in the stock, and damascened on the barrel; two pistols; a curved sword of great sharpness; and an awkward dagger approaching the crescent shape. The whole five are kept ready for immediate use—the gun and pistols loaded, and the sword and dagger sharp and bright. But they are hardly ever used. The Hyderabadee has as little notion of running his dagger into a passer-by as an English butcher would have of using his knife or hatchet against the people who pass his shop without buying. The fact is men with arms become accustomed to their *disuse* rather than to their use; and habit is everything. At the Nawab Vicar-ul-Umrah's magnificent banquet some of the attendants who fanned the guests with large hand punkahs had beautiful agate-hilted daggers in their cumberbunds, but none of them even looked as if they would have liked to stab any of us in the back. Accustomed from their childhood to the handling of deadly weapons the Hyderabadees naturally acquire a certain self-control in their use, and of late years it is very rarely that they forget themselves. The five arms are now carried for ornament rather than for use. If Sir Salar Jung can prevail upon them to convert the useless swords into ploughshares, and go about with nothing but money in their pockets as an evidence of respectability, he will make the streets of the capital more prosaic in appearance, but he will not diminish in the slightest degree the military strength of the State.

"Golconda of the Tombs."—On a high rocky hill six miles from the city is the famous fort of Golconda, which was the seat of government before Sultan Mahmoud built Hyderabad on the Moosey, in order to have a good supply of water for his seat of empire. This Golconda is not the Golconda famed over the whole earth for its diamond mines, but it is nevertheless a place of great importance. It was deemed impregnable in old days, and it stood a siege at the hands of Aurungzebe. The Nizam's treasury is kept safe within its walls, which rise boldly above the level of the ground, not shrinking from shot and shell behind a glacis as Vauban taught European walls to do. Europeans are strictly prohibited from entering its gates. Last Sunday a small party set out on elephants to visit the tombs in its neighbourhood, which are visible even from the city. In form and size they resemble large mosques surmounted by domes of considerable altitude. The ground on which they stand is tastefully laid out as a garden with gravel walks and an abundance of flowers. The tomb of Sultan Mahmoud is the grandest, but nearly all are built on the same plan—a rectangle varying from thirty to forty feet square is raised to a proportionate elevation, and the large dome is superimposed with small minarets at the corners. The coffin is deposited under a simple stone structure in the centre of the lower floor. The interior of the dome forms a vaulted chamber of great size, but it is not in any way utilized except by myriads of bats. Originally some, if not all, of the tombs were covered with enamelled tiles of great beauty, but the weather and tourists having removed most of those ornaments the whole are now covered with plaster and coloured a whitish yellow. With the exception of Sultan Mahmoud's tomb all the best of these monumental edifices are erected to the memory of princesses who died during the lifetime of their lords. It is quite evident that the Moslem can love the partner of his joys as fondly—and as extravagantly—as any monogamist.

"The tombs—which I did not count, but which number perhaps a score or more, large and small—are not more than six or seven hundred yards from the walls of the fort. In the wars of the past they were reached by the shot of the besieged,

and some of them still show traces of the mischief thus wrought. In these days of powerful artillery the tombs would either lead to the speedy destruction of the fort, or the fort would destroy them. The impregnability of Golconda is, however, wholly a thing of the past; it is commanded from various points by hills which formerly were quite out of range.

“Hyderabad by night.”—Except when the moon is up, Hyderabad by night is invisible. It is not lighted even by oil; there are no flaring gin palaces at the corners of the streets, there are no shops ablaze with gas to attract the custom of the passers-by. Everything is shrouded in complete darkness. When I went to the Residency on Saturday evening last to join the party proceeding on elephants to the Nawab Vicar-ul-Umrah’s banquet I found that the *cortège* had started. I was therefore placed in a palanquin, and sent off with an escort consisting of one cavalier armed with a formidable sabre, through the night, to the Nawab’s palace. As a matter of course we missed our way. A few Arabs, armed as usual with loaded matchlocks, alone were to be seen in the narrow streets. The windows do not look on the street, as a rule, and when they do no light ever shines in them. In a quarter of an hour the palanquin was borne into a large square, and my commander-in-chief guided it to a gateway at which a couple of soldiers were on duty. They vociferated that we should not enter; and the escort, who seemed to get a sudden reinforcement of a couple of smart bucklers from somewhere, swore that I should; the soldiers gesticulated as well as vociferated, and the row became deafening. When I understood that the officer in whose charge I was had simply made a mistake, and was trying to make matters straight by forcing an entrance for me into somebody’s palace, it did not matter whose, I was in a position to make my own voice heard. We got another guide, and set out for our original destination, where we arrived in due time.

“On leaving Vicar-ul-Umra’s subsequently we all came away on elephants. The way the streets were illuminated for those unwieldy animals deserves to be mentioned. A couple of men carrying a quantity of tarred rope cut into short pieces and a can of kerosine ran on ahead. Dipping a bit of rope in the kerosine they set it alight and threw it on the ground at the corner of the street, and went on to repeat the process at the next turning. The rope blazed up for a couple of minutes, and we were enabled to see very well where we were going. At all events we did not go astray. When the Kummum coal fields are made accessible to the capital this primitive contrivance will no doubt be looked upon with contempt, but where there is no gas it is not to be despised.

“Sport.”—There is plenty of good sport to be had within easy reach of Hyderabad. Tigers, panthers, and deer abound. General Blake has just ordered up a pack of hounds for the delight of the officers at Secunderabad and of the world in general hereabouts. By riding ten miles any one can come upon tigers of great size and conspicuous gallantry. Hunting deer with tame cheetas is a favourite amusement, but it is said to be poor fun when compared to the more noble sport of tiger-shooting. The deer are driven in the direction of the cheetas, which are kept hooded and half-starved. When the proper moment comes the hoods are removed. The cheetah acts according to circumstances. If the deer stands he will crawl stealthily towards him. If the victim flies the cheetah goes after him in tremendous bounds. It is a point of honour to kill the deer at the first attempt. If by any miscalculation the cheetah misses the throat at the first spring, and merely wounds the deer and falls off, he will not renew the attack; he sulks and refuses to do anything more that day.

“Amongst the uncanonical amusements of Hyderabad I should be inclined to give the first place to the effect on the nerves of the horses of the passing of elephants and camels in the narrow streets. Nine out of ten horses rear up and show strong symptoms of a desire to bolt up the next alley when an elephant rocks his way down both sides of the street at once. Camels are also a source of terror to all steeds, but it is gratifying to see that the hump-backed brutes are themselves quite as much afraid of the elephants as horses are of both. The elephants are, on the whole, very well-behaved, polite animals, and show every disposition to

accommodate others. But a good deal depends upon the state of their temper. When they break out the chief resource of the mahout is to drive them into a marshy field; when they find themselves sinking into the earth at every step they become quite abject in their fear and return to their allegiance to man. For serious misdeeds they are flogged with iron chains. The culprit being firmly tied up by the feet, two elephants are brought up and presented each with a chain. Raising this terrible lash aloft with their trunks they bring it down upon the back of the patient, who can do nothing in the way of resistance, and he is beaten within an inch of his life, until signs of reformation are visible to the practised eye of the mahout. This severe discipline renders the streets of Hyderabad more safe than they would otherwise be. But taking them all in all, what with many-armed citizens, neighing steeds, cantankerous camels, elephants liable to 'break out,' and cheetahs going hungry to hunt the fallow deer, the streets of Hyderabad bring home to every wayfarer in a fashion unknown in duller cities the exhilarating influences which have always rendered the dangers of the hunting field so delightful to men. Long may the Abode of Lions flourish! None but a lion-heart can appreciate to their full the joys of Hyderabad."

TIMES OF INDIA, July 2, 1875.—The Nizam of Hyderabad.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Sir G. Campbell, on June 7,

Lord G. Hamilton said: The Secretary of State for India has been advised that, taking into consideration all the circumstances connected with the formation of the company in connection with which the Nizam of Hyderabad has guaranteed the payment of 6 per cent. interest on money raised in this country, there is no infringement of the provisions of the Act 37 George III., c. 142, s. 28. The Indian Government is in no degree responsible for the payment of the money guaranteed; and there is no ground for any expectation that, in the event of the Nizam failing to pay, the Government of her Majesty will interfere to cause payment to be made. Parties advancing money on the credit of the Nizam do so at their own risk, the Nizam not being liable to be sued for any debt in a British Court of Law.

Sir G. Campbell intimated that on Thursday he would ask for the production of the opinion which the Secretary of State had received as to the legality of the transaction in question.

Idem:—A letter signed "Khubber-dar," dated June 8:—

"Sir George Campbell did investors in foreign loans good service in the House last night, and Lord George Hamilton's straightforward reply to the question of the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has fully explained the security offered by the ruler of the Deccan. Under Sir Salar Jung's liberal and enlightened statesmanship there is little doubt of the interest being paid, but in the event of a change of Government—and the able and loyal Minister's life has been more than once attempted, while Hyderabad is a huge nest of discontented budmashes—investors might find their money gone, as the Nizams are independent Princes, 'not liable to be sued in any British court of law.' The late Nizam was very heavily indebted to a firm in Madras, the Palmers, and I believe the British Resident at Hyderabad refused to aid them in recovering, and they had to accept a compromise. In the prospectus it is stated that 'the total revenue realized from all sources cannot have fallen short, in round numbers, of 2,39,50,000 rupees (£2,395,000); of that sum 95,78,000 rupees (£957,800) was collected by British officers in the assigned districts.' No information is given as to expenditure, and these round numbers must be mere guesswork, as the Nizam's officials have hitherto persisted in refusing the Resident any information as to revenue. We are not told that nearly a million (£957,800) of this sum is derived from the Berars, which at the present moment are nothing more nor less than a British province, the restitution of which the Viceroy has declined even to discuss."

Idem:—A letter from Messrs. Smith, Fleming and Co., agents for His Highness the Nizam's State Railway Company, dated Leadenhall-street, June 10:—

"With reference to the letter of your anonymous correspondent 'Khubber-dar,'

respecting His Highness the Nizam's State Railway Company's issue of stock, permit us to say that the figures quoted in the prospectus are not mere guesswork, but are a direct quotation from the official report of the British Resident at Hyderabad to his own Government. Although the figures of the expenditure of the Hyderabad State are not available at the moment, it is widely known in India that it has been for many years past considerably within the revenue.

"As to the Nizam not being liable to be sued in a British Court of Law, he shares this distinction with all other independent Sovereigns of foreign States, with this difference, however, in his favour—that the autonomy and independence of his State are specially guaranteed to him by Treaties with the British Government, notably that of 1800, last confirmed in 1860 (see Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. 5), under which, for consideration duly paid, the Nizam is entitled to full military aid from the British Government to maintain order both externally and internally.

"With such a state of matters as this, and looking to the fact that the present transaction is not a loan at all, but an issue of shares in a railway, which, besides being guaranteed by a Government of the highest probity, forms a valuable property in itself, is worked under British management, and will be entitled to its own earnings like other railways, it is hard to guess by what process your correspondent imagines that the shareholders might find their money gone.

"The future of the Nizam's State is far from being dependent on the life of its present enlightened Minister, whom your correspondent so justly eulogizes. The present Nizam is being educated under English supervision of the very highest order, and may be fully expected to continue the very high standard of administration which Hyderabad already possesses.

"Berar, instead of being, as stated, a British province, 'is an integral part of the Nizam's dominions,' and all surplus revenues are paid to him yearly by the British Government, who only administer it 'in trust' for him.

"Lastly, though we do not mean to imply that any pecuniary responsibility attaches to the British Government in connexion with an issue the actual guarantees for which are so plainly stated in the prospectus, we must point out that your correspondent is completely at fault in his quotation of history.

"The debts of the Nizam's Government to Palmer and Co. were liquidated by the British Government itself, who in the year 1823 redeemed the tribute of £70,000 which they owed yearly to the Nizam by a capitalized payment of about £1,160,000, at least £780,000 of which went direct from the British Treasury to Palmer's coffers.

"The only claims which the British Resident refused to aid Palmer and Company in recovering were on private nobles, and some which he alleged to be of questionable nature."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *December 18, 1875*.—Sir Salar Jung's enterprising Finance Minister does not, we find, intend to let the proceeds of the recent loan be wasted for want of employment. The whole amount of 35 lakhs brought out to Bombay has been gradually remitted to Hyderabad; and of this sum 25 lakhs will be invested in shares of a State Bank. It is a curious thing that at the very moment when the Government of India is severing its connexion with the Presidency Banks, on the ground of the difficulty the most careful of Governments must experience in maintaining an effectual control over the management of such institutions, the Hyderabad Government should be anxious to add to its responsibilities by undertaking an extensive banking business. We are assured, however, that it has been determined to give Hyderabad the benefit of possessing that latest luxury of mature civilization, a State Bank, along with the other privilege, lately accorded, of a State debt. The capital of the Bank is to consist of 50 lakhs of rupees: and the State will hold one-half of the whole, while of the remaining half 10 lakhs will be reserved for the Hyderabad sowcars, and the balance of 15 lakhs will be offered to the public of Bombay. We have not had the advantage of seeing the prospectus of the Bank, and cannot therefore say what reasons there may be for anticipating that it will be able to conduct a

profitable business. But as the Banks of Bengal and Bombay have always laid great stress on the importance of the Hyderabad business we may fairly assume that it is worth fighting for. It is probable, however, that the Bank will not restrict itself to mere operations in exchange. We look upon it as the nucleus of an extensive scheme for developing the mineral and other resources of the State of Hyderabad—a scheme which is legitimate and even laudable in its way, but which will drive the unhappy Government of India, mindful of past exploits of Hyderabad financiers, to its wit's end. The Palmers, in old times, worked the Nizam's Government through their connexion with the Court of Calcutta; but the new school of speculators are playing a much bolder game. They "put the screw on" the Government of India through the agency of ex-Governors-General, members of Parliament, members of the Council of India, and influential capitalists who have shares in English newspapers.

TIMES OF INDIA, December 22, 1875.—A hazy notion appears to prevail in some quarters that the Nizam's Government has been raising "a loan" in the London market, that the transaction was similar in kind to the raising of loans by Peru the Penuiless, and that it was in some inexplicable way detrimental to the Government of India. It may be as well to state the facts briefly so as to obviate the possibility of misconception. In the first place the transaction referred to was not the raising of a State Loan at all. What was done was to place half the shares of the Hyderabad State Railway in the market. This, so far from being a step hostile to the Government of India, was in strict accordance with the understanding arrived at between the two Governments five years ago, when the railway was projected. At that time the Nizam's Government declared its readiness to construct the railway, but said that it could not take the capital required—a million sterling—from its own current revenue without inconvenience. It was then suggested by the Government of India that the capital should be procured from the public in the same way as that for the lines in British territory was procured—by forming a Company, the interest on the shares being guaranteed by the State. A company was formed in October 1873, and one-half of the shares were floated in Hyderabad. The Nizam's Government advanced the capital, £500,000, still required, but on the understanding that when the railway was completed and was a tangible security it should be recouped by the Company floating the shares representing that amount. The railway was opened last year. This year shares representing £500,000 have been placed in London. They were not floated by a Bombay firm, as has been incorrectly stated, but by the Railway Share Trust Company—a syndicate of London capitalists and the Directors of most of the great English railway lines. The Under-Secretary of State for India, it may be remembered, stated in his place in the House of Commons that the operation was perfectly legal and regular. The shareholders have, in addition to the Nizam's guarantee of 6 per cent., the security of a line of railway constructed by the Engineers of the Government of India connecting Hyderabad with the centres of Anglo-Indian political and commercial influence. A good railway may of course be a bad security, but such as it is the English shareholders have it. There are people who believe that the line will pay a dividend of four cent. or even more out of earnings, and thus reduce the call on the Hyderabad exchequer to two per cent or less. But with these delicate questions, which were doubtless duly considered when our Government originally recommended the construction of the line, we have nothing to do. We look at things as they are. Those who have advanced their money in this affair have simply taken shares in a guaranteed railway; they have not subscribed to a State Loan. What will the Hyderabad Government do with the money thus received on account of shares in the State Railway Company? It has been stated that the cash will be used to set up a State Bank for the development of the resources of the country. This may turn out to be the case eventually, but our Hyderabad correspondent says that it is by no means certain that the half-million will be utilized in that way. There are many projects now under consideration—one for opening up the country

by roads, another for a cheap railway to the districts where coal fields have been discovered, one for the establishment of a State Bank, and so on ; but which will ultimately be preferred is not yet known.

TIMES OF INDIA, June 6, 1877.—Railways in Native States.—On May 15 a deputation waited upon the Secretary of State for India, at the India Office, concerning the extension of railways in the territories of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The deputation was introduced by the Right Hon'ble John Bright, M.P., and included many gentlemen interested in Indian affairs, among whom were the Chairman and Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railway Companies, Mr. Edmund Ashworth, Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Hugh Mason, and the following members of Parliament : Mr. George Leeman, Mr. John Hick, Mr. John Holmes, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Orr Ewing, the Hon'ble A. Kinnaird, Mr. Charles Wilson, Alderman Cotton, Major Beaumont, R.E., Mr. Samuel Laing, Mr. John Heath, Mr. John Pender, &c. Letters were received from the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Claude J. Hamilton, M.P., regretting unavoidable absence, but expressing their sympathy with the object of the deputation. Mr. Bright, in introducing the subject of discussion, spoke strongly in favour of the proposed railways, and urged that no obstacles should be interposed to money being raised in England for such useful purposes. Mr. Fleming, Mr. Laing, Mr. Pender, and Mr. Edmund Ashworth followed in support of the same policy, pointing out the immense advantages not only to the Native States, but to India generally, that must result from it.—Lord Salisbury, in replying, regretted that, though repeatedly called for, he was still without an expression of the views of the Government of India, and it was contrary to the traditions of the office to give a definite reply in the absence of such expression. He would call for this without delay. He did not wish the deputation, however, to leave under the impression that he did not recognize the great importance of the projected lines, or that his own view or that of the Government of India was opposed to the development of the resources of Native States by the instrumentality of railways. On the contrary, he could emphatically state that their inclination was to extend railways as rapidly as possible. After some further remarks the deputation withdrew.

From "The Railways of India," by Captain EDWARD DAVIDSON, R.E.,
pp. 281-286.

In consequence of financial difficulties arising from the Mutiny, several sections of railway were for a time postponed, in order that money might be available for those portions which were being constructed. The junction line between Madras and Bombay was one of these deferred sections, and the various alternative routes were not even surveyed till 1863, although a trunk line between these cities had been one of the plans originally contemplated and sanctioned as part of the comprehensive scheme of railway intercommunication for India.

The question when reviewed was first laid before the Government of India in March, 1864, but a decision upon the point was not arrived at until the December of that year. In the original plan, which had received a general approval, the trunk line from Bombay was intended to be taken *viâ* Sholapore, Mogdul, Bellary, and Cuddapah to Madras ; but subsequently, on again considering the subject, the Governments of Bombay and Madras conjointly advocated that the line should pass through Hyderabad, and from thence to Cuddapah.

At Bombay the opinion in favour of the Hyderabad route was, on all accounts, strongly urged. That Government represented that though it was admitted that this line *viâ* Hyderabad was sensibly longer, yet as there would be practically no through-traffic by Mogdul the argument that a direct line is better than a circuitous one had no force. Traffic north of Mogdul would tend to Bombay, and south of it to Madras. That the direct line, passing through a poor, thinly populated, and impoverished district, and terminating in an obscure village called Mogdul, would probably cause a drain upon the profits of the railway company ; while the longer

one *viâ* Hyderabad, traversing a fertile and densely populated country, would have for its terminus an important and populous city, an unfailing source of large and profitable traffic. That it was of greater importance to put Hyderabad in direct railway communication with Madras and Bombay than Bellary; though taking the main line through the former city did not necessarily imply that Bellary must not have a railroad, as there was nothing to prevent a branch being made to it from Cuddapah.

The Bombay Government and the Resident* at Hyderabad strongly recommended the formation of a railroad to that city, for military and political reasons. Hyderabad, they urged, is the largest military station in Southern India; it is the place of all others where an outbreak may be most expected, and therefore it is of much importance to be able by means of a railroad to reinforce the garrison quickly in the event of disturbances, and to have the troops available for despatch elsewhere should their aid be needed.

As the line from Cuddapah to Hyderabad would have to pass through a difficult and unproductive country, the Madras Government, on commercial grounds, preferred the line *viâ* Mogdul to that by Hyderabad; but though conscious of the disadvantages inherent to the latter route, yet, for political and military reasons, they thought that it ought to be selected.

For the direct line two routes had been suggested and surveyed—the original line from Sholapore *viâ* Mogdul and Bellary to Cuddapah; and an alternative route also from Sholapore but taken by Kulberga and Raichore to Cuddapah. The entire case being laid before the Government of India in an exhaustive note by Colonel Strachey, R.E., the Secretary in the Public Works Department, they decided, after a careful consideration of all the arguments, that the guaranteed main trunk line of communication between Bombay and Madras should follow the second of the direct alternative routes which had been surveyed, *viz.*, that by Kulberga and Raichore; that a guaranteed branch line should be constructed from some junction near Gooty to Bellary; and that if any company should be formed to make a branch from Kulberga to Hyderabad it should receive a subsidy. It was also decided that Raichore should be the point of junction for the Bombay and Madras railways.

The distances on the several proposed routes are as follows:—

	Miles.
1. Main Line <i>viâ</i> Hyderabad	556
(Branch from Cuddapah to Bellary.)	
2. Main Line <i>viâ</i> Mogdul	517
(Branch from Sholapore to Hyderabad.)	
3. Main Line <i>viâ</i> Raichore... ..	501
(Branch from Kulberga to Hyderabad; and branch from Gooty to Bellary.)	

These figures showed that the Hyderabad line would involve 50 miles more of railway to construct, would require 75 more of main line to be made before the through communication was completed, and would bring 140 miles more of Madras, and nearly 30 miles more of Bombay railway under guarantee than if the main line were taken *viâ* Raichore. By adopting the Raichore route in preference to that by Hyderabad the through line between Bombay and Madras would be shortened by 75 miles: an advantage which the Government of India considered to outbalance entirely the increase of distance between Madras and Hyderabad, while the convenience of the traffic between Bombay and Hyderabad would be equally well consulted by either of the proposed lines.

The gravest objection, however, to a through line, on which military communications between the east and west coasts and the north and south of the peninsula of India had to depend, passing close to and round the capital of a foreign State, was that in the case of an outbreak the railway connection would be very easily cut off. The inhabitants of Hyderabad are known to be hostile to us, and there is much reason to anticipate internal commotions and changes in the condition of society in the city. But the influences that might produce danger to a railway near the capital of the Nizam would be, it was thought, far more feeble, if not quite

* The British representative at the Court of the Nizam.

inappreciable, in the remote agricultural districts through which a line *via* Raichore would pass ; and therefore, on the whole, the Government of India felt no hesitation in selecting that route as the one for the main trunk line of communication between Bombay and Madras.

SHOLAPORE TO KULBERGA : 72 Miles.

The line thus chosen runs for 72 miles in a direction nearly due east to the town of Kulberga, keeping parallel to the river Bheemah, and between it and a range of hills, which also at a distance of from 20 to 40 miles follows its course. From the hills flow several streams, which the line has to cross, and from the same range some ridges also project towards the Bheemah, over which the railroad has to climb. Kulberga is situated in the dominions of the Nizam, and was formerly a place of much wealth and great strength, and though now decayed is still of considerable importance.

The railway, skirting as it does the river Bheemah, has to pass the entire drainage of the district, every stream and river eastward of Sholapore discharging itself into that river. The masonry works, therefore, were numerous, but not difficult, the largest bridges being those over the rivers Baree and Murrigeelhulla, over which viaducts of fifteen and twelve 30 feet arches respectively were required.

The gradients were severe, from the railway being obliged to pass the three summits that have been mentioned by inclines of 1 in 100 ; but not more so than those on other parts of the Great Indian Peninsula lines.

KULBERGA TO RAICHORE : 88 Miles.

After passing the town of Kulberga, from whence the branch to Hyderabad is projected, the line turns southward, still clinging closely to the Bheemah, passing all its tributaries flowing from the east, and following, through districts liable to floods and inundations, its course till the line meets the Kistnah, just beyond the point at which the Bheemah flows into it. Crossing the Kistnah, a heavy work, the railroad runs through a level, cotton-producing district to Raichore, which is 160 miles from Sholapore, and there unites with the Madras system of railways.

The gradients on this length are easy ; but the district traversed requires a large provision of waterway, and the river Kangunnee, which is crossed by the railway 24 miles from Kulberga, needs a work of first-class magnitude. A viaduct of twenty-two 60 feet openings, covered by girders, takes the line over the Kangunnee river : while another viaduct of still larger dimensions, containing thirty-eight openings, each of 60 feet, spans the Kistnah.* Stone and lime were abundant, and there was no difficulty about the foundations of these large viaducts, as they rest on rock ; and the works, therefore, though sure to be costly, were not otherwise formidable.

The line was in direction unexceptional, there being only one curve of half a mile radius, and a length of $63\frac{1}{2}$ miles straight.

The line from Sholapore to Raichore is still under construction, but is being rapidly carried on to completion under the management of energetic contractors.

Raichore is in the territories of the Nizam, through which the railway has been running for more than 100 miles ; but shortly after leaving the junction the line enters the boundaries of the Madras Presidency.

Extract from "Modern India and the Indians," by DR. MONIER WILLIAMS.

My visit to Sir Richard Meade, our able Resident at Hyderabad, enabled me to judge of the condition of the Nizam's territory, which occupies the central plateau of the Deccan, and has a population of 10,000,000 or 11,000,000. It owes its present prosperity, as most people know, to the excellent administration of Sir Salar Jung, who delivered it from a condition of chronic mismanagement. Our large military station at Secunderabad, six miles from the capital, contains 40,000 inhabitants, and is under our own jurisdiction. We also hold Berar (commonly called the Berars) in trust for the payment of the Nizam's Contingent

* It has recently been determined to substitute iron cylinders filled with concrete for the masonry piers at first designed for the Kistnah viaduct.

It was taken by us from the Marathas, and we have administered it since 1853. It has thriven wonderfully under our management; but as we gave it to the Nizam in 1803 the surplus revenue goes to his treasury. We restored to him the Raichore Doab, between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, in 1860. Whether Berar ought to be so restored is another matter. Some authorities think we did wrong to give up our claim to Mysore, and that we might with as good reason give up Berar. Probably Berar would not suffer much by being given back, so long as the continuance of so able a minister as Sir Salar Jung at the helm could be secured. But India is not likely to produce two such men as Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhava Rao more than once in two or three centuries. I conversed with both these great ministers not long since in their own houses (one at Hyderabad, and the other at Baroda), and found them capable of talking on all subjects in as good English as my own.

Sir Salar Jung (whose person is familiar to many of us from his recent visit to England) showed me his everyday working room—a room not so large as an Oxford graduate's study, plainly furnished, with a few bookcases filled with modern books of reference, chiefly English. He has an extensive library in an adjoining gallery, with a window commanding a courtyard, where those who have to transact business with him assemble every day. I may mention as an evidence of his enlightened ideas that on hearing that a deserving young Indian at Oxford was in need of assistance he at once assigned an annual allowance for his support, stipulating that he should be trained for the Nizam's educational service. He has young Indians under training in London similarly supported.

I was told that I should see numbers of armed ruffians and rowdies in the city of Hyderabad, and that I could not possibly traverse the streets unless lifted, above all chances of insult, on the back of an elephant. Yet I can certify that I saw very few armed men, and no signs of disorder or lawlessness anywhere in the city, and that I dismounted from my elephant and walked about in the throng of people without suffering the slightest inconvenience, molestation, or rudeness. Of course, a town of 400,000 inhabitants is liable to disturbances, and it is certain that during my stay an Arab, whose father died suddenly, made a savage attack with his dagger, in a fit of frenzy, on the doctor who attended him. Nevertheless I am satisfied that the stories about murderous brawls in the streets are much exaggerated. Without doubt it must be admitted that the 7,000 armed Arab mercenaries, who form part of an army of 50,000 men, and the numerous armed retainers of the nobles, all of whom are allowed to roam about without much discipline, are generally ripe for turbulence and mischief. It is, moreover, a significant fact that about three-fourths of the wealth of Hyderabad is concentrated within the limits of the Residency, held to be British territory. These limits are carefully marked off from the rest of the city by walls and lines of streets; and here a population of 20,000 persons, including the chief rich bankers and merchants of the Nizam's dominions, cluster under the ægis of British jurisdiction and authority.

*TIMES OF INDIA, March 11, 1870.—Opening of the Khanqaon State Railway—*After a successful tour through the Hingunghat and Chandah country, at a pace which reminded one of the performances of Sir Richard Temple in the same parts, the Viceroy returned to the Railway line on the evening of Wednesday the 2nd of March, dining at Wurdah, where His Excellency was the guest of Captain Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner. On the following morning the Viceroy left Wurdah by the ordinary train, and entered the Berars, where he was received by Mr. Saunders, C.B., the Resident at Hyderabad, and Colonel Nembhard, Commissioner of West Berar. Sir Salar Jung, who is on his way to Calcutta, on a visit to the Viceroy, accompanied Mr. Saunders, and had the honour of being presented to His Excellency. The party arrived at Akola, where the Resident's standing camp had been formed, at 3½ o'clock in the afternoon. Here His Excellency was received by Mr. Lyall, the Commissioner of East Berar, the Brigadier commanding the Hyderabad Force, the officers of the Berar

Commission, and many visitors from Bombay, Khandeish, and the Central Provinces, who had assembled on Mr. Saunders' invitation to meet the Viceroy. Mr. Saunders' hospitality was on its usual well-known scale. A large camp had been formed for the visitors, all of whom were Mr. Saunders' guests, and in the evening a party of 150 sat down to dinner in the Resident's tents.

On Friday morning, after a levée at which all the European and Native gentlemen at Akola were presented to the Viceroy, His Excellency, attended by Mr. Saunders, Sir Salar Jung, Mr. Morris, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and the visitors at Akola, set out by a special train for Khangaon. At Sheagaon the train was detained for half an hour whilst the Viceroy, Mr. Saunders, and party inspected the cotton-seed garden at that place. Mr. A. J. Dunlop, the Assistant Cotton Commissioner in charge of the garden, Mr. Simpson, one of the gardeners recently sent out by the Secretary of State, and Mr. Rivett-Carnac, the Cotton Commissioner, had the honour of conducting the Viceroy, the Resident, Sir Salar Jung, and party through the garden, and explaining the result of the experiments.

From Jullum, where the little State railway joins the main line, the Viceroy's train passed on to Khangaon, through a series of triumphal arches, and reached the Khangaon station at about 4 o'clock. It was a great day for Khangaon, and the place had put on its very best appearance for this occasion. The Court House, the Factories, the Cotton Market, and every prominent point were gaily decked with flags, evergreens and other effective decorations, whilst detachments of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry of the Hyderabad Contingent were drawn up to fire salutes, and to form guards of honour for the distinguished visitors. On the platform the Viceroy was received by Captain Wodehouse, the Assistant Commissioner in charge of Khangaon, by the Municipal Committee, the cotton merchants of the place, the engineers in charge of the work, and by a large concourse of visitors. The proceedings of the day were then commenced by the Viceroy driving the last "key" into the line, and declaring Khangaon Railway to be ready for traffic.

The whole party then adjourned to the Court House, when the Municipality of Khangaon had the honour of presenting an address to the Viceroy. The address, which was read by Mr. T. K. Booth, of the firm of Messrs. Booth & Co., of Khangaon, was as follows :—

"May it please your Excellency,—We the members of the Khangaon Municipality desire respectfully to express our sense of the special honour and great material advantage which your Excellency's visit has conferred on our town of Khangaon.

"Your Excellency's government of India has from its commencement been prominently signalized by an energetic, sustained and successful development of the empire's material wealth and resources, and by that foresighted policy which binds distant nations together in the chains of commerce, of easy and rapid communication, of mutual need and reciprocal aid. No class of the Queen's subjects more keenly appreciates or more warmly supports all the measures by which your Excellency is continually promoting these high aims than the commercial classes, English and Native, in Western India.

"No branch of commerce has profited from these measures so largely as the cotton trade. And we sincerely believe that no cotton mart in all India has been during your Excellency's Viceroyalty so fortunate in its share of the benefits flowing from your Excellency's rule as this very flourishing emporium at Khangaon.

"That the first State railway in India should have been opened here by your Excellency is no small privilege, and we are fully assured that the anticipations with which your Excellency accorded to Khangaon that priority will not be disappointed. If any fear has heretofore arisen lest the prestige of Khangaon as a cotton mart might not long resist the attraction towards the main railway of capital and produce, that fear has now been completely dissipated. If misgiving has occasionally been felt lest our trade operations, which require markets on an excessive scale, might suffer from the gradual dispersion into numerous petty

channels of the full stream of traffic which floated our large transactions at Khangaon, such misgivings have now disappeared. We believe that the impetus this day given to this town's prosperity has opened to it a fair start in the front ranks, which we do not intend to lose, and we are satisfied that Khangaon is now fairly launched into the mid-current of that vast commerce which is rapidly carrying forward all India, under your Lordship's pennant, into the van of civilized nations."

To this address His Lordship replied as follows :—

"To the members of the Khangaon Municipality.—Gentlemen,—Accept my best and warmest thanks for the kind and gratifying terms in which you have been pleased to address me this day.

"I can assure you that it gives me the sincerest gratification to have been permitted to take part in the interesting ceremony of the opening of this little railway, thereby giving a practical proof of the desire of the Government of India to do everything that lies in its power for the increase and development of the cotton industry of Central and Western India.

"I agree with you that it is in most cases impolitic to attempt to divert from its natural centres and ordinary line the course of trade, and I believe it is wise, in considering the construction of railways and other means of communication, rather to follow, whenever it is possible, the old commercial landmarks of the country, than to embark in the always difficult and sometimes impossible object of moving markets from their ancient sites.

"It is often easier to bring the rail to the market than the market to the rail.

"I sincerely hope that the undertaking which we have this day commenced will fulfil the expectations which have been formed of it, and will confer material advantage not only on the town and neighbourhood of Khangaon, but on the agricultural industry generally of the surrounding districts."

After each member of the Municipality had been presented to the Viceroy, His Excellency, accompanied by the Resident, Sir Salar Jung, and Mr. Morris, and attended by Mr. Rivett-Carnac and many of the visitors and officials, drove to the cotton market, in which a monster triumphal arch, composed chiefly of cotton bales, had been erected. Here His Excellency visited the small "Cotton Exchange," and entered his name, together with a few remarks regarding his visit, in the book kept in the room. The market, which was full of cotton carts, was then carefully inspected, and many questions asked by His Excellency regarding the manner of conducting the trade in the Berars. From the market the Viceroy and party drove to Messrs. Jules Siegfried's Factory, where M. Sauquet explained the process of full-pressing the cotton bales. The Mofussil Company's Factory was then visited, His Excellency being received by Mr. Hamilton Maxwell, the Chairman of the Company, and Mr. Wilson, the Company's Agent at Khangaon. After a short visit to the native town the Viceroy and party returned to the Court House, where a collection of everything connected with the production and manufacture of cotton, and specimens of the various agricultural produce of the Berars, had been arranged. The whole collection was carefully inspected by Lord Mayo, whose interest in the agricultural development of the country is evidently not confined to cotton, and who made many inquiries regarding the specimens, and their uses and prices.

THE BANQUET.

At 4½ o'clock the Viceroy, Sir Salar Jung and all the visitors were entertained at lunch by Mr. Saunders, who, notwithstanding the tax on his resources by the large dinner party of the previous evening, had managed to move a portion of his camp, a distance of thirty miles, to Khangaon, and to provide for an equally large party to lunch.

After lunch, Mr. Saunders rose and proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen. This having been honoured, Mr. Saunders resumed, and addressing the Viceroy said :—"Your Excellency has by this day's visit given us the most signal and marked assurance of the interest which your Lordship takes in all that concerns the productions and commerce of this part of the country, and to which I believe the prosperity and recent development of the province and of the town of Khangaon

are chiefly due. That the first State railway of India has run to Khangaon, and that its inauguration has been presided over by your Excellency in person, are distinctions which I, in common with all those who are interested, cannot fail to appreciate ; and on behalf of the residents, both European and Native, of this place I desire to offer our grateful acknowledgments to your Excellency for having attended on this important occasion. The last obstacle has been removed, and for the future direct communication by steam exists between this the largest emporium of cotton in Western India and the ports of Europe, which will take every bale that can be brought into its market. In the presence of the eminent statesman our distinguished guest Sir Salar Jung, who has accompanied me from Hyderabad to meet your Excellency by invitation to this place, I trust that I may be permitted to offer to the Nizam's Government an assurance of the interest which we take in the Railway project which His Highness has at present under consideration in that country, and which is to be carried out by funds provided by that government. The projected Railway to which I allude is that which is to connect Hyderabad, the capital of the Deccan, with the great Indo-Peninsular system at or near Goolburgah, and which I trust will, equally with this less ambitious project, the completion of which we are now assembled to celebrate, develop the natural resources of the country, and increase the production and export, not only of cotton, but of all the other most important commercial staples. When I state with reference to the present undertaking that the first sod for the making of the railway was turned on the 2nd June last, and that on the 25th February the line was inspected and declared fit for traffic, I trust your Lordship will not deem that the work was not either sufficiently speedy, or that the construction was not sufficiently well carried out. With some slight and combined effort we were able to overcome all difficulties as they arose, and if the results, in your Excellency's opinion, are worthy of any commendation, they are due to the efforts and energy of the Engineers who were employed on the lines—Messrs. Carey and Isart, who worked under the able superintendence of Major Meade, the Secretary of the Railway Department of the Hyderabad administration. I feel that we are also indebted for much able assistance and encouragement to Mr. Lyall, the Commissioner of the West Berars : and the Railway that your Excellency has this day declared to be open has been assisted also in a most successful manner by our most able Cotton Commissioner, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, of whose efforts in connection with this line your Excellency must be well aware. I desire also on this occasion to express the acknowledgments of the local administration more specially to Colonel Trevor, the Secretary to the Bombay Government in the Railway Department ; and I also beg to tender my acknowledgments to the officers of the G. I. P. Railway, and at the same time to commend to those officers the little offspring which we have this day brought forward and affiliated to its adoptive parent the G. I. P. Railway. In conclusion, I would again repeat my acknowledgments to your Lordship for the manner in which you have acted on this occasion, and for the powerful stimulus which you have this day given both to our commerce and trade, of which Khangaon is a most important centre." (Loud cheers.)

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and said—

"Mr. Saunders, Sir Salar Jung, and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that few things that have happened since I have been in India have given me a greater gratification than being allowed to participate in the ceremony of to-day. Though it is only but a few months since, with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State, the Government of India determined that for the future the construction of new lines of railway should for the most part be undertaken by the direct agency of Government, it is most encouraging to find that within less than ten months after that decision was announced we have been able to open the first State Railway in India. (Cheers.) The Resident has described truly and fairly the exertions which have been made by the various officers entrusted with this undertaking, and this day shows the successful result of their labours. We were often told that it was impossible that the Government could do these

things by direct agency quickly and well ; but I think the statement just made by the Resident that the first sod was only turned on the 7th June last (certainly its construction was not undertaken by the Government of India two months before) and that the middle of February saw its completion, shows at all events that when all are willing we can do things sharp. (Cheers.) And though unlooked-for difficulties were met with, not so much in the construction of the line as in the supply of material for the permanent way, which cost some delay, we have shown that a good substantial line of eight miles can be made without any previous preparation in as many months. I am in great hopes, from what I have heard since I have been here, that when the most important part of the transaction has to be considered, namely, when we come to pay the bill, we shall find that the outlay has not been excessive. At the same time, I am not prepared to say that in the construction of future lines of this kind we may not be able to do the thing at a somewhat less cost than that for which the Khangaon Railway has been made. Gentlemen, the construction of this line bears directly on one of the most important subjects which can be taken into consideration by any man, be he European or Native, who is interested in the prosperity and welfare of this country. The object for which this line is made is to give to one of the best-established and one of the largest cotton markets in Central or Western India easy access to the general railway communication of the country, and therefore when the Government of India determined that it ought to be made as rapidly as possible it came to that conclusion with no other object but that of endeavouring, at the earliest possible moment, to do something towards the development of the cotton industry of this district. Any one who looks back to the history of cotton cultivation in the Central Provinces and the Berars must be satisfied with the great development of that industry which has occurred in late years. I do not say that it is entirely to be attributed to ordinary causes. We all know that the cotton famine in America had a great deal to do in stimulating the development and production of cotton in this country ; but it is a satisfaction to know that though a great and almost unnatural impetus was given to its cultivation at that time in India, and though we cannot look again for the almost fabulous returns which were then obtained, yet I am sure that those who understand this question will agree with me that a great deal of good ground has been gained, though we cannot expect ever to go back to the prices of the American war. Gentlemen, I am informed that in the Central Provinces and in the Berars at this moment nearly 2,500,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of cotton ; and, allowing for local consumption, the exports for these Provinces in the year 1869 amounted to something like 300,000 bales of 400 lbs. each. If we consider what an immense quantity that is, and consequently what a number of people must be engaged in its production and its transport, you will see what an important industry it is that we are trying to develop, and what an enormous service we can do to the country by opening communications to the markets where such a commodity is brought for sale. But not only is the quantity of cotton grown and exported vastly increased, but I believe I am right in saying that there is a marked improvement in its quality. I am informed that at this moment in the English market it is held that good Oomrowtee and Khangaon cotton is fit to perform nearly three-fourths of the work which is performed by ordinary American, so that in the matter of quality the cotton exported from this district is running the American cotton somewhat close. (Cheers.) I also recollect that as far as England is concerned the importation of Indian cotton into that country stands at the head of the list. By the late returns which have been furnished to me by my friend Mr. Rivett-Carnac, of whose energy and ability it is impossible to speak too highly, I find that the whole of the import of American and Brazilian cotton into England in the year 1869 scarcely exceeded the whole of the import of the Indian cotton. The American import was 4,027,000 cwt., the Brazilian 739,000, while the imported cotton of India amounted to 4,757,000 cwt., which was very nearly equal to the entire supply imported from the whole of North and South America. Now I venture to say that if any man had prophesied ten years ago, before the American war took place, that the importation of Indian cotton into England would have

greatly exceeded that from the United States he would have been looked upon as a madman. But this shows how demand will generally create supply, and it shows also, a most indisputable fact, that the agricultural resources of this great empire are almost unlimited. But though we may congratulate ourselves on the position which Indian cotton has attained in the European market, there is still great room for improvement. I believe there is no fear of any cessation in the demand. The mills of Manchester are, I fear, still working at very short time, and we know that they can take a great deal more cotton than they get. Any idea as to the probability of a cessation of demand during our lifetime may, I hope, be considered a delusion. That being the case, our object ought to be to strain every nerve both to improve quality and increase quantity. I have had a good deal of conversation lately with some gentlemen from England who appeared to be well acquainted with this subject. When I came out myself I was under the impression that what we most wanted was improvement in the quality of Indian cotton. I have learned sufficient since I have been here to induce me somewhat to alter that opinion, and I believe what the English market now demands is as large and as great an increase in the quantity as it can get.

"This puts me in mind of a remark made by a well-known *bon vivant*, who used to say that 'the best thing in the world is good wine, that the next best thing in the world is bad wine; but whatever it is, good or bad, let us have enough of it.' Now I think that this is very much what the Manchester people are saying with regard to cotton. They say, 'give us good cotton if you can, but give us any sort rather than none. Whatever it is we get we will find the way to spin it;' and they are right, for what they most dread is the idle mill. It would be great presumption in me, in the hearing of so many men who are thoroughly acquainted with this question, to offer for your consideration precise or specific recommendations on cotton cultivation in India; but I should like shortly to explain what it is the Government of India as a Government are trying to do with regard to the improvement and development of the cotton industry of the Central Provinces and the Berars. You will, I think, all agree that as far as cotton cultivation is concerned there are three things whose result and effect should be as rapidly as possible ascertained by experiment. The first is the improvement of quality and increase of quantity by the careful selection of indigenous seed; the second is the use of manure and water, the effects of which I believe are little known; and the third is the deeper ploughing and better cultivation of the soil. With regard to the selection of seed, at the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and the Resident at Hyderabad we have sanctioned the establishment of three seed-gardens—one at Hingunghat, another at Oomrawuttee, and the third near this place. Experienced and practical men have been appointed to take them in charge. There is no doubt, I think, that if anything has been proved by experiment it is this: firstly, that exotic cotton does not suit the climate of the Central Provinces and the Berars; and, secondly, that there is much advantage to be gained by persuading the cultivator of cotton to be careful that in the selection of seed he takes it from strong and healthy plants, and from the best bolls, in order to secure a store of good seed for the ensuing year's crop. I say that if the exertions of the gentlemen of the Cotton Department and the district officers have resulted in ascertaining that to be a fact, and that the cultivator can be persuaded of its use and advantage, a great point is gained; and though this fact is not generally known, and there has been as yet little opportunity of impressing it upon the people, its discovery ought to encourage us to go on and see what more can be done for the improvement of the growth in this country. Mr. Rivett-Carnac informs me that 30,000 lbs. of improved seed has been saved this year, which will be sufficient to sow nearly 3,000 acres, and every effort will be made to induce the native cultivator to try it, so that next year we shall be in a position to speak more decidedly as to the result of this very interesting experiment. I believe there is much to be done in the way of experiment with regard to manure, but there is nothing in the world about which there is so much nonsense talked as manure. I know perfectly well, from long experience as a practical farmer, its inestimable value,

and that its use is the very foundation of all agricultural success ; but the difficulty is to get it, and we all know that, even in the very highest farming, a farmer, if he has to buy, has always to consider first what his manure is to cost, and, next, what increase of crop he has to create to make it pay. With manure and water I could grow first-rate cotton and wheat in a flower-pot, but would the produce pay the price of the pot ? Therefore for the purpose of experiment it will be very desirable to endeavour to ascertain the exact amount, quantity or cost of manure which is most suitable for the cotton plant. We must all know that in the matter of manure, more especially in India, there is great difficulty. The best of all manure, cowdung, is almost invariably used for fuel ; and we must, if we recommend the use of any artificial manure, be prepared to prove that the expenditure on the purchase would bring proportionate profit to the cultivators, for if we make wild recommendations to the natives on these subjects we shall do more harm than good. With regard to water, although the effect of irrigation on cotton culture in the black soil is still to a great extent unknown, yet two or three experiments are, I hope, about to be tried in the Central Provinces and in the Berars, the result of which may turn out to be exceedingly valuable. I should be sorry to express any decided opinion as to the mode and the extent in which water can with advantage be supplied to the cotton plant, or as to the best system of cultivation to be adopted as connected with irrigation, but I believe that, under the direction of those energetic officers who have now undertaken the matter, we shall be able in the course of two or three years to speak much more decidedly upon that point. With regard to deeper ploughing, that requires further experiment. There is really no positive rule on the subject. In some soils the deepest ploughing is attended by the most continuous success ; in others, where a poor sub-soil exists near to the surface, absolute mischief can be done. But on the whole, I think that, as far as we know, in the black soil greater fertility must attend a deeper system of tillage. I am quite aware that Government can do very little except in the way of precept and example, and the diffusion of the results of accurate experiment. I think that to a certain extent the establishment of a Model Farm is very useful. Model Farms are of two kinds—one experimental, which is useful mainly for scientific purposes ; and the other thoroughly practical. An experimental farm is one which ought to be conducted as much to show what people ought to shun as what they ought to do ; and the conductor of the experimental farm might take for his motto the title of a well-known book, and show what his plants ought to ‘eat, drink, and avoid.’ But with regard to the other description of farm—and which is a real model farm—it should be a purely commercial undertaking, and should be conducted as far as possible according to the ordinary mode of agriculture of the country, its object being not so much to introduce new systems and new plans as to improve and take advantage of the means—the cattle and machinery—at hand. I am sure that if you can persuade the native that he can gradually improve the old implements with which he and his fathers have been working for generations you are certain at once to teach him something that he will appreciate ; you do not shock his prejudices ; and you enlist his feelings in your favour ; and I do believe that if these principles are kept in view by those gentlemen who have taken so much trouble and have given so much time to the management of model farms they would probably find out that the development of the means at hand would be far more productive of success than the suggestion of any improvements or inventions they could themselves originate. It is the duty of the Government of India within certain limits to endeavour to encourage as far as possible establishments conducted on these principles ; but I believe that the first object of those who are conducting their management should be to show that the process by which they hope to arrive at the improvement of the soil, and increased production, is a process which is cheap and easy, and is at the same time one which would without fail bring money into the farmer’s pocket. But, besides these measures, I think the Government has a further duty to perform in endeavouring to improve the means of communication as much as possible. Railways are for the Government to make ; improved local roads can, I believe, best be made under the direction and

supervision of those who are best acquainted with the locality. With regard to Railways, we are doing in this district as much as we can. We have seen to-day the opening of the first State Railway in the cotton districts (cheers), and I am in great hopes that before three weeks are over the surveys, estimates and plans of the Oomrawuttee Branch will be completed, and that we may obtain permission to commence work on that line at an early period. (Cheers.) In the Central Provinces the able and energetic officers engaged have shown remarkable zeal and expedition in conducting the surveys for what I hope will one day be the Chanda Railway; and I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Armstrong and Mr. O'Callaghan, who told me that in six weeks the whole of the plans and estimates for a railway east of the Wurdah will be in a position to send up to Government. (Cheers.) As far, then, as Railway communication is concerned, we are doing all that we can; and with regard to internal communication we must leave it to the zeal and judgment of those who are much better acquainted with the wants of the various districts than the chief Departments of Governments can possibly be to suggest what improvements are required. I rode through a large portion of the Chanda District during the last few days, and all I can say is that though the country is wild, and much of it as yet uncultivated, yet it is proved beyond a doubt that coal, cotton and iron can be produced in almost any quantity within a very short distance of each other, and I am not sure that Nature could have provided any district in the world with three greater elements of prosperity and wealth. I have no doubt that before very long a systematic beginning will be made for bringing to the surface and extracting from the soil such rich treasures. We have endeavoured to provide these districts with telegraphic communication, and, under the able superintendence of Mr. Rivett-Carnac, we have also undertaken to supply the trade from time to time with the most accurate agricultural statistics that can be obtained, for we know that all men engaged in commerce and the pursuits of industry appreciate more than anything complete full and early information as to the state and future prospects of the crops. I am happy to say that though it has been the duty of the Government of India to order great reduction of expenditure in various Departments it will not be necessary materially to limit the expenditure of the comparatively small sums which have been granted for the purposes of the encouragement and improvement of cotton cultivation, and I am happy to say that the Government of India have ordered no reduction of expenditure of this nature in those Provinces which are more immediately under its control. Having shown how much we are doing to place correct information in the possession of the public, to improve communications, and to experimentalize on the different forms of cultivation, we must leave it to our mercantile friends to do the rest; and certainly, from what we have seen to-day, we cannot but come to the conclusion that no exertion will be lacking on their part. For when we see the bold and courageous manner in which they have invested their money in this place, and have brought with them all the mechanical contrivances that science can bring to bear upon the pressing and manipulation of cotton intended for export, I think we have nothing to complain of the exertions which the mercantile community are making to help themselves. (Cheers.) I can only say that the Government of India sincerely wishes them every success, and most cordially desires that the enterprise which they have undertaken will be successful, and may bring as much advantage to themselves as it will to the country.

"Gentlemen, in the consideration of all these matters we must first take into account the interests of the inhabitants of this country. The welfare of the people of India is our first and primary object. If we are not here for their improvement and their advancement we ought not to be here at all. We cannot, therefore, deal with these subjects in any way that might be deemed selfish, or entirely in an English point of view. We must first do what we think best to bring to the home of the Indian cultivator prosperity and wealth. That must be our first object, and no doubt this object has been greatly assisted by the cotton trade. But in relation to cotton there is to us, as Englishmen, a further consideration which must recommend itself strongly to our minds, for we may remember that in encouraging

and developing its culture in India we are contributing to the happiness and welfare of large masses of our countrymen at home. It must be a source of gratification to us that while doing our duty here we may keep that secondary object in view ; and that we may recollect that when we increase the production of cotton in India we are setting the mills of Lancashire to work, and are conferring vast benefits on a class which at a very recent period, in a time of great suffering and distress, displayed almost heroic qualities. For weeks and months and almost years the American cotton famine brought hunger and want to the door of almost every operative in the cotton-manufacturing districts. I know well what their sufferings were, and the patient endurance which they evinced in those trying times. Gentlemen, when we now read in the newspapers that the Manchester mills are working only three days a week, we little know the amount of distress which that announcement involves ; for among these masses of people the absence of cotton is to thousands of them the absence of food and clothing. It is satisfactory, therefore, to know that in endeavouring to develop the agricultural industry of this country we are conferring inestimable benefits upon one of the most numerous, the most important, and the most deserving classes among our own countrymen. Gentlemen, we are fortunate here to-night in the presence of a native nobleman to whom I say without flattery the Government of the Queen is greatly indebted. (Cheers.) Forty years ago not 50 miles from here a great battle was fought—a battle which had not only the immediate effect of establishing British power throughout these wide districts, but may also be said to have been the cradle of the fame of England's greatest Captain. The officer who commanded at Assaye—the 'Sepoy General' as his enemies used to call him when he returned to Europe—was the man who afterwards led our armies in a hundred victories. At that time the forces of the Nizam were ranged beneath the British standard. Then as now a firm alliance was established between His Highness's Government and the Government of India. Then as now the two Governments were engaged in the same objects within these regions. Times have changed since then—the voice of war is happily no longer heard, but I am proud to say that the firm alliance with Hyderabad still exists ; and among all the native rulers and statesmen of India we can count no stauncher or stronger friend than the Minister of the Nizam, who sits beside me here. (Cheers.) The only enemies we have now to subdue are ignorance, prejudice, and idleness, and I believe that in our conflict with these old foes we have no more faithful ally than Sir Salar Jung. (Cheers.) At his recommendation the Government of the Nizam have within the last few days made a specific proposal for constructing at its own expense a Hyderabad State Railway from that city to Goolburga, and I can truly say, having been cognizant of all the communications that have passed on that subject, that the Minister has shown from the very first a most enlightened desire to bring about with all speed the necessary arrangements, and that he has shown no disposition to do anything in the matter except what is just, right, honourable and fair. I am not without hopes that before many days elapse we may be able to announce to the public the outline of an engagement between us and the Nizam's Government for the construction of a most important line of railway, which, though it will be to a certain extent under British management and yet be the property of the Hyderabad State, will, I hope, always remain for every practical purpose completely and essentially the Hyderabad State Railway. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, this is very encouraging, and if the Government of India have had the satisfaction of constructing within the assigned districts of Berar our first State Railway Sir Salar Jung will enjoy the proud honour of being the first representative of a Native Government which has made a State Railway for itself. Though our first object in coming here is to celebrate the opening of this little line, we are here also to do all honour to one who has set so brilliant an example to his countrymen in India. (Cheers.) I am afraid I have already detained you too long, and the darkening shades of night warn me that we must go on our way, but I cannot conclude without one more remark, and it shall be my last. During the short time I have been down here it has been most gratifying to witness the extreme zeal and

energy with which all the officers of the Government are engaging in the work of agricultural and every other improvement. Under the able direction of the Resident at Hyderabad and of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces I see that the gentlemen who are administering the affairs of these districts are evincing the most active zeal in the promotion of every good work. (Cheers.) We all labour hard in India, and as to the extent to which the heads of departments and the members of the Secretariat work no one knows better than I. But, after all, we can in reality effect little or nothing unless our efforts are seconded and our suggestions obeyed by the district officers of the Local Administrations. It is upon the executive officers, as a rule, that the real improvement of the country depends. We are endeavouring to do within the limits of a generation works that have taken other Governments and other nations years upon years to perform, and I am convinced that within that short time great development, rapid progress and general improvement will be obtained. I am free to admit that in these matters our success is more due to the active exertions of the local and district officers who act under our orders than it is to the Government of India itself. (Cheers.) It is much easier to make recommendations than to carry them out. (Hear, hear.) Wherever I have been it is all the same. Under the snows of the Himalayas, in feverish jungle, and on burning plain, I have always found the same class of men doing the same good work. I am perfectly aware that in many cases their reward is small, the doors of fame are in many cases not open to them, and they work in solitude and silence; but that does not seem to daunt them—they press on fully convinced of the importance of their duties and the rightfulness of their cause. (Cheers.) Having seen in a short time much of India, I am happy to take this opportunity thus early in my career of paying my humble tribute to the mode in which their duties are performed by the civil, military, and military-civil executive officers of this great Government. I believe that in the history of the world no sovereign was ever served by a body of men who were engaged in more arduous, more useful and more important duties than are the servants of our Queen in India. (Cheers.) I know that they will succeed. The power of Anglo-Indian administration is recognized throughout the world, and as long as it is conducted by such men and on such principles it can never cease to contribute to the glory of our Queen, the honour and credit of the British name, and last, and above all, to the welfare, the prosperity, and the happiness of the people of Hindoostan." (The Viceroy sat down amidst loud and long-continued cheers.)

Sir Salar Jung, who spoke in Hindoostani, then rose and said that it gave him great pleasure to be present as the representative of the Nizam's Government at this interesting ceremony. He desired especially to express his thanks that the services of the Nizam's Government, and the long and faithful alliance between the British Government and the Nizam, had not been forgotten, as indeed they ought not to be forgotten. He hoped that the same intimate and friendly relations would in future years be continued. Had he known beforehand that His Excellency intended to make such honourable mention of himself, he would have been prepared to express his acknowledgments in more suitable terms.

The Viceroy then in a few appropriate words proposed the health of Mr. Saunders, who briefly returned thanks. The proceedings then terminated.

The Viceroy, attended by his personal staff, Mr. Aitchison, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Morris, Mr. Grant, the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, and Mr. Rivett-Carnac, then left Khangaon by special train for the Nerbudda Valley.

The Viceroy was loudly cheered both on his arrival and departure, and there could be no doubt that the interest evinced by Lord Mayo in the trade of the place was fully appreciated by the cotton agents and others whose requirements have been so carefully considered and promptly provided for by His Excellency's Government.

From "Further Papers relating to the Extension of Railway Communication in India," Vol. I., pp. 478-483.

From SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, K.C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad, to Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 1, dated 1st Jan. 1868.

Certain instructions were received by me demi-officially from the Viceroy in the early part of last month directing me to ascertain the sentiments of His Highness the Nizam concerning the terms on which the construction of a line of railway through his territory from Kulbarga to Hyderabad could be undertaken. And as the result of what has consequently taken place has been so far successful I trust that I am correct in placing the result on official record in a report, which can be treated by the Government of India as a confidential communication or not, according to their own pleasure.

2. The question laid before His Highness was briefly this:—Whether in the event of the scheme receiving the sanction of the British Government, and the necessary funds being raised in England, the Nizam would give his consent to defraying one-half of the interest guaranteed to the shareholders out of the surplus revenues of Berar, and provided that the British Government undertook to defray the other half. It was stated that at first the Nizam's share of the charge would be from about 3½ to 5 lakhs annually, though the exact amount could not be given now; and that the amount, not exceeding five lakhs, would diminish according as the receipts of the railway increased. And it was further expressly stated that His Highness was not to consider himself obliged to assent, but to give such answer according to his pleasure as he deemed fit under all the circumstances.

3. To this His Highness, after much consideration, and after urging all the objections that occurred to him from an opposite point of view, and receiving explanation thereon, has now replied definitely in the affirmative.

4. But His Highness has made this assent subject to one condition. It has always been the prescribed custom for the members of his own family, and of their more immediate servants and dependants, to obtain his permission before leaving the city of Hyderabad; and he therefore now requests an express stipulation to the effect that if any of the class to whom this prohibition applies should hereafter, through the facilities afforded by the railway, make their way into British territory without having obtained the prescribed permission, such absconders should be at once restored to him on his simple requisition, and without delay or investigation into their case on our part.

5. No arguments that I could now employ would divest His Highness of his feeling as regards the necessity for this precaution. And, strange as the demand may appear, it is undoubtedly true that previous Nizams have suffered much annoyance from either the mutinous or the discreditable conduct of such of their nearer relations who have escaped from their immediate control. The case of Moobariz-ood-dowlah, as recently as 1845, and in the reign of Nazir-ood-dowlah, might be cited as an instance in point. The Nizam has also in his mind the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1800, by which an absolute control "over his own children, relations, subjects, and servants" is guaranteed to him. He has an apprehension that that dominion, especially as regards his relations and more influential dependants, will be seriously affected by the ease with which Hyderabad could be left by a railway journey. Moreover, the stipulation which he now presses for is quite in consonance with the tone of native feeling in the city, and among the class on whom it bears. Any member of His Highness's family who should leave the kingdom without having previously obtained his permission would feel that he was acting in direct contravention of what has always been the lawful and legitimate command of his sovereign; and the restoration of such a subject would be looked upon by the whole native community only as a recognition of the just and fair rights of the prince. And, lastly, it would always be in the power of the Resident to use moral influence against any gross abuse of the privilege after the surrender had been made.

6. On these grounds I would venture to advocate compliance with the condition on which His Highness has accorded his assent to the proposal laid

before him ; nor do I believe that in practice would the British Government be often applied to for the enforcement of the clause when once it was known to exist ; whilst its absence might undoubtedly cause considerable embarrassment and apprehension to the Nizam.

7. Should the Government of India see no reason to concur in this view, and should it be deemed desirable to proceed with the business, I would submit, as the easiest mode of ratifying the agreement now made, that an article of Convention be framed supplemental to the Treaty of 1861, and declaring His Highness's assent to the further charge on the revenues of the Assigned Districts. To this the condition for which he stipulates might be attached in the form of a proviso.

8. It should be noted also that His Highness has made pertinent inquiries regarding the time at which it may be expected that the interest advanced will be probably repaid and when the line is likely to be completed. On these points I have supplied him with such general information as could be given ; but I would solicit sanction to further steps being taken in the Public Works Department with the view of ascertaining these points in fuller detail.

9. It is also worthy of mention that during the course of the discussion His Highness has more than once expressed some solicitude lest his police jurisdiction or other privileges attaching to him as a sovereign should be in some way lessened. But I am inclined to believe that these considerations only have weight with him so far as they bear on the point on which he has more expressly insisted. He does not apprehend any escape of rebellious subjects other than those described in the previous paras. On this point I have tendered assurance that His Highness's just sovereign rights would of course be respected, even as indeed they are now respected in the Deccan section of the through line between Sholapoor and Raichore.

10. After what has been said in several financial despatches from this office, it is hardly necessary to repeat that the finances of Berar are well able to meet the proposed charge ; indeed, this would be a beneficent mode of applying a part of the surplus which accrues to the Nizam from that Province.

11. It has been explained to the Nizam's Government that, whatever His Highness's answer might be on the point which was laid before him merely as a question, the British Government in no degree pledged itself to further or immediate action. But since His Highness has now, after a full deliberation of what can be said both for and against the measure, given his affirmative answer to what we have inquired of him, before it could be undertaken by us at all ; since, also, his Minister and that portion of the upper classes who entertain the same political views as himself quite appreciate the importance of the undertaking ; and since the wealthy trading classes in a city certainly the first of the second rank in India are to a man in favour of it, I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing my own earnest hope that, for the best interests of one of the most influential and faithful allies we have in India, the matter will be now proceeded with, and early action taken either for the formation of the necessary Company, or in whatever way may be deemed best and quickest for bestowing this great benefit on the Nizam's country.

12. Lastly, I would submit that the manner in which the Nizam has consented to meet the British Government half-way in a matter where much prejudice and doubt had to be overcome is honourable to His Highness, and indicative of his confidence in the good intentions of the British Government towards the Hyderabad State.

13. For facility of reference, copy of my despatch, No. 114, dated the 6th September 1867, in the Department Public Works, on the subject of this railway, is appended.

From SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, K.C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad, to Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 3, dated 2nd Jan. 1868.

In continuation of para. 7 of my letter No. 1 of the 1st January 1868, regarding His Highness the Nizam's assent to the railway proposal, wherein it is suggested that there should be a Supplemental Article to the Treaty of 1861, I have the

honour to state that I find that the Nizam would prefer that the note which his Minister has handed in, and of which a translation is appended, should be considered as equivalent to such article. This would obviate the need of His Highness's signature being obtained to a fresh Article of Treaty, a proceeding to which His Highness has always an objection if the necessity can be avoided. His Highness will be quite satisfied that the Minister's note should be sufficient for payment of the money, so long as the indispensable condition about His Highness's relatives be duly declared by the Resident on the part of the British Government.

From His Highness the Nizam's Minister, to the Resident at Hyderabad,
No. 2607, dated 31st December 1867.

I have received your letter of this date, No. 1926, stating that you have received instructions from His Excellency the Governor-General of India directing you to ascertain the sentiments of His Highness the Nizam as to the terms on which His Highness would consent to the construction of a branch railway from Kulburga to Hyderabad, according to the scheme set forth in the paper which accompanied it; and requesting me to submit the same in due form to His Highness and to inform you of His Highness's reply. I accordingly beg to state that I fully represented the matter to His Highness as detailed in the scheme referred to, and I am directed to inform you that His Highness agrees to the construction of the proposed railway, and permits the disbursement from the surplus revenue of Berar of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 lakhs of rupees' interest per annum on the capital to be expended on the undertaking until the railway opens, and until the profits accruing therefrom will be sufficient to render further payment of the interest unnecessary; but His Highness's consent to the proposed measure is subject to this condition,—that if any member of his family, or any of his relations or nobles, &c., who are not usually allowed to leave Hyderabad without His Highness's express permission, should proceed from hence into British territory, such persons, in whatever part of that territory they may be found, shall be sent back on the simple requisition of His Highness's Government, without any favour, or question, or hearing, or consideration of their plea or complaint.

2. I would further beg to be informed how long the annual disbursement from this Government will have to be made, and from what year its repayment will probably commence. I beg to be favoured with information on the above points as soon as possible, for submission to His Highness.

3. As laid down in the scheme for the railway in question accompanying your letter under reply, the civil and criminal administrative arrangements on the railway line will rest with His Highness's Government.

From H. LEPOER WYNNE, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the First Assistant Resident in charge, Hyderabad Residency, No. 180, dated 28th January 1868.

No. 1 dated 1st instant. I am to acknowledge receipt of the Resident Sir Richard Temple's letter marginally noted, on the subject of the
" 3 " 2nd " proposed Branch Railway from Kulburga to Hyderabad.
" 4 " " "

2. To this scheme the Nizam has agreed, on the understanding that one-half the guaranteed interest shall be paid by the British Government, the other half being defrayed from the surplus revenues of Berar to the extent of from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 lakhs of rupees per annum.

3. His Highness's consent is, however, limited by two stipulations:—

- (1). That the civil and criminal administrative arrangements on the railway line shall rest with his Government.
- (2). That "if any member of the Nizam's family, or any of his relations or nobles, &c., who are not usually allowed to leave Hyderabad without His Highness's express permission, should proceed (from Hyderabad by rail) into British territory, such persons, in whatever part of that territory they may be found, shall be sent back on the simple requisition

of His Highness's Government, without any favour, or question, or hearing, or consideration of their plea or complaint."

4. To the former of these stipulations His Excellency the Governor-General in Council agrees without any hesitation. The Nizam may feel every confidence that his sovereign rights in the precincts of the railway, as elsewhere within his dominions, will be as fully respected as heretofore.

5. The second stipulation touches on a more delicate matter. His Excellency in Council feels very fully how needful it is in the eyes of the Nizam that His Highness's relations and servants should not be given any fresh means of removing from His Highness's jurisdiction contrary to his wish, and the Governor-General in Council appreciates His Highness's anxiety lest the facility of communication afforded by the railway should be turned to such use as might cause him annoyance or embarrassment in this particular respect.

6. Further, the Government of India do not wish to impair in any way the force of the clause in the Treaty of 1800 which guarantees to His Highness the exercise of uncontrolled authority over his relatives.

7. But although within his own dominions His Highness can make every possible arrangement for restricting the movements of any one of his dependants, the Governor-General in Council is unable, after full consideration, to discover any means for meeting His Highness's views as to the surrender of such persons once they have entered British territories. You are requested to point out to the Minister that there are no laws under which it would be possible to apprehend within British India any fugitives but those charged with certain definite crimes, or grave political offenders. And any enactment calculated to get over this difficulty would be utterly foreign to the spirit of British institutions and of British jurisprudence.

8. But, perhaps, it may be possible to convince the Nizam that the preservation of His Highness's authority over his relatives and dependants stands in no need of such a stipulation as this. The Nizam's sovereign jurisdiction over his relatives and subjects travelling by rail within his dominions will remain as absolute and complete as it is now. His Highness will experience no difficulty in devising such Police arrangements as to prevent the departure of any one of his subjects whose removal to British territories may not be thought desirable, and even if any such person were to succeed in overcoming for the moment the impediment placed in his way, still the Electric Telegraph would afford a most ready and certain means of stopping him before he could cross the Nizam's frontier.

9. Practically, therefore, such a contingency as that apprehended by the Nizam could hardly ever happen, more especially as the Resident of the time, being fully sensible of the importance which His Highness attaches to the matter, would not fail, in any emergency of the kind, to render such counsel or assistance as might seem proper.

10. Assurances such as these, to the effect that no curtailment of His Highness's authority over any of his relatives or subjects will follow on the construction of the proposed railway, may, it is hoped, set the mind of the Nizam at ease in the matter, and if His Highness were induced to waive a condition to which it is impossible to accede, there would be removed the only remaining obstacle to a scheme which must prove so beneficial to His Highness's dominions.

From J. G. CORDERY, Esq., First Assistant Resident in charge, Hyderabad Residency, to Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 13, dated 25th March 1868.

With reference to your letter No. 180 of the 28th January 1868, it will be in the recollection of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council that His Highness the Nizam, in giving his consent upon certain terms to the construction of a railway from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, and to a guarantee of half the interests on the expense thereof out of the revenues of Berar, coupled that consent with

the condition that in the event of any of his own relatives or other noblemen quitting his territory without his express permission they should be surrendered by the British authorities without any charge preferred or investigation into the cause of the demand. Your letter under reply accordingly instructed me to explain to His Highness that such a violation of the principles of English Law could not be acceded to, but that no derogation from his authority over his own subjects within his own territory, nor any infringement of his Police jurisdiction up to the border, was involved in this refusal; and that all assistance would invariably be rendered to him by the British Resident in preventing his subjects evading his commands, or escaping from his control. It was thought that if these points were fully laid before His Highness he might be induced to withdraw the condition, to which it was impossible to accede. I have the honour, therefore, to report that action has been taken in accordance with my instruction, and the desired result has been obtained.

2. The arguments conveyed in your despatch were laid in official form before His Highness, and if his reply has been delayed so long it is because he has taken them into due consideration himself, and not left the disposal of the matter to his Minister. They have had their due weight, and official intimation has this day been received of the withdrawal of the stipulation on which he previously insisted, and of his remaining satisfied with the assurance of the British Government that its representative will continue to support his just authority over his own relatives and other subjects in Hyderabad.

3. This obstacle, therefore, having been removed, I would solicit the sanction of Government to the action (proposed in para. 11 of Sir Richard Temple's despatch No. 1 of the 1st January 1868) being now commenced without delay in the Public Works Department.

From SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, K.C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Resident at Hyderabad, No. 712, dated 16th April 1868.

With reference to Mr. Cordery's letter No. 13, dated 25th ultimo, reporting the Nizam's withdrawal of the second and principal stipulation, under which only His Highness was prepared to consent to the construction of a railway from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, I am directed to request that you will express to the Nizam the cordial appreciation of the Governor-General in Council of the spirit in which His Highness has accepted the views of His Excellency in this matter, as being an additional proof of His Highness's just reliance on the friendly intentions of the British Government.

2. The question as to the construction of the line will be referred to the Public Works Department, in which, as will have been seen from the extract from that Department, dated 19th ultimo, No. 321R, the subject is already under consideration.

Endorsed by the Foreign Department, No. 713, dated 16th April 1868.

* From Hyderabad dated 1st January 1868, No. 1.					Copies of the present and previous* correspondence forwarded to the Public Works Department for information and such further action as may be necessary.
From	"	2nd	"	3.	
To	"	28th	"	180.	

From "Further Papers relating to the Extension of Railway Communication in India," Vol. II., pp. 84-89.

From G. U. YULE, Esq., C.B., Resident at Hyderabad, to Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 6, dated 26th January 1865.

I have the honour to forward, for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, the accompanying copy of a letter, No. 2132, of the 16th December 1864, from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Public Works Department, and of its enclosures, being an application from several of the

principal firms and merchants of Bombay for concessions to construct certain Branch Railways, together with a copy of my reply thereto,* and I beg to be favoured with the instructions of His Excellency both as regards the particular lines and the general subject of subsidies to Railways.

* Enclosure No. 2.—
No. 185, dated 23rd January 1865.

From LIEUT.-COL. M. K. KENNEDY, R.E., Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the P. W. Dept., to Resident at Hyderabad, No. 2132, dated 16th Dec. 1864.

I am directed to forward to you the annexed copy of a letter, dated 25th November 1864,* from several of the principal firms and merchants of Bombay for concessions to construct certain Branch Railways, and to request the favour of an expression of your views on the proposed branch lines in the territories within your Residency.

* See page 81.

From G. U. YULE, Esq., C.B., Resident at Hyderabad, to Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the P. W. Dept., No. 185, dated 23rd Jan. 1865.

In reply to your letter No. 2132, dated the 16th December 1864, with enclosures, regarding certain Branch Railways, I have the honour to state that four of the lines specified in the letter to Colonel Kennedy, from Messrs. Nicol and others, lie in Berar.

2. The first is No. 2 of the list, from Budneira on the rail to Oomrawuttee, a distance of 7 miles. Oomrawuttee is a town full of wealthy Soucars, and the greatest cotton mart in Berar except Khamgaum; it is also the head-quarters of the District of East Berar, and the road to Ellichpoor, now in progress as a first class road, passes through it. Ellichpoor is a Cantonment where one Regiment of Infantry, a Wing of Cavalry, and a Battery of Artillery are stationed, but there is no great trade at it. The whole country north from Oomrawuttee to the foot of the hills, about four miles' distance, is exceedingly fertile and well cultivated, and an immense quantity of cotton is produced, the greater part of which, with much more from other quarters of the province, is taken to Oomrawuttee before despatch to Bombay. A road bridged and metalled throughout has lately been made from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, but I doubt whether it, or any of the roads hereafter mentioned, are suitable for Railways. There are no difficulties on the line, nor will any expensive works be required.

3. The second line is No. 3 of the letter, from Jullum on the rail to Khamgaum, a distance of about 6 miles; Khamgaum is a larger cotton mart than Oomrawuttee, and it is a very wealthy and thriving place. A first class road is now being made from it to the Railway station at Nandoora, 12 miles off. There is no station at Jullum, I believe, nor, so far as I know, is it intended to have one.

4. The third road is from Akola to Akote, about 36 miles. Akote is a town of some size, the seat of a Tehseel Cutcherry, and the adjoining country, as well as the whole tract through which the road passes, is very rich and well cultivated. A first class road has lately been made between these places, with the exception of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles between the rivers Poorna and Shanore, which is very low and liable to be deeply inundated; neither of these rivers has been bridged. The Poorna is a river of some size, and the only large one on the line.

5. The fourth road is from Moortazapoor to Karinja, about 20 miles. Karinja is a thriving little town of some trade, and the seat of a Tehseel Cutcherry. A very considerable quantity of cotton is grown in the neighbourhood, and beyond it in the Bassein Tehseel. The town of Bassein is about 36 miles from Karinja, and is also a thriving place, and from it a road leads to Hingolee in the Nizam's dominions, where many Soucars reside who deal largely in cotton, grain, salt, &c. Hingolee is on the edge of the Valley of the Godavery, the exact extent of which I do not know, but I marched through it for four succeeding days, and I never saw anywhere a richer and more completely cultivated country. A first class road, metalled and bridged throughout, is being made from Moortazapoor to Karinja, and there are no difficulties or necessities for large works on the line.

6. The applicants must be far better able to judge than I am of the prospect of Railways on the above lines proving remunerative. I have very little doubt, however, that they would be so.

7. The terms on which concessions are sought are, briefly, free land for a double line of rail and stations ; the transfer of any roads on the lines which may be suitable for a rail ; or, where no such road exists, a subsidy of Rs. 1,000 per mile per annum for 20 years. In granting terms to the promoters of Railways, Government must be guided by considerations of the advantages of any proposed lines to the country at large, or for military objects, and of the cost of the works, and the prospect of their being remunerative ; and the following principle may, it seems to me, be laid down, *viz.*, that the advantages to the country and to Government of any line increase in proportion to the square of its length, while the expense of construction increases in an arithmetical ratio only. A line of a mile long is of no use to anybody ; 10 miles long may open up or be useful to 100 square miles ; 100 miles long will open and be useful to 10,000 square miles ; troops, in whatever haste, would not avail themselves of a mile of rail—scarcely, perhaps, of 10 miles, but a line of 100 miles would be of unspeakable use in war, and little less in peace ; on the other hand, a line of 100 miles cost only 10 times as much as a line of one mile, and so on.

8. It seems to me, then, that Government, either for its own sake, or that of the country, is not called on to give the same amount of encouragement to a short as it would do to a long line.

9. As regards cost of works, it is clear that within certain short lengths in lines not in the immediate vicinity of a large city double lines of rail, vast stations and immense quantities of rolling-stock are not required. On a line six or eight miles long, one and the same engine might start every alternate half an hour from each terminus ; moreover, such short lines can be completed and working within a year after commencement of the works, and the proprietors are not deprived of interest on their money for the long period required to complete lines of greater length.

10. As regards remuneration, when its prospect is certain and speedy, a subsidy is not called for.

11. Applying these principles, then, to the above lines, it would appear that the two short ones, Nos. 1 and 2, do not need a subsidy ; they require single lines only, and little rolling-stock ; they may be finished within a year, and have every prospect of an immediately remunerative traffic ; the traffic is already there, and has not to be created. But all Railways deserve encouragement, and I would, therefore, propose to give land free for those lines and their stations, and I would not restrict the breadth of land to that necessary for a single line, but give enough at once for a double line. The roads now existing or in progress on these lines are not, as I have said, thought suitable for a Railway, but even if they were I should strongly object to their being given up for that purpose, on the principle that where a large traffic already exists between two places an alternative line to a rail is not only advisable but necessary. Government should not concede a monopoly of carriage to any Railway ; but this principle does not apply with equal force to long as to short distances, because the longer the distance between any two places the less becomes the percentage of increased length in adopting a new line when the direct one is closed, and the greater the certainty of such a new line existing.

12. As regards the other two lines, which are of some length, and towards which the traffic now scattered over many lines of road has to be attracted, I would propose to give the land, also the roads if suitable, and if they are not so either in whole or part, then a subsidy, the amount of which I would attempt to regulate by the extent of deficiency in roadway transferred, and by the principles I have endeavoured to lay down. I will try to exemplify this. The Akola and Akote road is 36 miles in length, and opens up a most fertile and well-peopled country, but its traffic area is somewhat limited by the Sautpoora range of hills running some 12 or 15 miles north of Akote, from which, for many years to come, little produce, except an inferior kind of timber, can be expected. Nevertheless, the productive area is of such an extent as would render a railway an agent of

great benefit to the country at large, as well as to the tract in question, by enabling the vast quantities of cotton and grain grown in the latter to be carried speedily to market. On this account some amount of subsidy would give a good return to Government. The only expensive work, so far as I know, would be the bridge and embankment I have before mentioned. It is the clear interest of Government to get these done by a Railway, instead of at its own charge ; but, on the other hand, until the traffic is fairly established, and perhaps even then, a single line of rail and a comparatively small amount of rolling-stock will be required. On the whole, I would propose to give Rs. 500 per mile per annum for 20 years for this line, deducting Rs. 250 on account of each mile of road transferred if partial transfer only took place. The transfer of the whole road would give no monopoly to the Railway as regards this part of the country, there being numerous oblique lines to various stations on the Railway intersecting the whole length of the direct line from Akola to Akote.

13. The Moortazapoor and Karinja line is about the same length as the last line ; its traffic area is quite unlimited, and there are no difficulties whatever. I think Rs. 500 a mile for 10 years would be a sufficient subsidy.

14. His Excellency will not, I am sure, think that I have any wish to throw obstacles in the way of the promoters of Railway schemes ; my only desire is that Government should not pay equally for the encouragement of schemes of very unequal claims to it, and that not more than enough is paid for any scheme. And with reference to this point of offering enough, but not too much, I would beg to point out the apparent extraordinary inequality of the alternative terms, second and third, *specified by the promoters, viz., a bridged road suitable for a Railway, or Rs. 20,000 per mile.* The road, except under very exceptional circumstances, could be made for under Rs. 10,000 per mile, and the advantage of getting the earthwork ready at once for ballast and permanent-way can scarcely be worth the other Rs. 10,000.

15. I have indicated briefly, and in a general way, my opinion regarding concessions to Railways. I can find no instructions or suggestions for my guidance, and I have, of course, no practical acquaintance with the subject. I would also beg to observe that without better arrangements, and probably also a double line on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, these branch feeders will not pay.

16. If Government grant either land or a subsidy, I suppose some conditions would be prescribed as to the working of the line when open, and regarding these I need not say anything ; but there is one very important point which ought to be provided for when a concession is made to a branch line, and that regards its stations on the rail. The stations of the main line ought to be made available to the branch lines, even if the wagons of the latter do not run on the former, or the stations should adjoin so closely that goods can be transferred direct from the wagons of one line to those of the other without any intermediate agency.

Endorsed by Foreign Dept., No. 350, dated 11th February, 1865.

Copy forwarded to the Public Works Department for consideration and disposal, with the intimation that the Governor General in Council doubts if the lines referred to are lines for which the Government should give any subvention.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the Railway Department, No. ^{176 R}₁₁₄₉, dated 1st March, 1865.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 205, dated 24th January, 1865, submitting proposals for the construction of certain Branch Railways as feeders to the Great Indian Peninsula and Bombay, Baroda and Central India trunk lines, and to state that the Government of India will receive and consider carefully any proposals or recommendations made by the Government of Bombay having reference to any of the projected lines. But I am to remark that

if terms more favourable than those approved by Her Majesty's Government are suggested it will not be in the power of the Governor General in Council to deal with them without consulting the Secretary of State.

2. It appears to the Government of India most desirable, in the interest of the guaranteed lines, that these branch lines should be undertaken, and the Governor General in Council will be prepared to do all that can reasonably be done to lead to their construction.

3. The powers of the Bombay Government under Act XXII. of 1863 are limited to the *Bombay territory*, so that for works beyond this the projectors should in every case be referred to the Local Administration. At the same time, as regards branch lines to the Bombay main lines of Railway it is very desirable that the Bombay Government should be consulted by the Local Administration before settling the terms to be recommended to the Government of India for its approval. As regards the branch lines projected in Berar, the Bombay Government has already addressed the Resident at Hyderabad on the subject, and a copy of the Resident's reply, giving his opinion as to the degree of State encouragement that should be extended to the lines projected in the territories under his Administration, has been submitted to the Government of India. It is desirable that the projectors should now be formally referred to the Resident, and the Government of India will be glad to receive a further expression of the views of the Government of Bombay on the subject before finally disposing of the matter.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept.,
to Resident at Hyderabad, No. 193R, dated 8th March, 1865.

With reference to your letter No. 185, dated 23rd January, 1865, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, regarding certain proposed Branch Railways as feeders to the Nagpoor branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in the Berars, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter No. $\frac{176R}{1149}$, dated 1st March, 1865, addressed to the Bombay Government on the subject, and to state that all that seems necessary to be done further at present is for you to take the necessary action under Act XXII. of 1863.

2. The powers vested in you by Public Works Department Notification No. 81 of this date (copy annexed) will enable you to deal with all applications for the projected lines under the provisions of the Act, and on receipt of your report on the merits of each proposal final orders will be issued by the Government of India.

3. I am also directed to forward, for your information, in continuation of my memorandum No. $\frac{132R}{301}$, dated 17th February 1865, copies of other papers relating to Act XXII. of 1863.

Endorsed by P. W. Dept., No. 194R.

Copy of the above, together with copies of the letter to the Bombay Government and the notification referred to, forwarded to the Foreign Department, with reference to its endorsement No. 350, dated 11th February 1865.

NOTIFICATION by the Government of India, P. W. Dept., No. 81, dated
8th March, 1865.

Referring to Act XXII. of 1863, which provides for taking land for works of public utility to be constructed by private persons or companies, and for regulating the construction and use of works on land so taken, it is notified for general information that the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council has been pleased to vest the Resident at Hyderabad with the same powers as are vested in Local Governments under Sections VI., VII., VIII. and XXII. of the Act.

All other powers under the Act in Hyderabad will be exercised by His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

BRANCH OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY TO HYDERABAD.

From LIEUT.-COL. R. STRACHEY, R. E., Secy. to Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secy. to Govt. of Bombay in the Railway Dept., No. 5091, dated 29th December 1862.

In reply to your No. 1282, dated 28th October last, relative to a proposed survey by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for a line of Railway to Hyderabad from Sholapoor to be substituted for the original direct line, I am directed to inform you that His Excellency the Governor General in Council cannot concur in thinking that the alteration would be an advantage, and cannot hold out any prospect of the Government of India acquiescing in it.

2. There are doubtless occasions on which a circuitous route will be found more profitable and convenient than a direct one, and it may readily occur that the expenditure of the capital necessary to construct an additional length of Railway may be more than compensated by the additional returns on the longer line. But His Excellency in Council fails to see that this is such a case, and can perceive no substantial ground for doubting that the original line selected by Lord Dalhousie's Government is still the proper one to adopt. This line has the strong recommendation of being the shortest, and for a Railway designed for the objects for which this was designed, that is, to give a through communication between Bombay and Madras, this consideration is of more than usual weight. It is *primâ facie* most objectionable to carry any through traffic over an unnecessary extent of mileage.

3. It is clear that if the line passes Hyderabad Bellary will be thrown out; and as between these two places His Excellency in Council is of opinion that it is more important that the latter place should be on the main line than the former.

4. Bearing in mind also that this line will be far more a political than a commercial line, His Excellency in Council considers that it will be more prudent to carry it as originally proposed than through Hyderabad, as any excitement at this place when our troops might be engaged elsewhere could not fail to cause serious anxiety for our communications, and at a time when the power of sending troops by rail with certainty from one part of the line to another might be of vital importance.

5. In a financial point of view also the change seems likely to be one that would be decidedly for the worse as far as the interests of the Government of India are concerned. It would perhaps give a more paying line to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company; but it would certainly add seriously to the dead weight of the Madras line by greatly increasing the amount of capital, and rendering the prospect of a return from the through traffic more precarious from the increased charge for the increased mileage. The best chance of the Madras lines paying their way seems to lie in the possibility of a through traffic springing up on them, and anything that is opposed to this is a sore disadvantage to the Government. It is essential that the fact should not be lost sight of that these Railway enterprises are carried out on the credit of the Government of India, and that the pecuniary interests of the Companies call for no further consideration than has been already given to them by the terms of their Contracts with the Government. To use the words of the late Court of Directors in a despatch of 1853, the Companies are only the Agents of the Government for carrying out their views.

6. It is even doubtful to His Excellency in Council whether the shorter deviation proposed should be adopted. If the figures are rightly given and understood, it would appear that it involves an additional length of 40 miles with no substantial set-off in the way of compensating advantages.

7. The Government of India trusts, therefore, that the surveys of this part of the line will be completed as rapidly as possible, so that a final decision on this point may be come to without delay, and the connexion between Bombay and Madras, which has already been too long deferred, may be actually set about and completed. The attention of the Bombay Government is particularly requested to this point, which should be looked upon as one of the most pressing at

the present moment in relation to the development of our Indian Railway system.

8. In conclusion I am to remark that the Government of India would, of course, gladly see Hyderabad placed in communication with Bombay by a light Railway in the event of the Nizam's Government taking the matter up, or of private speculators thinking that it could be made profitably.

From LIEUT.-COL. R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secy. to Govt. of Madras in the Railway Dept., No. 5092, dated 29th December, 1862.

In forwarding for your information copies of correspondence^a with the Bombay Government regarding the line to be followed in connecting the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at Sholapoor with the Madras lines, I am instructed to remark that His Excellency the Governor General in Council will be glad if all doubt as to the proper line to be taken is removed as early as practicable, so that an actual commencement may be made on the portion of the work that is still necessary to complete the communication across the Peninsula. The object is one which, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, now presents itself as of primary importance in relation to our Railway operations in India.

^a Secy. to Govt. of Bombay, No. 1282, dated 28th October, 1862.

P. W. D. letter, No. 5091, dated 29th December, 1862.

From A. J. ARBUTHNOT, Esq., Chief Secy. to Government of Fort St. George, to the Secy. to the Government of India, P. W. Department, No. 47, dated 27th January, 1863.

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, No. 5092, forwarding copies of a correspondence with the Bombay Government regarding the line to be followed in connecting the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with the Madras lines, I am directed to refer you to the letter addressed by this Government to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State, under date the 20th instant, No. 2, submitting copies of correspondence which has passed on the subject in this Presidency, and to enclose a copy of the proceedings of this Government of this date, from which it will be seen that instructions have been issued for the examination of the country between Ghooty and Hyderabad *via* Kurnool, and also for a survey of the direct line between Cuddapah and Kurnool.

2. The Madras Government are sensible that the proposed change is not without its disadvantages, and they think it very doubtful whether anything will be gained by it in a financial point of view. Upwards of five lakhs have already been expended on the line between Cuddapah and Ghooty, which, if the Hyderabad route be selected, and the direct line from Cuddapah to Kurnool be adopted, will be thrown away. The additional length of the line, some 40 miles, as compared with the line originally selected, will involve an additional expenditure of some 40 lakhs, to say nothing of the cost of a branch line to Bellary, which it will probably be found necessary to construct eventually. It is questionable, moreover, whether the country through which the line will pass from Kurnool to Hyderabad is so rich as that traversed by the line originally proposed *via* Bellary and Moodgul, or the alternative line *via* Raichore.

3. But viewing the question with reference to political and military considerations the Madras Government have no hesitation in giving the preference to the Hyderabad line. They consider that in a military point of view the construction of a Railway which shall connect Hyderabad with the Presidency towns of Madras and Bombay, and with the large Military Station of Bangalore, is a great desideratum. Hyderabad is the most important Military Station in the South of India. It is the place, of all others, at which a sudden outbreak might at any time be apprehended, and in the opinion of this Government any measure which might increase the facilities of strengthening its garrison on an emergency, or making use of it in case of disturbances elsewhere, would add considerably to the strength of our military position.

From LIEUT.-COL. H. RIVERS, R.E., Secy. to Govt. of Bombay in the P. W. Dept., to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., with the Governor General, No. 304, dated 12th February, 1863.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 5091 as to the route by which the Great Indian Peninsula Railway should be extended beyond its present terminus towards Madras.

2. I am to state in reply that there is no denying the soundness, as a general proposition, of the opinion expressed in paragraph 2, that through traffic should not be carried over an unnecessary extent of mileage, but His Excellency in Council would submit that in this case the actual through traffic is practically non-existent, and probably will never be sufficient to warrant a Railway, or to form more than a very small portion of its whole traffic.

3. Each Presidency has its seaport, through which traffic would flow to the ocean. All traffic north and west of Moodgul has a natural tendency to Bombay, either by the Railway or through the seaports on the Malabar Coast. All traffic south and east of Moodgul will have a natural tendency to the Coromandel Coast. The through traffic of such a district as the Raichore Doab must always bear a very minute proportion to the whole traffic, and as a matter of fact the tract between the Bheema and the Toongabuddra rivers is a country with scanty population and no large towns, to enter into which both Railway Companies are alike reluctant, and would much prefer joining at Hyderabad, the great centre of all local trade in that part of India.

4. But if the proposition in your second paragraph were to be strictly applied, and if the most direct line were under all circumstances to be taken, without regard to geographical or commercial requirements, I am directed to point out that none of the great towns which are now on any of the Madras or Bombay Railways could be within many miles of a line. Sholapoor is nearly 60 miles, as the crow flies, on one side of such a direct line from Madras to Bombay. Bellary is nearly 30 miles on the other. Fully admitting, therefore, the high authority of Lord Dalhousie on such questions, His Excellency in Council submits that Lord Dalhousie's own decision in bringing the two Railways respectively to Sholapoor and Bellary is opposed to the strict application of the principle laid down in the second paragraph of your letter. If it was right in Lord Dalhousie to carry the Railway to points 60 or even 30 miles from the straight line to reach such towns as Sholapoor and Bellary, neither of them with a population exceeding 32,000 souls, His Excellency in Council submits it can hardly be unwise to diverge 40 miles to reach such a city as Hyderabad and its Court and large neighbouring stations, with probably six times the population and local commerce of Bellary and Sholapoor put together.

5. A comparison with European lines will, His Excellency in Council is of opinion, best show how inapplicable to the present case is the objection stated in your 2nd paragraph. If we could only have one Railway from London to Inverness, it would hardly be contended that it would be inexpedient to diverge 25 miles to reach Newcastle, York, Manchester, Aberdeen, or even 50 miles to reach Glasgow; but the direct distance from London to Inverness is only about 450 miles, while the direct distance from Madras to Bombay is about 650, and the line as laid down by Lord Dalhousie's Government is 100 miles more.

6. But it is necessary to quit the United Kingdom to find a line on the same scale as that from Bombay to Madras. The direct distance from Turin to Brindisi is about the same as that between the two Indian capitals. It will surely not be contended that for the sake of the through traffic it would be desirable to adhere to the straight line repeatedly crossing the Apennines, rather than diverging from 20 to 50 miles to reach cities like Milan, Genoa, Leghorn, Rome, and Naples.

7. It is stated in paragraph 3 that if the line passes Hyderabad "Bellary will be thrown out;" but this, I am to submit, is by no means apparent. Bellary may still be connected by rail with Madras, and, if the proposition of the Bombay Government be carried out, with Hyderabad and Bombay also. As far as the Bombay Government is aware, there are no interests at Bellary demanding more direct communication with Bombay.

8. It is stated in the same paragraph that as between Hyderabad and

AT SECUNDERABAD.

Hyderabad { 1 Regiment European Cavalry.
1 " Light "
4 Batteries European Artillery.
Head Quarters of Brigade of Royal Artillery.
1 Company Sappers.
2 Regiments European Infantry.
4 " Native "

AT BOLARAM.

{ 1 Company Artillery.
1 Regiment Cavalry. } Hyderabad
{ 2 Regiments Infantry. } Contingent.

AT BELLARY.

Bellary. { 1 Regiment Light Cavalry.
2 Batteries Artillery.
1 Regiment European Infantry.
2 Regiments Native "

Bellary the Governor General in Council is of opinion that it is more important that the latter place should be on the main line than the former. The Governor of Bombay in Council regrets that he cannot in any way concur in this view. Hyderabad is, next to the Presidency towns, one of the largest and most populous cities in India, and has, His Excellency believes, a larger military force in its immediate vicinity than any other city in India : the Bombay Government cannot see how any comparison can be drawn between such a city and Bellary, which neither in trade nor population can rank in the first class of Indian cities, and is garrisoned by a single Brigade.

9. The Bombay Government further regret their inability to concur in the reasoning in your 4th paragraph : they cannot see that the line is more a political than a commercial line ; but admitting for the sake of argument that it is a purely political line, the Government of Bombay must entirely dissent from the conclusion that "it will be more prudent to carry it as originally proposed than through Hyderabad." You remark, as the reason for the opinion of the Government of India, that "any excitement at Hyderabad when our troops might be engaged elsewhere could not fail to cause anxiety for our communications, and at a time when the power of sending troops by rail with certainty from one part of the line to another might be of vital importance." But I am directed to submit that on such a contingency arising it would be of the most vital importance to have Railway communication with Hyderabad, containing, as it does, such an excitable population and such an enormous British garrison. Whether troops are wanted to go to Hyderabad to coerce an excited population, or to come from Hyderabad to be useful elsewhere, it can surely be no element of security that Hyderabad should be 150 miles from the nearest Railway, and that it should take ten days of forced marching, with corresponding preparation of tents and carriage, to move a Regiment by unbridged road, rather than as many hours, without any preparation of field equipage or conveyance, to move a whole Brigade by Railway.

10. In a financial point of view also, I am directed to state, the Government of Bombay must demur to the opinions contained in your 5th paragraph. There can be no doubt that the line to Hyderabad would be the more paying line for the Great Indian Peninsula, and this is apparently conceded by the Government of India, but it is argued that the deviation would add seriously "to the dead weight of the Madras line by greatly increasing the amount of capital, and rendering the prospect of a return from the through traffic more precarious from the increased charge for the increased mileage." His Excellency in Council doubts whether this opinion would be endorsed by the Madras Railway Company or Government, and, as far as the Bombay Government can judge, there could hardly be the loss of a single through passenger or ton of goods between Bombay and Madras, while Hyderabad must prove an infinitely better point of meeting for both Railways than Moodgul or Bellary. But on this point His Excellency in Council has no doubt that the Madras Government and Railway Company will have submitted their own views to the Government of India.

11. A party of Engineers of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company are at present employed in surveys in that country, and, as all information will be valuable, it is not proposed to recall them. The result of these surveys will be communicated to the Government of India.

From LIEUT.-COL. H. RIVERS, R.E., Secretary to Government of Bombay, Railway Department, to the Secretary to Government of India, P. W. Department, with Governor-General, No. 1892, dated 22nd September, 1863.

In reference to your letter No. 766 of the 18th May 1863, I am desired by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Graham, the Chief Resident Engineer, to the Secretary, Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, submitting the general results of the last season's operations, with a diagram showing the course of the three lines under consideration, and the length by each route between Sholapoor and Cuddapah.

2. The detailed survey and report thereon will be ready in a few days, and will be submitted for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

From R. W. GRAHAM, Esq., Chief Resident Engineer, to the Secretary, Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, dated 15th August, 1863.

I shall shortly have the honour of submitting to the Committee of Directors a full report, together with plans and sections, of the fresh surveys for the South-Eastern Extension, but, as it may be some little time before these are fully prepared, I have now the pleasure to submit the general results of the last season's operations, with a diagram showing the course of the three lines under consideration, and the lengths by each route between Sholapoor and Cuddapah.

2. The line *viâ* Hyderabad is shown in red, that by Raichore and Ghooty in green, and the original line by Moodgul in blue. The lengths are taken by actual survey measurement from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, Raichore and Moodgul, and for the rest by scale measurements on the sheets of the Trigonometrical Map of India.

3. The detail surveys comprise a direct line from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, and also one to Raichore, diverging from the Hyderabad line at Kulburga. On leaving Sholapoor the country immediately becomes rough and undulating, and between the rivers Boree and Kulburga three summits of trap ranges have to be crossed; beyond Kulburga and as far as Tandoor the section is more favourable, especially between the rivers Beenathora and Moolomurry, where we meet with the limestone formation.

4. To the east of the Moolomurry and on to Hyderabad the formation is granite, which appears cropping out upon the surface of the hills, sometimes smooth and compact, and sometimes in huge boulders. From Landour to Hyderabad the country is very rough and difficult, and presents an unfavourable section, and although the line of the preliminary survey may be considerably improved a portion of the distance, there is no question that the approach to Hyderabad cannot be effected without heavy and expensive earth-works.

5. It is the peculiar feature of this line that it crosses at right angles the whole of the ridges and drainage of the country. It may therefore be expected that it will bear an unfavourable comparison as to earth-works and gradients with the lines either by Moodgul or Raichore, which follow the valley of the Bheema. The utmost gradient on the Moodgul line is 1 in 132; the ruling gradient on the Hyderabad line is 1 in 100, of which there is an aggregate of 16 miles 50 chains ascending, and 15 miles 24 chains descending, the longest of any one of these gradients being 2 miles 46 chains. The extreme depth of cutting is 27 feet. On the other hand, the bridging would be comparatively light, and the material for that purpose is good and abundant.

6. I am not at present prepared with an estimate of the mileage cost of the line, but the results of our survey, so far, established the practicability of a good working line within the limits of the gradients on our existing lines.

7. The line to Raichore diverges for the course of the Hyderabad line at 65 miles 50 chains, commencing with a gradient of 1 in 132, and descending rapidly to the Karjunny river. This river is very nearly as large as the Bheema at the point of crossing on the Moodgul line. After crossing the Karjunny the line follows the course of the Bheema, and crosses the Krishna about five miles below the junction of the two rivers.

8. With the exception of shortening a branch to Hyderabad in the event of the most direct line between Bombay and Madras being adopted, I do not see that the Raichore line possesses any advantage over the original Moodgul line.

9. In my report of the proposed surveys, dated 8th of July 1862, I stated that by adopting the Hyderabad route the length of the through line would be increased by about 40 miles; in that calculation I took the distance from Sholapoor to Hyderabad at 173 miles, as measured on the 'Trigonometrical' sheets; and from Hyderabad to Cuddapah at 200 miles: making the total distance from Sholapoor to Cuddapah 373, or about 40 miles more than by the other route. The actual distance, however, from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, along the line of survey, is 188 miles, and from Sholapoor [? Hyderabad] to Cuddapah the course which I assume the line will take measures 207 miles, making a total of 395 miles from Sholapoor to Cuddapah, which is 64 miles longer than the route *via* Moodgul or Raichore. But an increase of even 65 or 70 miles in the length of the through line cannot, I think, be considered seriously to affect the question; nor the saving of, perhaps, four hours in the time of transit between Bombay and Madras be held to outweigh the manifest advantage of placing the important city of Hyderabad on the line of through communication.

From LIEUT.-COLONEL H. RIVERS, R.E., Secretary to Government of Bombay, Railway Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Department, with Governor-General, No. 2136, dated 22nd October, 1863.

I am directed to submit copies of report by Mr. Graham, the Chief Resident Engineer, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, on the surveys carried out during last cold season for a line from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, and one from a point 65 miles on that line to Raichore. Plans and sections of the former have been received, and are being copied, and shall be sent if called for.

2. This Government concurs with the Committee of Directors in thinking that the proposed line to Hyderabad is in every way to be preferred both to the original one *via* Moodgul and to that *via* Raichore to Gooty.

3. The total distance from Sholapoor to Cuddapah will by the line *via* Hyderabad now submitted probably be 64 miles longer than that *via* Moodgul and Bellary, but this Government considers that the arguments in my letter No. 304 are not materially affected though the difference in length was erroneously stated at 40 miles instead of 64, the true difference.

4. In the whole distance from Bombay to Madras the length would be increased only 8 per cent., and as the through traffic between these places would be but small, that objection can weigh but little against the other important advantages secured by the Hyderabad over the Bellary line.

5. As to the Raichore line, it does not benefit British territory even so much as the Moodgul one; the distance from Sholapoor to Gooty (318 miles) is the same in both, and Government see nothing in favour of the Raichore and Gooty line over the Moodgul line.

6. I am therefore desired to request that the sanction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council be accorded to the extension of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Hyderabad on the line now submitted, with any modifications which in staking the line out may be found necessary.

7. Considering the great benefits the people and the Government of His Highness the Nizam will derive from the Railway, His Excellency in Council considers that it would not be too much to ask from that State the following privileges:—

1st.—Land in free gift for all Railway purposes, both such as is to be occupied by Railway works and buildings, and such as will be needed for construction and maintenance.

2nd.—Leave to cut timber in any forests for sleepers, at prices to be fixed by the Resident.

3rd.—Exemption from all transit and customs duties on all materials and stores required for the construction and working of the Railway.

4th.—Abolition of all transit duties on all Railway-borne goods, or, if this be considered too great, a concession on all goods booked at a station in British territory to another in British territory, so as to free the through traffic from transit duties.

8. I am, however, in making the above suggestions, desired to state that the construction of the line to Hyderabad should not, in the opinion of this Government, be made to depend on these suggestions being adopted.

9. The Government of India will observe that, though the country on the line to Hyderabad is spoken of as fertile and populous, the Railway Engineers have not submitted any statistics of traffic on the existing lines of communication. Application has been made to the Resident at Hyderabad for these, and they will be forwarded on receipt to the Government of India. But as they may be delayed, and are not certain to be either very full or very accurate, there seems no necessity for awaiting their preparation. There is no doubt that the existing traffic is very great and capable of vast increase.

10. I have now to request the special attention of the Government of India to the fact that the cold season is now before us, and that the important work of staking out, entailing much exposure on the European Engineers, has still to be undertaken.

11. If this work (one that does not involve large expenditure) be not at once sanctioned, a whole year will be lost, as it will have to be commenced this time next year, and until this necessary work is completed the Company will not be in a position to let the work on contract.

12. His Excellency in Council trusts, therefore, that the sanction of the Government of India will be granted as soon as possible to the request made by the Committee of Directors, that the staking may proceed at once, and this working season be saved.

From G. A. BARNETT, Esq., Assistant Secretary, to the Consulting Engineer for Railways, Bombay, No. 3962, dated 12th October, 1863.

I am instructed by the Committee of Directors to forward, for submission to Government, the accompanying copy of a report from the Chief Resident Engineer, dated the 15th ultimo, submitting the results of the surveys he has made for the proposed extension of the line from Sholapoor to a junction with the Madras Railway by a route to the eastward of the present projected line *via* Moodgul.

The maps and plans which accompanied the report are also enclosed.

The Committee concur in the Chief Resident Engineer's recommendation that the line to be constructed be that from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, and they desire me to request the sanction of Government to its adoption, as also to the staking out of the line being proceeded with, so that no time may be lost in commencing the works.

From R. W. GRAHAM, Esq., Chief Resident Engineer, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated 15th September, 1863.

I have the honour to report on the subject of the South-Eastern Extension from Sholapoor to a junction with the Madras Railway by a route to the eastward of the present projected line *via* Moodgul.

2. The surveys comprise a line by Kulburga to Raichore, to meet an extension of the Madras Railway from Gooty, as suggested in the London Board's letter to the Under-Secretary of State for India, No. 28 of the 31st of January 1863, and a continuation of the same line from Kulburga to Hyderabad.

3. The plans now submitted present, therefore, two lines—one a direct Sholapoor and Hyderabad line, and the other an alternative line to Raichore, the first 65 miles out of Sholapoor being common to both.

4. In addition to these, many deviations and alternative lines have been tried, which it is unnecessary to submit to the Committee, and I also thought it advisable to have a section taken along the mail road by Nuldroog, to ascertain

the nature of a northern line to Hyderabad, the result of which satisfactorily established the advisability of adopting the southern course.

5. The sections taken during the past season extend over a length of more than 500 miles, and the lines now submitted are the result of a very full and careful examination of an extensive area of the country lying between Sholapoor and Hyderabad. The whole of these surveys have been conducted with great care and judgment by Mr. Dickinson, under whose charge they were placed, and I have to acknowledge the full and clear reports with which he has furnished me from time to time, and from which the following description of the course of the lines is chiefly drawn.

6. The acknowledgments of the Railway Company are due to the Resident at Hyderabad, and the Government of His Highness the Nizam, for the assistance afforded to the Engineers by placing at their disposal a body of Sepoys under the command of Meer Hyder Ali Khan, whose courtesy and prompt arrangements, Mr. Dickinson states, contributed materially to the success and comfort of those engaged upon the surveys.

7. The maps and drawings which accompany this report are as follows:—

No. 1. Trigonometrical map sheets Nos. 57, 58, and 75, showing the lines of Railway surveyed from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, Raichore and Moodgul.

No. 2. Plan and section of the line from Sholapoor to Hyderabad.

No. 3. Plan and section of the Raichore line from Babulad, near the 60th mile on the Hyderabad section, to within six miles of Raichore.

8. I now proceed to describe the course of the direct Sholapoor and Hyderabad line.

9. The city of Hyderabad lies a little southward of due east from Sholapoor, and the total length of section between the two places is 188 miles. The entire length, with the exception of the last 40 miles, crosses the drainage of the Bheema, every stream and river for 148 miles eastward of Sholapoor discharging itself into that river. From 25 to 40 miles north of the line of Railway a rough and irregular ridge extends in a line generally parallel to the course of the line, until it makes a sudden bend southward at a distance of 40 miles from Hyderabad, where it is crossed by the Railway, which then descends into the valley of the Moossey river.

10. From the ridge many high spurs extend southward, in some cases breaking down abruptly at a distance from the river Bheema, and in others extending at a considerable elevation to within a short distance of it. Three of these spurs have to be surmounted between Sholapoor and Kulburga, but fortunately they are intersected at various points by narrow and comparatively low passes or khinds, through which it has been found practicable to lay out the line without any works of a formidable character. They are crossed with gradients and extreme depths of cuttings as follows:—

	Ascending	Depth of cutting.	Descending.
	M. Ch.		M. Ch.
1. Angunjee Summit	1 in 100 for 1-64.	23 feet.	1 in 140 for 2-44.
2. Benny Sheroor Summit	1 in 100 for 1-06.	21 "	1 in 150 for 2-48.
3. Hoosshay Haddigul Summit	1 in 100 for 1-40.	27 "	1 in 100 for 2-28.

11. These are the only gradients which it is absolutely necessary to encounter between Sholapoor and Kulburga, a distance of 72 miles. It will be observed that there are similar gradients upon the first 27 miles, but a section taken over an alternative line shows that by adopting a more southerly and circuitous course these can be avoided and easier gradients substituted. This line has, however, the disadvantage of being three miles longer, and the additional outlay in adopting this détour would probably not be less than £25,000. I prefer,

therefore, adopting the more direct course with steeper gradients, the gradients of 1 in 100 over the summits above described being unavoidable in either case.

12. After passing Kulburga a favourable section is obtained for 57 miles ; but at this point, 129 miles on the section, some heavy ground is entered, which continues for 9 miles. There is no doubt, however, that a considerable improvement can be effected in this part of the section by a diversion a little to the north.

13. At 145 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles the summit between the water-shed of the Bheema and that of the Moossey river as previously described is crossed with a gradient of 1 in 100 for a distance of 2 miles 30 chains. Two miles beyond this summit the river Moossey itself is reached, and Mr. Dickinson on his first examination of the country reported that by closely skirting the northern bank of the river a line could be obtained with easy gradients and tolerably free from heavy cuttings. I regret that I am unable at present to show a section over this ground, the very unfavourable section between the 155th and 175th miles being merely a trial over a more direct line, which would not have been presented at all had not a succession of unfortunate occurrences, and the breaking down through sickness of three of our Assistant Engineers at the close of the season, prevented the survey of the valley line being carried out, as Mr. Dickinson originally proposed. This 20 miles of section, therefore, is introduced merely for the sake of preserving the continuity of the section, and does not represent the line to be adopted. The valley line, although probably two miles longer, will be substituted, for there is every reason to believe that it will prove far superior both in gradients and works.

14. At the 189th mile the line bears away northward from the valley of the river, and again comes into rough and broken ground for the last 8 miles, the section terminating at the south-west side of the Secunderabad tank.

15. The position of the station is left open for future consideration.

16. The nature of the earth-works for the first 90 miles of this section will be similar to those upon the last 30 miles of the line already constructed into Sholapoor. Upon the surface of the hills there is usually about a foot of black soil, succeeded by moorum, which gradually becomes harder as the depth increases, until the trap-rock is reached at a depth varying probably from 8 to 10 feet. In the valleys there is usually a great depth of soil.

17. For the next 28 miles, including the entire distance between the Bheenathora and Moollamurry rivers, the line passes through a limestone formation, yielding an excellent building stone very easily procurable. The beds are so flat, and the joints so straight, that the labour required in dressing it will be very trifling. The stone is usually procured in layers varying from 3 to 10 inches, but with very little labour it could be quarried to a greater thickness.

18. From the 118th mile granite boulders appear, and that description of rock occasionally crops out in the trap formation, and this continues into the valley of the Moossey river. Along this valley line, which, as I have before stated, will in all probability be adopted, there is abundance of soil, and the line no doubt can be so laid out as to involve little probability of meeting with much rock in the cuttings, but the last 10 miles into Hyderabad is not so favourable in this respect, and granite will probably be met with in all the cuttings at a depth varying from 2 to 5 feet.

19. The masonry works along the whole section will be light. There are no bridges of extraordinary size, and there will be no difficulty attending their foundations and construction.

20. The principal bridges are—

Barce River of	15	30-feet arches.
Murrijeehulla	12	"
Moochikalla	10	"
Beenathora	10	60-feet girder openings.
Moollamurry	12	" "

21. Stone is easily procurable for all of these, and the two most important, viz., the Beenathora and Moollamurry, being within the limestone formation, are peculiarly favourably placed in this respect. There will be no difficulty in obtaining lime upon any part of the line, and in many valleys good kunkur lies upon the surface.

22. Timber is scarce, and supplies for contract purposes will have to be brought from a distance.

23. The principal town on the line is Kulburga, 72 miles from Sholapoor, an ancient city and fort of great wealth in former days, and of considerable importance even now. There is an abundant supply of water there, and a good bazaar and a few mechanics of all kinds are resident in the city. The villages along the line are numerous and the population large. The Wuddaree tribe, the most useful and efficient class of labourers on earth-works, are scattered over the country.

24. The line for the first 20 miles lies within the Sholapoor Zillah. The next 20 miles passes through the small independent territory of Akulkote, and the remaining distance lies entirely within the Nizam's dominions.

25. Stations will probably be required on the line at the following places:—

Jehoor for Akulkote.
Woodneh.
Koeganoor.
Kulburga.
Mullagana.

Kurrudjee Khaid.
Tandoor.
Zonawoda.
Hyderabad.

26. A list of gradients and curves is appended, from which it will be seen that the ruling gradient is 1 in 100, of which there is an aggregate length of 30 miles. The alterations and improvements which may be effected, especially in the adoption of the Moossey Valley deviation, will probably reduce the length of the 1 in 100 gradients by about 12 miles. The curves are unexceptionable, and 157 miles out of 188 are straight. Although, owing to the line crossing at right angles the whole drainage of the country it traverses, the gradients are not so favourable as those we have hitherto obtained on our Deccan lines, the section nevertheless shows a good working line. It is true that the earth-work considerably exceeds the usual average, but the greater part of it is in embankment, the proportion of embankments to cuttings being larger than usual, and with the exception of the cuttings at the three summits west of Kulburga, some of the cuttings between the 129th and 140th mile, and those upon the last 10 miles into Hyderabad, the excavations are not likely to present any unusual difficulties.

27. The masonry works are within easy compass, with remarkable facilities for their construction.

28. I am of opinion that four years should be allowed for the completion of this line from the date of commencement, and I estimate its cost with bridges constructed for a double line as follows:—

	Mileage.	Earth-work.	Viaducts, Bridges, and Culverts.	Permanent-way, Fencing, Level Crossing, &c.	Establishment, Engineering charges, and Contingencies	Rolling-Stock and Stations.	Total.	Average cost per Milo.
	Miles.	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Sholapoor to Hyderabad.	188½	339,400	144,400	819,500	145,200	219,100	1,667,600	8,860

29. I now proceed to describe the line to Raichore.

30. The section commences at 65 miles 50 chains on the Sholapoor and Hyderabad section, and about 6 miles west of Kulburga. On leaving the Hyderabad line the line follows a small valley for the first 12 miles till it approaches within 2 miles of the Bheema. For the next 70 miles it passes along the valley of the Bheema, at a distance varying from 1 to 8 miles from the river, until the Kistna river is crossed at a point about 4 miles below its confluence with the Bheema.

31. At 24 miles the line crosses the Karjunny river, which drains a very large area of country and receives the waters of the Moochkalla, Beenathora, Moollamurry, and Tandoor rivers. It is very nearly as large as the Bheema at our crossing on the Moodgul line, and would require a viaduct of almost equal magnitude.

32. The viaduct over the Kistna river would be a heavy work, consisting of 38 60-feet spans, but there would be no difficulty in the foundations at crossing

which has been adopted. From the crossing of the Kistna to Raichore, a distance of 12 miles, the line would traverse an easy and open country. The fort of Raichore stands upon a granite pinnacle, about 300 feet above the plains.

33. An objectionable feature in this line is its unavoidable proximity to the river Bheema between the villages of Utchola and Pogallapore, a distance of 15 miles. The crossings of all the rivers and streams along this portion of the line are within the flood waters of the Bheema, which would involve a very large provision of waterways and bridges.

34. The gradients and earth-works on this line are more favourable than those of the Hyderabad section, owing to the circumstance that it partakes more of the character of a valley line and skirts the main features of the country in place of crossing them. The worst gradient on this section is 1 in 132, and if Raichore were to be selected as the point of junction with the Madras Railway it would be possible by an alternative line to the south to turn the ridges to the west of Kulburga, and so avoid the 1 in 100 gradients over those summits, but the length of a branch to Hyderabad would be increased thereby.

35. The masonry works which present the chief difficulty, and are usually the cause of delay in the completion of our contracts, greatly exceed those of the Hyderabad line.

36. The section terminates about 6 miles from Raichore, but there is no difficulty in carrying it on to that place.

37. The length of the line from Sholapoor to Raichore is 158 miles, and I estimate the cost of it as follows :—

		Viaducts, Bridges, and Cul- verts.	Permanent- way, Fenc- ing, Level Crossing, &c.	Establish- ment, Eng- ineering charges, and Con- tingencies.	Rolling stock and Stations.	Total.	Average cost per Mile.
	Miles.	£	£	£			
Sholapoor to Raichore ...	158	245,900	217,700	670,000	126,000	1,431,300	9,060

38. An inspection of the Trigonometrical sheets, on which the routes of the respective lines are laid, would lead one to suppose that by adopting the Raichore route the Doab might be reached with a crossing of only one large river, and that therein it had the advantage of the Moodgul route, on which both the Bheema and Kistna are crossed. But although the Bheema is avoided, the Karjuna river, which is very imperfectly shown on the map, is substituted for it, and, as I have already stated, is very nearly as large as the Bheema at one point of crossing on the Moodgul line.

39. The statement of the size of the two viaducts upon the respective lines will show that in this respect no advantage is obtained.

MOODGUL LINE.

Bheema Viaduct	26	60-feet girder openings.
Kistna Viaduct	22	" " "

RAICHORE LINE.

Kajunny Viaduct	22	60-feet girder openings.
Kistna Viaduct	38	" " "

40. The gradients are not so good as on the Moodgul line, and I cannot but look upon its close proximity to the river Bheema for so long a distance as an objectionable feature on the Raichore line.

41. On the whole, I am of opinion that if the choice of a line of through communication with Madras were limited to these two routes it would be to the interest of the Company, in respect both to works and probable traffic, to adhere to the original line *via* Moodgul.

42. If, then, the question remains, whether through communication shall be established by Moodgul or by Hyderabad, it is necessary for a fair comparison to correct the estimates as they now stand for the former line.

43. In 1855, when the Moodgul line was first surveyed, the cost of it was estimated at £6,500 per mile, but there are reasons which make that estimate quite inadequate at the present time. The rates for labour and work of all kinds have increased enormously, and our experience on the Sholapoor and other lines, together with the facts ascertained by subsequent survey of the Moodgul line itself, shows that the extent of waterway required was greatly under-estimated on our earlier trial lines.

44. Correcting the estimates for the Moodgul line to meet the altered circumstances of the case, and applying the data on which I have based my estimates of the other line, I now estimate the cost of construction of the Moodgul line at £8,645 per mile.

45. My estimate for the Hyderabad line is £8,860 per mile.

46. The cost per mile, it will be observed, is very nearly the same, but there can be no question that the traffic receipts on the Hyderabad line will be beyond all comparison larger than those of the Moodgul line, for the one passes through a poor and thinly populated district, terminating in a junction with the Madras line at the obscure village of Moodgul, while the other traverses a thickly populated and fertile country, and has for its terminus an important and populous city—an unfailing source of a large and profitable traffic, which will be further and rapidly developed when through communication with Bombay is established.

47. The question indeed seems to be reduced to this—shall through communication with Madras be effected by a line passing through an impoverished district and leading nowhere, which will, in all probability, prove a perpetual drain on the profit and resources of the Railway Company, or by a line of undoubted public importance, which cannot fail to yield a large return on the cost of its construction and working?

48. Looking, then, at the great commercial advantages of the Hyderabad line, and the perfectly practicable and in many respects favourable nature of the section it presents, I do not hesitate to recommend the Committee of Directors to request the sanction of Government to the construction of the Sholapoor and Hyderabad Railway as the one which, while efficiently providing through communication with Madras by an important route, will most advantageously develop the Company's South-Eastern Railway Extension, and best promote the commercial interests of that portion of the country.

HYDERABAD EXTENSION.

LIST OF GRADIENTS.				Miles.	Chains.
1 in 100 ...	...	...	...	30	35
1 in 105 ...	...	...	...	2	02.5
1 in 106 ...	...	...	...	1	53.5
1 in 110 ...	...	...	...	4	06
1 in 112 ...	...	...	...	0	56
1 in 116 ...	...	...	...	1	22.5
1 in 120 ...	...	...	...	2	42
1 in 125 ...	...	...	...	1	60
1 in 132 ...	...	...	...	7	50.5
1 in 140 ...	...	...	...	4	63.5
1 in 150 ...	...	...	...	27	08.5
1 in 160 ...	...	...	...	3	39.5
1 in 164 ...	...	...	...	0	36
1 in 165 ...	...	...	...	2	61
1 in 168 ...	...	...	...	1	28.5
1 in 469 ...	...	...	...	2	17
1 in 170 ...	...	...	...	2	20
1 in 175 ...	...	...	...	0	48
1 in 177 ...	...	...	...	1	70.5
1 in 180 ...	...	...	...	1	59
1 in 184 ...	...	...	...	1	50
1 in 185 ...	...	...	...	0	54
1 in 187 ...	...	...	...	4	40
1 in 194 ...	...	...	...	1	61
1 in 200 ...	...	...	...	7	25.5
From 1 in 200 to Level	...	...	...	45	75.5
Level ...	...	...	...	25.	57.5
TOTAL				188	23

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

HYDERABAD EXTENSION.

LIST OF CURVES. RIGHT.			LEFT.			
			Miles.	Chains.	Miles.	Chains.
40 Chains radius	...	...	2	1	1	28
60 "	...	...	1	19	2	57
80 "	...	...	9	32	10	30
100 "	...	...	0	36	0	58
120 "	...	...	0	60	1	63
160 "	...	...	0	25	0	0
Straight	...	...	...	Miles. 157	Chains. 34	

RAICHORE LINE.

LIST OF GRADIENTS.

				Miles.	Chains.
1 in 100	...	...	...	10	56.5
1 in 110	...	...	...	4	06
1 in 112	...	...	...	0	56
1 in 116	...	...	...	1	22.5
1 in 132	...	...	...	3	67
1 in 140	...	...	...	6	01.5
1 in 150	...	...	...	28	05.27
1 in 153	...	...	...	2	47
1 in 158	...	...	...	1	67.5
1 in 160	...	...	...	1	17.5
1 in 164	...	...	...	0	36
1 in 165	...	...	...	2	61
1 in 166	...	...	...	1	63
1 in 175	...	...	...	0	48
1 in 190	...	...	...	0	79
1 in 200	...	...	...	3	02
From 1 in 200 to Level	...	...	...	53	77
Level	...	...	...	28	11
TOTAL				152	03.77

RAICHORE LINE.

LIST OF CURVES. RIGHT. LEFT.

			Miles.	Chains.	Miles.	Chains.
40 Chains radius	...	...	0	0	0	19
60 "	...	...	1	0	1	60
80 "	...	...	8	67	7	12
100 "	...	...	0	36	0	40
120 "	...	...	0	0	0	52
160 "	...	...	0	63	0	46
Straight	...	...	...	Miles. 130	Chains. 34.92	

From G. U. YULE, Esq., C.B., Resident at Hyderabad, to the Secretary to Government of India, P. W. Department., with G. G., No. 1530, dated 17th November, 1863.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 767, dated the 18th May 1863, desiring my opinion as to the expediency of taking the Railway to unite Sholapoor and Cuddapah through Hyderabad, instead of by the direct line originally contemplated, and beg to reply as follows :—

2. The two lines are—No. 1, the original line from Sholapoor through Moodgul and Bellary to Cuddapah, 331 miles. No. 2, from Sholapoor *via* Kulburga and Hyderabad to Cuddapah, 395 miles. An intermediate line has been described in the Chief Engineer's Report, forwarded to you by the Bombay Government with their letter No. 2136 of the 22nd October 1863. It leaves No. 2 at Kulburga, and, passing through Raichore, joins the original line at Gooty. It is precisely of the same length as No. 1, and runs parallel to it at a distance of 50 or 60 miles through a very similar country as regards population and trade, so it need not be separately referred to at present.

3. I shall consider the two lines as regards their respective advantages politically and commercially, and then describe the country through which each runs.

How would each line facilitate military arrangements? No. 1 presents two points which at first sight appear to give it a great advantage; it is shorter by

64 miles, and the greatest portion of it is in our own territories. If it was an absolute necessity that troops should be sent direct from Bombay to Madras, or *vice versa*, then No. 1 would have the advantage by four or five hours. But suppose an emergency demanded an immediate addition to the force of either Presidency, it would seem natural to supply it, in the first instance, from the large body of troops stationed here, just halfway between Bombay and Madras, while the vacancy caused by the assistance afforded to one Presidency would be filled up by troops from the other. If No. 2 is adopted, Secunderabad would be in Railway communication with Madras and Bombay, and with them two great Military Stations, Bangalore and Poona, besides other smaller Cantonments. If Madras required aid, troops would be at once on their way by rail from this, while at the same time others would be coming up from Bombay to supply their place, so that in fact the adoption of this line would shorten by very nearly one-half the time required by the other line for conveying troops from one Presidency to the other. If the shorter line be adopted, troops must not only go *through*, thus requiring double the time necessary, if two bodies were each doing half the distance at the same time, but there would also be this very great evil, that Secunderabad becomes isolated and totally unable for a time to afford assistance, for a detachment from it would have a fortnight's march to the nearest rail, to say nothing of the time required to get ready camp equipage and supplies. In short if No. 2 be not adopted the Military force of Madras and Bombay may be said to be practically reduced in the event of any emergency, for the period of a fortnight or three weeks, by the whole amount of the force at Secunderabad and Bolaram, that is, by five Batteries of Artillery, by three Regiments of Cavalry, one European, and by six Regiments of Infantry, two European. On the other hand, suppose an emergency required the subsidiary force to take the field here: it must, if there is no Railway, either delay its march for a fortnight, or leave the city unwatched. But let there be a Railway, and before this force could leave cantonments another from Poona or Bangalore would be marching in.

4. As regards No. 1, being for the most part in our own territories, and therefore less cause arising for anxiety about our communications, when the power of sending troops by rail was of vital importance. In the first place, I do not think there is any reason to fear that there would be more danger of injury to the rail in the Nizam's dominions, except in the vicinity of the city, than in our own. The people are not against us, and the Minister's policy has broken up the Rohillas and brought the Arabs under control. Of course, if this Government turned against us, there would be danger, but not greater to No. 2 than to No. 1. The latter is 195 miles from Sholapoor to Bellary; on that length there is no station or military post, and the country is for the most part thinly inhabited, wild and rocky. For 40 or 50 miles, too, the line actually runs through the Nizam's territories, and the remainder of it is at no great distance from them. From Sholapoor to Hyderabad is 188 miles, of which about 150 are in the Nizam's territories; the country is generally populous and well cultivated; and it seems to me that we should be far more likely to hear of, and far more able to prevent, any measures in contemplation for serious injury to this line than we should to the other. But setting that aside, there really seems no reason why one line should be spared more than the other; the chances are equal as regards each, perhaps a little against No. 1.

5. I have excepted the neighbourhood of the city. I admit that if the rail is too close to the city an armed mob might rush out and do some injury, but with every mile such a mob had to traverse the excitement would cool, and the rumours of approaching Europeans would strengthen, so that after 6, or 8, or 10 miles had been passed the mob would probably be reduced to a few desperadoes, or perhaps have disappeared altogether. Moreover, if the rail did not approach too close to the city, there would be time for notice being given of a mob having left it, and for troops being sent out by rail, and otherwise to prevent any injury being done. Now, the lines proposed, both, for the Bombay and Madras rail seem to me rather close to the city; they will both, I believe, pass within 4 or 5 miles of it on the same, the west side, and not very far from each other. Admitting

the possibility of an attempt from the city to interrupt the communication the arrangement described seems to me a particularly bad one, and, if it be possible, I think it would be wise to run the Bombay line some 3 or 4 miles to the north of its proposed course, and the Madras one some 6 or 7 miles to the eastward, passing the city on its eastern side. The Junction station might then be placed within cantonments not far from the European troops, and perfectly safe from any attempt from the city. By the present lines, the station must either be situated between cantonments and the city, or the lines, after running close to each other for some distance, must enter it alongside each other, a point to be avoided if possible. I have roughly marked on the accompanying sketch the alterations above proposed, and, if His Excellency thinks there is any reason in what I have said, a fresh survey of the last few miles of each line at this end need not delay the commencement of work at the other. The alteration would add some 10 miles in length and 10 lakhs in cost to the line, but combined with a first class road running out from cantonments parallel to the rail for some 10 or 12 miles, both towards Bombay and Madras, it would, I think, render the lines secure against any probable danger from the city.

6. But granting that a mob from the city succeeded in injuring the line, it may be safely assumed that the injury would be done at the least possible distance from the city, that is, within a few miles of the Junction at Secunderabad, so that troops leaving or arriving by the injured line would have only a few miles to march at the commencement or end of their journey until repairs were effected, while the other line would remain open as usual. No long time would be required for repairs here, with labour abundant, and every means and appliance at hand.

7. I see nothing, then, in the liability to injury which can seriously detract from the great advantage the Hyderabad has over all other possible lines connecting Madras and Bombay, namely, that it enables the largest possible body of troops to be collected in the shortest possible space of time at any spot between Bangalore and Bombay.

8. It may be said that I have overlooked Bellary on the 1st line; but the force at Bellary is not half the strength of that here, and Bellary itself is of very secondary importance compared to Hyderabad. The former is not competent to afford, nor, under circumstances, ever to demand, the aid which Secunderabad might give or require. Bellary might, I presume, be in rebellion for a month without causing much disturbance elsewhere; if an outbreak, not a mere city riot, occurred here and was not instantly put down, the consequences would probably be very serious.

9. But important as a right selection of line is in a military point of view, there is another side of no less importance perhaps on which it must be regarded. The other is the introduction of Railways and other great influences of the same kind, which give money and energy and hope to the lower classes, by whose rise from their present debased state some ideas of an enlightened policy may gradually be forced upon the Government and those interested in supporting it. Without some assistance of this kind we may continue for ever to aggravate the Government into a superficial improvement here and there, counterbalanced, perhaps, by increased evil in other directions, and certain to be relinquished when our attention is directed elsewhere. There is hope that with a Railway here even the nobles of the city, and perhaps the Nizam himself, may acquire wider views, and be induced to make some attempts at ameliorating the present evils.

10. With regard to the commercial advantages of each line, it scarcely seems necessary to say more than that one opens the trade of one of the largest cities and cantonments in India, while the other passes no place of any importance at all except Bellary above mentioned. Hyderabad is said to contain a population of 350,000, and is the seat of the Court, which receives and spends a large share of the revenues of the country. Secunderabad contains upwards of 60,000 residents besides troops. Returns of the imports into each place are appended. They do not pretend to correctness, but such error as exists is certainly not on the excess side. There are no records showing the places from whence the imports

come. Foreign goods are principally from Bombay ; salt, a little cloth, and some portion of grain, &c., from Masulipatam and the coast districts ; the remainder from the Nizam's own territories. There is no information of any use to be obtained regarding exports, which from the city itself are believed to be very trifling, while from the country they are very considerable, consisting of cotton, sugar, oil-seeds, &c., and, when the crops here are good, grain. The total value of imports of all kinds into Hyderabad and Secunderabad only is, as shown in the tables, 1 crore and 40 lakhs of rupees, and of this, at a rough estimate, 40 to 45 lakhs may be taken as the value of goods imported from our territories, chiefly from Bombay, of a nature which would afford to pay for Railway carriage. The imports into the remainder of His Highness's territories are not known. Whatever the traffic may be, there can be no doubt that it will be enormously increased by the facilities afforded by a Railway.

11. The Hyderabad line between Sholapoor and the city passes for the most part through a highly cultivated and populous country. The first place of importance we come to is Kulbarga, about 72 miles from Sholapoor. This was once a large city and the seat of Government ; it now contains, according to the best information I have been able to obtain, certainly more than 20,000 inhabitants, and is a place of considerable trade ; grain is sent to Hyderabad ; cotton, linseed, pepper, sugar, oil, ghee, &c., towards Bombay *via* Sholapoor. The only other large place is Tandoor, about 70 miles from Hyderabad, containing about 6,000 or 8,000 inhabitants, and with a trade similar to Kulbarga on a smaller scale.

There are several large villages on the lines. Of these the principal are Nulnoor, Surrudgee, Sreenat, Boleewar, Kaulagee, Nuddagoondee, Doorawul, Shewaruddypett, and Allore ; they contain between 100 and 600 houses each.

I may here mention that an indirect result of the railroad will be to lead to the abolition of the internal transit duties, which are harassing beyond conception. I have spoken very freely to the Minister regarding them, and have some little hope of seeing improvement gradually effected, but his own necessities, and the fact of the duties over large tracts of country being the property of His Highness himself, of his great officers, of small Jageerdars, and others, will render the total abolition of the impost in question a very difficult step.

12. Between Hyderabad and Kurnool, 140 miles, the country is by no means so populous or cultivated as in the other portion. There are no towns, and the villages are small. The most important are Kantal, Amemgal, Kulwacoorty, Kolapoor and Munchal Putto. Between Kurnool and Cuddapah the country is much the same, I believe, as the lower portion of No. 1 from Gooty to Cuddapah ; there is little choice between the two.

13. I am unable to give any particular description of the other line. From Sholapoor to Bellary, 193 miles, I understand the country is for the most part a comparatively barren and thinly peopled one, with no places of importance, and little trade. The Bellary district is better, and Bellary itself is of some size, with a fair trade. It seems to be the belief of those acquainted with the country in question that the Railway will pick up very little traffic between Sholapoor and Bellary.

14. With regard to the intermediate line from Kulbarga to Gooty mentioned in my 2nd para., the country is said to be somewhat more favourable as regards traffic than No. 1, but inferior to No. 2. I cannot see that this line has any advantages ; it passes for about 40 miles through the Nizam's country without approaching the capital, and thus it can neither benefit that country nor the Railway Company, as No. 2 must do.

15. The want of all data prevents any opinion being given as to the amount of traffic which may be expected on any of the lines. General belief is that the line from Bombay to Hyderabad will have a very large amount of passengers and merchandize, both through, and from intermediate stations. I concur in this belief. In former days Madras and Masulipatam seem to have been the ports of Hyderabad, and the Nizam had political connections with the first-mentioned place. But the suppression of the Mahrattas began the change which the opening out of roads, and then of railroads, in Bombay has completed. Bombay is now the port which

supplies Hyderabad with all it requires, except salt, a small quantity of cloth, and some grain, and which takes all it can yield for export. Were it not that the officers of the Madras Army stationed here continue from old habit to get their beer and furniture from Madras there would be very little trade between the two places. But there is no saying what the effect of a Railway may be—the salt and cloth trade now belonging to Masulipatam may be transferred to Madras. The former in particular admits of enormous extension. According to present appearances, however, I cannot say that there is much reason to anticipate that the line from this to Madras will be a very profitable one commercially, whereas there is, I think, little doubt that the Bombay line would pay well. As a military line there can be no question regarding the necessity of the Madras one, not as concerns Hyderabad and the Nizam's country only, but also the whole of the Bombay Presidency, especially the Southern Mahratta Country, and even the Central Provinces, for if the Madras Army were available on short notice at Poona the Bombay Army might be so at Nagpoor.

16. I have made no allusion to through traffic between Madras and Bombay, because I am unable to imagine that any of the main articles of commerce could afford to pay Railway rates for 700 miles when the sea is open to them. Bombay, and Madras too, so far as I can learn, require little of each other. The mails will probably be the great through articles of carriage, and so long as Madras does not possess a port on the western coast in steam communication with Suez, Bombay will probably be resorted to by residents of the other Presidency as the most convenient place of embarkation for Europe.

17. It has been suggested to me to consider whether, in lieu of the direct rail to Madras, a line to some place on the eastern coast, there to be met by one from Madras, would not be preferable. The shortest line which might be made in that way could scarcely be less than 100 miles longer than the direct one *via* Cuddapah; its great advantage would be the capacity of supplying Hyderabad with salt from the coast, and grain from the coast districts, when prices there happened to be very much lower than here. If a coast line of rail already existed, perhaps it would be advisable to effect a junction with it, instead of taking the longer direct line to Madras. If, too, there were a good harbour at or near Masulipatam, a Railway between it and Hyderabad might be a good commercial speculation, but a look at that coast is quite sufficient to show that even the miserable ports it has must be yearly becoming worse, with the Kistna and Godavery pouring their immense deposits around, and unable to keep even one of their own channels open for anything larger than boats.

18. Of the four privileges proposed to be asked from the Nizam (see para. 7 of the Secretary to the Bombay Government letter's No. 2136, to your address), it will be sufficient at present to state that leave will be given to cut timber at fair rates, and all materials and stores for the railway will be exempted from duty, until at least the line is opened. Through traffic is by treaty free from transit duty. All goods required for the use of the Subsidiary Force, and all Government stores, are also free from duty; but as regards these exemptions some change will be necessary in the event of the Railway being made. I do not see how we can fairly ask for the abolition of all transit duties on Railway-borne goods only, though such a concession would doubtless lead to their general abolition. As regards land in free gift there may be some difficulty; whatever belongs to the State will be freely given, but a large portion of the land is the property of private individuals, who must be recompensed for what is taken. Until, then, the land required for Railway purposes is marked out, and its proprietorship ascertained, His Highness's Government cannot estimate its value, and will not, I believe, make any engagement. But there is no doubt that His Highness himself and the Minister will do what they can, that is, pay whatever compensation may be found necessary to landowners, provided the sum is not beyond anything that can be anticipated. Jurisdiction within the line will be granted to the Resident and officers authorized by him. Full discussion of all these points is not required until the line is sanctioned.

STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

Statement showing the number of Bullock-loads and Value of Articles of Import received at the Kurrorgherry of Secunderabad for one year, viz., from 1st Jemadecool Awul 1278 Hijree to the end of Rubecossanee 1279 Hijree.

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES.	Bullock-loads.	Value.	TOTAL.	
			Bullock-loads.	Value.
<i>Grain, chiefly from Districts of His Highness the Nizam, and some from Masulipatam.</i>		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Rice 	2,14,820	25,88,865 12 0		
Wheat 	2,987	29,870 0 0		
Bengal gram 	30,301	3,63,612 0 0		
Jowarree 	21,156	1,96,248 0 0		
Paddy 	51,346	2,05,384 0 0		
Green gram, Oorud, Horse gram, Toor, &c. 	24,332	1,59,884 8 0		
			3,44,942	35,43,864 4 0
Cloths from Bombay, &c. 		4,44,651 0 0		
Do. from Masulipatam 		2,84,661 12 0		
Do. from Districts of His Highness the Nizam 		2,05,578 12 0		
			.....	9,34,891 8 0
<i>Kirana, chiefly from British Territory, and some from His Highness's Dominions.</i>				
Ghee 	2,280	2,06,890 0 0		
Lamp oil 	2,475	73,625 9 0		
Sugar, mukdoomee 	1,251	31,275 0 0		
Do. siwalah 	310	17,050 0 0		
Do. white 	320	21,120 0 0		
Jaggery 	3,410	78,430 0 0		
Tillee 	1,545	18,540 0 0		
Ram tillee 	5,500	5,505 8 0		
Naut, pepper, cocoanut, turmeric, dates, &c. 	3,340	1,80,243 0 0		
Castor-oil seed 	1,600	11,200 0 0		
Cotton 	99	5,445 0 0		
Tobacco ... ... ... ...	.....	93,775 0 0		
Sundries, viz., paper, glass bangles, &c. 	1,755	89,300 2 0		
			24,885	8,32,399 3 0
Salt from Masulipatam ... .....		.....	3,200	25,421 4 0
Timber from forests of Nagpoor and Chenoor and Madapoor, &c., His Highness's territory ... .....		.....	*5,791 Heads.	
Sheep from Telingirnah, ditto ... .....		.....	15,088	15,088 0 0
				53,51,664 3 0

* Value not known.

HYDERABAD RESIDENCY, }
The 17th November 1863. }

W. TWEEDIE,
Offg. 2nd Assist. Resident.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

Translation of a Statement showing the number of Bullock-loads and value of Goods received at the Kurrorgherry of the City of Hyderabad for one year, viz., from 1st Jemadecool Awul 1278 Hijree to the end of Rubecoossanee 1279 Hijree.

DESCRIPTION OF GOODS.	Bullock-loads.	Value.		TOTAL.	
				Bullock-loads.	Value.
		Rs.	a. p.		Rs. a. p.
GRAIN, FROM DISTRICTS OF HIS HIGHNESS THE NIZAM.					
Rice	2,00,000	21,00,000	0 0		
Wheat	1,25,000	12,81,250	0 0		
Gram	75,000	6,56,250	0 0		
Jowaree	80,000	5,80,000	0 0		
Various sorts of Pulse, Moong, Mussoor, Lac, Peas, &c. ...	52,408	4,19,264	0 0	5,32,408	50,36,764 0 0
Cloths, &c., generally from Bombay, Kurnool, &c., in the British Territory, and Nandair, Umerchinta, Narainpett, &c., His Highness' dominions ...	.....	16,79,258	8 9		
Various articles of haberdashery, glass-ware, &c. ... ..	.....	1,83,657	3 9	.....	18,62,915 12 6
KIRANA, FROM HIS HIGHNESS'S AND BRITISH TERRITORIES.					
Ghee	7,271	5,45,325	0 0		
Lamp Oil	6,546	1,30,920	0 0		
Sugar, white	1,490	89,400	0 0		
Do. Kulpooree... ..	4,930	1,38,040	0 0		
Do. Siwalah	2,005	1,14,285	0 0		
Jaggery	5,094	25,128	0 0		
Tillee	7,266	65,394	0 0		
Ram Tillee... ..	1,444	10,830	0 0		
Almonds, Dates, Nuts, Raisins, &c. ...	3,116	1,55,800	0 0		
Koosum	541	32,460	0 0		
Tobacco	1,487	14,870	0 0		
Miscellaneous	3,030	60,600	0 0	44,220	13,83,052 0 0
Salt from Masulipatam	12,400	1,11,600	0 0	12,400	1,11,600 0 0
Timber from Nagpoor forests, and Chenoor, Madapoor, Sirpoor, Tandoor, and His Highness' dominions ... ..	.....	.....		*52,761	
Sheep from Telingirnah, His Highness's dominions	2,27,562	2,27,562	0 0		
Slaughter bullocks	5,469	27,345	0 0	Heads. 2,33,031	2,54,907 0 0
					86,49,238 12 6

* Value not known.

W. TWEEDIE,
Offg. 2nd Assist. Resident.

HYDERABAD RESIDENCY, }
The 17th November 1863. }

Note by COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secretary to Government of India, P. W. Department, on the subject of the Bombay and Madras Junction Railway, dated 8th March 1864.

It will be convenient if I first shortly recapitulate the former proceedings in this matter, and explain the position in which it now stands :—

In June 1855 the Government of India settled, on a general consideration of the subject, that the trunk line of Railway to unite Bombay and Madras should go *via* Cuddapah and Bellary to Sholapoor.

In January 1856 the Court of Directors expressed their approval of this conclusion.

In October 1855 Lord Dalhousie raised the question of how the Railway was to be taken across the Nizam's territory, and where the junction between the Bombay and Madras Companies should be fixed.

To this a reply was also given in the letter of January 1856, leaving it generally to the Government of India to dispose of these matters.

After enquiry from Madras and Bombay, and negotiation with the Nizam, the Government of India reported that Moodgul was the proper place for the Junction Station. It is about 14 miles south of the Kistna.

This was approved by the Secretary of State in August 1859.

Meanwhile, I presume from the difficulty of raising money, nothing was done by the Bombay Company south of Sholapoor, and little or nothing on the Madras line north of Gooty between Cuddapah and Bellary.

In June 1861 the Bombay Government took up the idea of instituting a survey from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, in some measure at the request, or with the concurrence, of the Nizam or his Minister, who offered a sum of Rs. 5,000 for the expenses. At this time, however, there was no idea apparent of substituting the Hyderabad route for that by Moodgul, and the proposal had rather in view an additional line.

The Secretary of State in sanctioning this arrangement merely remarked that it is not to be assumed that the Government will guarantee any capital for such a Railway.

The survey broke down for want of funds, some mistake having apparently been made as to the probable cost, and the Government having declined to interfere so far as to ask the Nizam to pay for the survey, or give more money.

In January 1862 the Bombay Company suggested to the Secretary of State that an alternative line from Sholapoor to Gooty might be worth examining, keeping to the north of the Bheema to its junction with the Kistna, and then passing through Raichore to Gooty, and permission was given to examine it. The Government of India was desired to report its opinion after communication with Madras and Bombay.

In April 1862 these two Governments were requested to consider this and send in reports to the Government of India. Certain preliminary reports had been received, when, in September 1862, the Government of Bombay addressed the Secretary of State raising the question, on a proposal of the Chief Engineer of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, whether the main line ought not to be taken from Sholapoor to Hyderabad and thence on to Cuddapah. He asserted that it would only involve an increased distance of 40 miles, while the construction of a branch to Hyderabad would require from 110 to 173 miles according to the route adopted. [It will be seen that the extra distance would in fact be about 84 miles, and that the change would still require a branch to Bellary of 143 miles.] This was reported to the Government of India in October.

In December 1862 the Government of India replied to the Government of Bombay on this proposal, that they were not likely to acquiesce in it, and requested the Bombay Government to expedite the reports on the shorter deviation before suggested, remarking that some decision at an early date was very desirable. A copy of this was also sent to Madras.

In this letter it was pointed out that the proposed new line would be sensibly longer than the old one, which would be a serious disadvantage to a Railway specially intended for a direct communication between Bombay and Madras.

Further, that though Hyderabad was provided for, Bellary was thrown out by the new line. The serious military objection to taking a main through line of Railway close to the city of Hyderabad was referred to. The greater financial burden likely to be caused by the new line was also noticed.

The Government of India, in January 1863, received a despatch from the Secretary of State consequent on the Bombay letter of September to him on this subject. The Secretary of State asks for the opinion of the Government of India, and sends his correspondence with the Bombay Company, in which he says he is disposed to think the proposal a good one.

The Madras Government, in January 1863, also sent to the Government of India a copy of a letter addressed by it to the Secretary of State, mentioning that it had adopted the conclusion that the Railway had better go to Hyderabad, and that surveys for the line had been ordered. The Madras Government stated that it was conscious that there were disadvantages in the new line, but with reference to military and political reasons it decidedly preferred that line.

As between the old line and that by Hyderabad, the Madras Government distinctly gives the preference on the score of economy to the old line, it doubts whether the country traversed by the Hyderabad line, so far as the Madras Company is concerned, is so rich as that which would be crossed by the old line; but on military and political grounds it distinctly prefers the Hyderabad line. Hyderabad is said to be the largest Military Station in Southern India; it is the place of all others where an outbreak may be most expected; and our Military strength would be much increased if by means of a Railway we had the power to reinforce it quickly, or take its garrison elsewhere. It is mentioned that upwards of 5 lakhs has been spent on the part of the line beyond Cuddapah that would be abandoned, and that the additional length taken at 40 miles as assumed by the Bombay Government would cost 40 lakhs more. [It will be seen from the latest reports that the actual extra distance will be more than 80 miles, which would cost over 80 lakhs. Further, to serve Bellary, which the Engineer of the Madras Company says he looks on as still essential, would involve 143 miles more in addition, or 223 miles in all, costing 2½ millions.]

The Bombay Government (No. 30, dated 12th February 1863) writes in reply to the Government of India's letter of December combating the positions taken up by it, and strongly expressing its conviction that on all accounts the line by Hyderabad should be adopted.

The Bombay Government begins by remarking that, for a through traffic, no

NOTE.—In one sense there *will* be through traffic; though it may not be a paying goods or passenger traffic, it will be a traffic of much importance to the country—the mails and troops. Further, considering the objections to Madras as a port, one cannot say how far Bombay may become a main port for Southern India when the rail is open.

The Madras Company says the old line is best for it.

few large towns, and both Railway Companies would prefer joining at Hyderabad, the great centre of local trade in that part of India.

Again, it is said, if the argument of the Government of India in favour of a

No line is absolutely direct mathematically, and, of course, it is the *degree* of indirectness that is of moment; 84 miles added to 329 miles is a very serious diversion.

There was no talk of distance from an *imaginary* straight line joining the termini, but of *increase of actual travelling distance*. The two things are absolutely different. The conclusion that, because a *certain* deviation to Bellary or Sholapoor was reasonable, that *every* deviation to Hyderabad is proper, is obviously quite illogical. The sole point is to balance the advantages against the disadvantages got by any particular deviation. No one denies the importance of Hyderabad; the question is not as to this, but *whether the proper way to provide it with a Railway is to drag the main junction line between Madras and Bombay round that way*. This the Government of India doubted on the statements first put forward, and its doubts have, in my opinion, been fully justified by the facts since reported.

doubt a direct line is better than a circuitous one, but that in this case there will in fact be no through traffic. The traffic north of Moodgul would tend to Bombay, and south of it to Madras. The central tract to be passed through has scanty population and

a direct line were to be strictly applied, and a direct line preferred without regard to geographical or commercial considerations, the old line adopted by Lord Dalhousie would be equally condemned, as it is not direct, Sholapoor and Bellary being from 30 to 60 miles out of a direct line. If such deviations were reasonable *a fortiori*, a deviation to Hyderabad, with six times the population and commerce of Sholapoor and Bellary put together, could not be objected to.

European lines are referred to in support of this view.

It is then said that it by no means follows that if the rail goes to Hyderabad, Bellary will be thrown out. There is nothing to prevent the Madras Railway going there, and then it will be connected with Bombay and Madras, and Hyderabad too.

This cuts away the main ground on which the proposal was first based, viz., that it would only require 40 miles additional rail, and would save a branch of 110 or 170 miles. In fact, it would require 84 miles more rail on the main line, and 143 more on this branch to Bellary.

The comparison of the Military importance of Bellary and Hyderabad is then made. At the former are 4 Regiments and 2 Batteries; at the latter 8 Regiments and 4 Batteries. The city of Hyderabad is one of the largest in India. The Bombay Government cannot see how a comparison can be drawn between them in any sense.

It was said that as between Bellary and Hyderabad the Government of India would prefer Railway communication to the former than the latter. This was Lord Elgin's own remark. I presume he meant that it was more important to keep the peace in our own territory than in our neighbour's, and that the force at Hyderabad was so overpowering as to be absolutely safe.

Neither does the Bombay Government acquiesce in thinking that the Madras and Bombay junction line is rather political than commercial. Though if it were admitted for the sake of argument to be so, the conclusion of the Government of India, that it would therefore be more prudent to take the rail as originally proposed, than through Hyderabad, could not be accepted. The Bombay Government

This point is discussed further on.

considers it to be quite the reverse, and that with such an excitable population, and such a large garrison, it can be no element of security to leave Hyderabad 150 miles away from Railway communication, and in a position that could not be reached without 10 days of forced marching, involving great preparations of tents, &c.

Lastly, the financial question is viewed differently by the Bombay Government.

The specific reasons for which I adhere to the first opinion given will be found further on.

It is disputed whether the Hyderabad line would be worse for Madras; that line for Bombay would certainly be better.

On receipt of these letters, the Governor-General addressed Madras and Bombay (Nos. 765-766, 18th May 1863), saying that the facts as to the distances seemed very doubtful, and that the additional length of the line by Hyderabad would apparently be much more than 40 miles, and that the actual surveys and reports of the Engineers would be awaited before any further conclusion was adopted.

This also was reported to the Secretary of State, and the Resident at Hyderabad was asked his opinion on the subject.

The whole of the reports have now been received in reply to the last calls from the Governor-General, and the question is now ripe for a final decision.

The Madras reports are dated 16th July 1863, 4th November 1863, 8th February 1864.

Those from Bombay, 22nd September 1863, 22nd October 1863.

From the Resident at Hyderabad, 17th November 1863.

The following is a brief outline of the information contained in these papers: The Madras Government states that of the line from Cuddapah *via* Hyderabad to Sholapoor, the portion as far as the Kistna River is easy of construction, the embankment being generally 4 feet, and the maximum cutting 14 feet. The country well cultivated, and will be under the beneficial influence of irrigation from the Madras Irrigation and Canal Company's water; population 300,000. Between the Kistna and Hyderabad it is less favourable, the maximum cutting being 15 feet, and embankment 20 feet; the gradients—

	1 in	80 for	...	...	...	1½ mile.
between	1 in	100 and	1 in	150	...	37½ miles.
under	1 in	150	...	...	...	41½ "
level	...	...	...	...	...	30 "

The curves are easy; the country barren; the population sparse and miserable.

From Hyderabad to Tandoor, 70 miles, the line is rough and difficult, involving, whatever line be chosen, heavy and expensive embankments.

The Bombay reports show that the line thence to Kulburga is favourable, and on to Sholapoor rough and undulating for 72 miles.

This portion crosses at right angles all the ridges and drainage of the country; the ruling gradient is 1 in 100, of which there are 32 miles, perhaps capable of reduction on further examination to 20 miles; the longest 2½ miles; the deepest

cutting 27 feet. The bridging is light, and material abundant, and passes through a highly cultivated and populous country. Kulbarga is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and doing a considerable trade in grain to Hyderabad, and in cotton, linseed, pepper, sugar, and oil, towards Bombay; Tandoor, the only other place of importance, containing 6,000 or 8,000 inhabitants. The estimated cost of the portion between Sholapoor and Hyderabad is Rs. 8,860 a mile.

On the line from Gooty *via* Raichore to Kulbarga, the first 12 miles from Gooty are barren and hilly, thence to Adwani black cotton soil, studded with villages; the Raichore Doab is almost throughout one large cotton plain. The line then crosses the Kistna and runs up the east bank of the Bheema for 70 miles, crossing all its drainage at distances from their points of junction, varying from 1 to 8 miles, and for 15 of them so near as to make the cost of bridging heavy. One of these, though appearing a small stream in the map, is as large as the Bheema, where the Moodgul line crosses it, $26' \times 60' = 1,560$ feet waterway. From Sholapoor to Raichore the estimated cost is £9,060 per mile.

There is not much additional information regarding the line from Gooty *via* Moodgul; but with the exception of about 25 miles of rough and hilly ground about Gooty, and some poor land near Moodgul, the line seems to pass almost entirely through black cotton soil. The estimated cost is Rs. 8,645 a mile.

Both the Madras and Bombay Officers agree that if there is not a line made to Hyderabad, the original line *via* Moodgul and Bellary should be adhered to. From Madras it is said that from Cuddapah to the Kistna, the Hyderabad line would be the most profitable to the Railway, but beyond that the traffic would be almost *nil*. The Bombay Government holds that in no respect is the Raichore route preferable to the Moodgul route, except that it is shorter. The comparison seems to be confined throughout to the Raichore or Moodgul route on the one hand and the line through Hyderabad on the other.

The Resident at Hyderabad strongly advocates the route *via* Hyderabad on military grounds, because if the British force were called from Hyderabad, it might be replaced promptly by a force from Bombay or Madras to overawe the city; or, on the other hand, if Bombay or Madras stood in need of reinforcements, the reserve at Secunderabad and Bolaram could easily be drawn on; or, again, if Madras required assistance, Hyderabad could supply it, and before the troops could be in motion, fresh arrivals from Bombay would be there to take their place and *vice versa*. As regards the safety of the line, the Resident considers that the line through Hyderabad would be at least as safe as that to Bellary. The former passes through 150 miles of the Nizam's dominions, but the people are not against us, and it is only in the neighbourhood of the city itself where the line would be likely to be injured, and the risk of this might be made less imminent by judicious arrangements. If the Nizam's Government were to be against us, of course the line would be in danger, but not more so than between Sholapoor and Bellary, 195 miles, along which there is not one station or military post, of which 50 miles is also in the Nizam's territory.

He regards the Railway as a probable means of rousing the Nizam and his Nobles from their present utter indifference to what we look on as progress. Wealth and intelligence would spread from below, and might even reach them. But Mr. Yule's letter should itself be read.

The estimated value of imports into Hyderabad is $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of which perhaps half a million pounds represent goods that would bear the cost of Railway transit from the Bombay frontier.

The Nizam would allow Railway stock and material to enter his territories duty free, at least till the opening of the Railway. *Through* traffic now pays no tax. The Nizam's Government would do all in their power within reasonable bounds to give the land; but as some of it is private property, no pledge can be given until the line is actually staked out, and some approximate notion of its value obtained.

Lastly has to be noticed the despatch from the Secretary of State, No. 62, dated 9th December 1863, in which it is stated that Her Majesty's Government have determined that whatever arrangements are made as to a line *via* Hyderabad, there shall still be Railway communication to Bellary.

In his despatch No. 10 of February 1862, the Secretary of State, when speaking of the possible deviation by Raichore as an alternative instead of the line as originally designed by Moodgul, observed that a branch to Bellary from Gooty would in this event be necessary. This was not regarded by the Government of India as decisive of the Secretary of State's intentions in the event of the line being taken by Hyderabad, but all doubt is now removed by the last despatch, which is quite distinct on this point.

The essential *facts* on which the Government of India now has to base its decision are as follow :—

I.—The Bombay line (Great Indian Peninsula Railway) has its present terminus at Sholapoor, 282 miles from Bombay.

II.—The Madras line (Madras Railway, North-Western line) has its terminus at Cuddapah, 162 miles from Madras.

III.—There are three lines that till now have been under consideration for the junction from Cuddapah to Sholapoor.

A. The original line *viâ* Gooty, Bellary, and Moodgul.

B. The modified line *viâ* Gooty, Raichore, and Kulburga.

C. The line *viâ* Hyderabad.

IV.—Further, the Secretary of State has determined that under any circumstances there shall be a Railway from Cuddapah to Bellary.

V.—The Reports now received give the various distances as determined from actual survey as follows :—

	Miles.
Cuddapah to Gooty	93
Gooty to Bellary	50
Gooty to Raichore	84
Bellary to Moodgul	63
Moodgul to Sholapoor	123
Raichore to Kulburga	89
Sholapoor to Kulburga	72
Kulburga to Hyderabad	116
Cuddapah to Hyderabad	225

VI.—Hence the line *viâ* Hyderabad, C, being 413 miles, is 84 miles longer than the original line *viâ* Moodgul, A, which is 329 miles instead of 40 miles (as stated by the Bombay Government in its first communications on this subject), and 75 miles longer than the modified route by Raichore, B, which is 338 miles.

A. 329 miles.

B. 338 "

C. 413 "

A consideration of the above facts will at once lead to the further enquiry whether certain modifications of the above original proposals *might* not, or indeed *must* not, be adopted in preference to, or in substitution for, either of the lines A, B, or C.

The line A alone will satisfy all the conditions requisite of a through communication between Madras and Bombay, and communication with Madras and Bellary. But lines B and C alone will not. As regards B, an additional branch from Gooty to Bellary of 50 miles would be required. Line C, if adopted, must be supplemented by a branch from Cuddapah to Bellary of 143 miles. This combination C with the Bellary Branch I call D.

Again there is obviously no *necessity* for a double communication with Hyderabad, that is, both from Bombay and Madras ; and if a Railway to Hyderabad be regarded as of great importance, it seems pretty certain that a single line to Sholapoor should *suffice* at all events for all present wants. Hence, the requirements of Hyderabad might be met at the same time, providing for the other essential points in three ways, 1st—By line A supplemented with a branch from Sholapoor to Hyderabad, which arrangement I will call E. 2nd—By line B supplemented by a branch from Kulburga to Hyderabad, and branch from Gooty to Bellary, which I will call F. 3rd—By line D, that *through* Hyderabad, supplemented by the branch from Cuddapah to Bellary.

The lines A and B (adding the 50 mile branch to Bellary to line B) supply the main essentials, but do not provide for Hyderabad.

The lines D, E, F provide for all requirements.

The line C must be rejected.

The lengths of these lines are as follows :—

	Miles.	Branch.	Total.	REMARKS.
A	329	.....	329	No line to Hyderabad.
B	338	50	388	
D	413	143	556	
E	329	188	517	Line to Hyderabad.
F	338	166	504	

It will be the most convenient course to consider the more comprehensive schemes first, because the lines A and B are virtually included in E and F.

So far as *cost* of construction goes, the lines E and F would seem to be nearly on a par, and both will be sensibly cheaper than D. The probable cost in all cases may approximately be taken at £10,000, or £11,000 per mile for the main line, and something less may be allowed for branches, say £6,000. The relative absolute cost might therefore be—

	£
Line D	5,400,000
„ E	4,750,000
„ F	4,750,000

As to the probable *time* of construction, E and F would both have a great advantage over D, because the work is tolerably advanced on the line from Cuddapah as far as Gooty, and has been begun even up to Bellary, which is nearly half the interval to be joined. There will consequently be only 186 miles of quite new ground on line E, and 248 miles on line F, against 413 miles on line D. From the reports also it is seen that one-half at least of these 413 miles will be in a very poor country, and sensibly worse as regards resources of all sorts than that crossed by E or F.

The convenience of the through traffic will obviously be better met by lines E and F than by D.

The export traffic from Hyderabad will almost certainly seek Bombay as its port in preference to Madras. Hence, lines E or F would be as good in this respect as D. In short, for *all purposes of traffic*, the interests of the Bombay Government, the Railway Company, and the commercial community are served better by lines E or F than by D. All the schemes give a Railway to Hyderabad, E and F also give lines to Bellary, &c. The country south of Hyderabad is stated to be very poor, therefore the local traffic from it would probably be inconsiderable. In this point of view, therefore, the commercial interests of Madras would probably be as well served by one line as the other. The Agent of the Madras Company distinctly states his opinion that the old line E is that which is best, having regard to the interests of his own Company (*vide* para. 14, Agent's letter No. 668, dated 18th November 1863).

As regards the financial interests of the State in connexion with the guarantee, the lines E and F would certainly be better than D. The branch to Hyderabad from Sholapoor does not fall within any pledge to give a guarantee, and could doubtless be started with a moderate subsidy. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company is obviously desirous of carrying it out. If the line through Hyderabad be made as the main line, it must all be under guarantee, and the branch to Bellary will then also fall under guarantee as well. Further, the Madras Railway system, as a whole, will almost certainly never pay 5 per cent., consequently any additional mileage or outlay of capital will lead to absolute increase of charge. As regards the Bombay Company, its pecuniary interests may possibly be better served by line D than by E or F, though this is questionable, but there will probably be no corresponding advantage to the Government, because there is fair reason to believe that the aggregate income of the Great Indian Peninsula system may yield 5 per cent. Anything over this will benefit the Company, but to no great degree the Government. At all events, the loss dependent on the increased mileage of the Madras Railway would be certain, and would anyhow do much more than balance any advantage derived by the Great Indian Peninsula line, getting better dividends on its lines under guarantee.

STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

I have said that I admit the possible advantage of line D to the Great Indian Peninsula Company. This will, however, depend mainly on the fact that by D they would have only 188 miles of a *good line under guarantee*, while all the *poor* lines would fall to Madras. With line E, the Great Indian Peninsula Company would have 123 miles of moderate line under guarantee and 188 miles of good line under subsidy. With line F, the Great Indian Peninsula Company would have 161 miles of moderate line under guarantee, and 116 under subsidy. The Madras Company would have the following mileage, all under guarantee :—

Line D 368 miles.
 " E 206 "
 " F 227 "

These general results may thus be shown :—

	UNDER GUARANTEE.			UNDER SUBSIDY.	TOTAL.
	G. I. P. Madras.	Miles. 188 368	Miles.	Miles.	Miles
D			556	...	556
E	G. I. P. Madras.	123 206	329	188	517
F	G. I. P. Madras.	161 227	388	116	504

The money liability might be represented as follows :—

ANNUAL GUARANTEE.				£
Line D	5 per cent. on 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions	.....	270,000	
" E	ditto on 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	.....	180,000	
" F	ditto on 4 "	.....	200,000	
ANNUAL SUBSIDY.				£
Line D	Nothing.	.....	
" E	£100 on 188 miles	.....	18,800	
" F	£100 on 116 "	.....	11,600	

There can, on the whole, be no question that in all these respects, lines E and F are better to the State than line D.

The next consideration that calls for notice is the territorial one. It has to be remembered that these lines will be guaranteed by the British Government, and that the guaranteed interest will be raised from the revenues of British Districts. Other things remaining the same, it will be more proper to construct such Railways in British than in Foreign Territory. The direct expenditure on the works will go to enrich the District in which they are constructed, and the indirect stimulus given by the increased facilities for traffic will obviously be effective, almost exclusively, along the line traversed. I think, therefore, that so far as the political and military exigencies of the case will admit, the Government should, where other advantages are pretty fairly balanced, adopt a line in British Territory in preference to one in Foreign Territory.

The relative lengths of the lines in British and Foreign Territory under guarantee or subsidy would be as follows :—

LINES.	UNDER GUARANTEE.						TOTAL.	UNDER SUBSIDY.		GRAND TOTAL.
	British.		Foreign.		Total.			British. Branch.	Foreign Branch.	
	Main line.	Branch.	Main line.	Branch.	British.	Foreign.				
D	128	143	285	...	271	285	556	.....	.....	556
E	221	...	108	...	221	108	329	20	168	517
F	180	50	158	...	230	158	388	.....	116	504

Here again lines E and F have a distinct advantage over line D. Having regard to the lines under guarantee, and comparing D with E, we find that the former, with an increase of 227 miles of Railway to be made, will add only 50 miles in British Territory and 177 miles in Foreign. Comparing D with F, the former, with an increase of mileage of 168 miles, will add only 41 miles in British and 127 in Foreign Territory. As regards the lines under subsidy, it will mainly be in Foreign Territory. But the burden from such lines will anyhow be decidedly less, and there will be reasonable expectation of the Nizam's Government bearing some of the risk. Further, their construction is not *essential*.

It only remains for me to refer to the political and military aspect of the discussion on which, in truth, the whole argument of the advocates of the line through Hyderabad has been made to rest.

As I have already observed, to give Railway communication with Hyderabad does not of necessity imply that the main line should go through that city. The arrangements I have suggested as E and F, will, in all respects, I conceive, so far as military exigencies are concerned, be quite as satisfactory as the line D. The time requisite to bring up troops from Ma'ras *via* Kulburga to Hyderabad, would be but a few hours in excess of what would be necessary by a direct line from Cuddapah. The distances would be from Cuddapah—

	Miles.
D. Direct line	225
E. <i>Via</i> Sholapoor	517
F. <i>Via</i> Kulburga	382

and the time, calculating at 20 miles per hour, 11 hours, 25 hours, and 19 hours, showing an excess by the last route of only 8 hours over the first. Considering that troops coming *via* Cuddapah would already have had to come from Madras, or at least 166 miles, the additional time due to the circuit, varying from 8 to 14 hours, could be of no practical moment.

As regards communication with Bombay, the lines E and F would be identical with D.

But there is a distinct and grave positive objection to line D, which was before taken, *namely*, that it carries the main line of Railway communication close to a Foreign capital, the Government and population of which might, at any time, be placed in a hostile position to the British Government. A Railway thus situated, having the main centre of power of a possible dangerous enemy actually in contact with it, and completely commanding it, would be a very precarious line in a military point of view. The Resident at Hyderabad has seen this, and to remedy the evil, has proposed to keep the Railway five or six miles away from the city. But after all this is a very imperfect remedy, and indeed it seems rather an absurdity to talk of taking the Railway to Hyderabad, and yet keeping the line and the terminus so far away from the city as to make it nearly useless to it.

For the purposes of the British Government, a safe through communication between the East and the West Coasts, and the north and south of the Peninsula of India, is what is mainly wanted. Any increased facilities given for the coercion of one particular spot are comparatively of small moment, and such advantages should, I conceive, at once be abandoned, if they can only be obtained by the sacrifice of what is essential, *namely*, a truly secure through line of Railway.

In point of fact, moreover, the force of Hyderabad is so strong as to be quite capable of taking care of itself whatever happens. As to making use of it elsewhere, if I am not mistaken, our treaty engagements prevent our moving *it out* of the Nizam's Territory.

On the whole, therefore, I consider that the line D may be discarded from further discussion, and that the choice has to be made between E and F.

The advantages and disadvantages of these two lines are, in my estimation, very evenly balanced. As a whole, F saves 13 miles of Railway. On the other hand, E saves 59 miles of guaranteed line, against an increase of 72 miles of line under subsidy. But the saving of guaranteed line is mainly on the Great

Indian Peninsula portion of the Railway, only 21 miles coming into the Madras system, and therefore it is not very important. There is a small difference of 10 miles more Railway in *British Territory* under system E than under F. But as the absolute length of E is also 13 miles more, F, for the mileage, is the best, though in a trifling degree.

As regards the interests of the Madras Company, it is acknowledged that there is nothing to choose between the lines E and F, and the completion of the Branch to Bellary *under guarantee*, in addition to the through line, will be a positive advantage to this Company.

The Bombay Company, *apart from the line to Hyderabad*, would prefer F. But inasmuch as the arrangement F brings them 72 miles nearer to Hyderabad, and it is implied that the Government will aid the Branch to Hyderabad (by the hypothesis involved in the discussion) there is really very little difference as regards the interests of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company between the two lines.

The consideration which, to my judgment, finally turns the scale in favour of line F, through Raichore, is this—that portion of the through line which will be carried out under the guarantee, will be begun *at once*, without the necessity for further consideration or discussion. The question of a subsidised line to Hyderabad must be left for further consideration and bargain between the Company, the Government, and the Nizam. By adopting line F, the line *towards* Hyderabad will at once be begun for a distance of 72 miles, *namely*, from Sholapoor to Kulbarga, and the Great Indian Peninsula Company's Officers may at once lay it out with confidence. Even if the Secretary of State insisted on the main line going through Hyderabad, this portion of the line would be all right still.

Further, if the main line is, under any circumstances, taken to Kulbarga, within 116 miles of Hyderabad, the eventual execution of this Branch *without* guarantee may be regarded as *certain*, and meanwhile a satisfactory approach will have been made to this important city.

It seems also but fair that the Government of India should, so far as it is able to do so without neglecting important interests, so arrange its system of guaranteed lines as to facilitate the development of lines without guarantee. Now, system F leaves only 116 miles to independent enterprise, while E leaves 188 miles.

In an engineering point of view, there are no serious difficulties on any of the lines; and no sufficient ground for giving a decided preference to one rather than another, or preferring E to F, in the face of any definite advantages of other sorts.

Having thus arrived at the conclusion that line F is, on the whole, the best to adopt, there remains very little to be said as to anything else. That portion of the system F which the Government is pledged to carry out under guarantee should at once go on. That portion, *viz.*, the 116 miles from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, will doubtless be admitted to be of a character that will justify the Government in giving a subsidy, and this opinion might be communicated to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, and the Resident at Hyderabad, for communication to the Nizam, in the hope of his doing something to facilitate the work.

As regards the portion of the *main line* that goes through the Nizam's territory, some immediate steps should be taken to define the terms on which he will grant the land and admit goods. The matter has so recently been discussed in relation to the Railway to Indore, as to call for no special comment on this occasion. The Resident has remarked on the suggestion of the Bombay Government (*vide* para. 7 of their letter No. 2136, dated 22nd October 1863, in the last para. of his letter No. 1630, dated 17th November 1863), and the points discussed might be explained to the Foreign Department for further orders in that Department.

In conclusion, I may remark that the essential difference between the views that I have taken of these points, and that taken by the Governments of Madras

and Bombay, particularly the latter, has arisen from my looking at the subject as a *whole* ; from my not accepting partial statements of advantage ; and from not allowing the real disadvantages to be dropped out of sight when discussing the advantages.

Minute by the HON'BLE SIR C. E. TREVELYAN, K.C.B., Member of the Council of the Governor-General, dated 23rd March 1864.

According to the best opinion I can form, I think that the guaranteed Railway should be taken through Hyderabad with a Branch from Cuddapah to Bellary.

Commercially, traffic is of more importance than distance—and there can be no doubt that, while the direct route would be comparatively barren of traffic, that by Hyderabad would be very productive. Whichever way the line is taken into the interior, there will be a certain traffic to the nearest port, but there will be little *through* traffic. The accession of Hyderabad, with its great population and wealth, its large military force, and its established relations both with Madras and Bombay, would be clear gain to the guaranteed lines, in the success of which we are so much interested. Hyderabad is the centre of a system of its own, and, being further to the eastward, would draw much traffic that would otherwise be far removed.

As regards military and political considerations, we shall attain the best position when we are able to throw reinforcements into Hyderabad both from the Madras and Bombay side, and when we have connected that city in the closest practicable manner with the two neighbouring British Presidencies. By becoming a point from which the traffic will branch off in both directions, and through which much traffic will pass from both sides, a strong tendency will be created towards the place acquiring a peaceable commercial character.

Hyderabad has hitherto been much more connected with Madras than with Bombay. Masulipatam, on the Coromandel Coast, is the port of Hyderabad ; the military force stationed at Secunderabad belongs to the establishment of the Madras Army ; and intimate social relations, European and Native, have grown up between the two Provinces.

A branch from Cuddapah to Bellary through the great black cotton soil country is indispensable ; and besides its being a military station, Bellary will be an advanced point for drawing and distributing the traffic of the Doab, of the Kistna and Toongabudra, and other countries beyond.

From the Government of India, to the Secretary of State for India, No. 28, dated 4th April 1864.

Adverting to the correspondence noted in margin, we now have the honour to

From Secretary of State, No. 10, dated 25th February 1862.

From ditto, No. 3, dated 9th January 1863.

From ditto, No. 62, dated 9th December 1863.

To ditto, No. 10 C. G., dated 18th May 1863.

From ditto, No. 10, dated 24th February 1864.

report our conclusions as to the line that should be taken to unite the Great Indian Peninsula with the Madras Railway. We would beg to refer you to the accompanying Note by the Secretary in this Department for a review of the former proceedings in connexion with this question, as well as of the recent reports received from the Madras and Bombay Governments

and the Resident at Hyderabad, and for a statement of the general bearing of the facts elicited on the point that has to be decided.

2. The decision that we have come to on a careful consideration of all the arguments used, is, that the line *viâ* Raichore should be adopted for the main trunk line. At the same time we are of opinion that all needful encouragement should be given to facilitate the early construction of a branch line from Kulburga to Hyderabad. We accept, as part of the arrangement, the completion of the line from Gooty to Bellary, as already adopted by you. (*Vide* Secretary of State's despatch No. 62, dated 9th December 1863.) This conclusion, we observe from your despatch No. 10, dated 24th February last, just received, has been adopted by the Madras Railway Company, and on grounds very similar to those that have influenced us.

3. You will observe, in the first place, that the actual length of a line from Sholapoor to Cuddapah *via* Hyderabad, as ascertained by the surveys, would be 80 miles more than the original line *via* Moodgul, instead of 40 miles, as originally stated by the Chief Engineer of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. This obviously makes a very great difference in the premises, and alone goes very far to set aside the conclusions adopted by the Bombay Government in their letter to you, No. 24, dated 27th September 1862. The further argument of the Bombay Government that, while the additional length on the main line would be so small, the communication with Hyderabad might be obtained with an absolute saving of a length of 110 or 170 miles in branches also quite falls to the ground consequent on your decision, in the propriety of which the Madras Government and the Government of India both concur, that under all circumstances Railway communication must be provided from Cuddapah to Bellary.

4. On the whole, therefore, the facts appear to be that, to provide Railway communication both with Bellary and Hyderabad, the distances on the several proposed lines would be as follows :—

	Main Line.	Branch.	Total.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
1.—Main Line <i>via</i> Hyderabad. Branch from Cuddapah to Bellary	413	143	556
2.—Main Line <i>via</i> Moodgul. Branch from Sholapoor to Hyderabad	329	188	517
3.—Main Line <i>via</i> Raichore. Branch from Kulburga to Hyderabad	338	166	504
from Gooty to Bellary.			

Presuming, as may fairly be done, that the Branch from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Hyderabad will be carried out under a subsidy, and that the extension to it of the guarantee will not be necessary, we should find that the following lengths would fall respectively under guarantee and subsidy under the three hypotheses :—

	Under guarantee.	Under subsidy.
	Miles.	Miles.
1.—Main Line by Hyderabad	556	.....
2.— Ditto by Moodgul	329	188
3.— Ditto by Raichore	338	116

Further, the mileage under guarantee would thus be distributed between the two Companies :—

	Madras.	G. I. P. Railway.
	Miles.	Miles.
1.—Main Line by Hyderabad	368	188
2.— Ditto by Moodgul	206	123
3.— Ditto by Raichore	227	161

5. From these figures we infer,—1st, that the Hyderabad line would involve 50 miles more of Railway to construct ; 2nd, that it would require 75 miles more of main line to be constructed before the through communication was completed ; 3rd, that it would bring 140 miles more of the Madras Railway under guarantee, and nearly 30 miles more of the Great Indian Peninsula line. The addition of 140 miles to the Madras system could not fail to add very seriously to the pressure on the finances in the shape of guaranteed interest, because it is admitted that at least half of the line from Cuddapah to Hyderabad goes through a very poor country not at all likely to produce a remunerating traffic. It will be remembered

that no set-off against the losses on the Madras line is obtained by profits on the Great Indian Peninsula line.

6. The through line between Madras and Bombay will be shortened 75 miles by adopting the Raichore line in preference to that by Hyderabad, which seems to us so great an advantage as to outbalance entirely the increase of distance that will be caused in communication between Madras and Hyderabad. The convenience of the traffic between Bombay and Hyderabad is, of course, equally well provided for by any one of the lines.

7. Passing to the military and political aspect of the question, we consider that it would be a most grave objection to any through line, on which our military communications between the east and west coasts, and the north and south of the peninsula of India had to depend, that it should pass close to and round the capital of a Foreign State, many of whose inhabitants are openly inimical to us, and over whom we have no control. In the event of an outbreak at Hyderabad, the Railway communication could be very easily cut off, and the safety of the line would, at all times, be a matter of anxiety in a period of internal commotion. The influences that might produce danger in the capital of the Nizam would be far more feeble, if not quite inappreciable, in the remote agricultural districts, and a line running near Raichore would probably be as safe, or nearly so, as if it were in our own territory.

8. With a Railway communication opened between Bombay and Hyderabad, the former place would naturally become the main support of the British garrison at Secunderabad. The position that Madras naturally acquired as the support of Secunderabad in past years cannot be expected to be maintained without change when so great a revolution takes place in the system of communications as the construction of a Railway between Bombay and Madras, and Bombay and Hyderabad. But the arrangement that we recommend, the line by Raichore, will, after all, place Madras in a position of very little relative disadvantage in its power of giving or receiving support from Hyderabad, compared to what it would have been if we adopted the direct line from Hyderabad to Cuddapah. Troops going from Madras to Hyderabad by the direct line would have to travel 391 miles, taking, say, 20 hours, while going by Raichore they would travel 548 miles, taking, say, 28 hours, having regard to the practical nature of such operations, and the contingent causes of delay before starting, such a difference of time in a military point of view is quite insignificant.

9. With regard to the line from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, it seems to us so certain to be regarded favourably by capitalists, that we should not feel justified in recommending the extension of the guarantee for its construction until time had been allowed to permit of a Company coming forward to take it up under a subsidy. It would be a reasonable conclusion to adopt that His Highness the Nizam might afford a Company proposing to undertake the line some advantages, in like manner as His Highness the Maharaja Holkar has lately done in respect to the projected line to Indore, and we shall be prepared to recommend our Resident at Hyderabad to place the proposals of any Company that seems able to carry out the work fairly before the Nizam, for his favourable consideration.

10. We desire to add that the final report of the Madras Government only reached us on the 13th of February last, so that the delay in replying to your despatches on this subject has been unavoidable on our part.

From the Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India, No. 33,
dated 31st May, 1864.

I have had before me in Council your Excellency's despatch No. 28 of 4th April last, reporting your conclusions as to the line to be taken for uniting the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railways.

2. Your recommendation is, that the line *viâ* Raichore should be adopted for the main trunk line, a Branch being made from Gooty to Bellary, and all proper encouragement being given to the early construction of a Branch from Kulbarga to Hyderabad. Concurring in the views which have led your

Excellency's Government to this conclusion, I have caused copies of your despatch to be forwarded to the Directors of the Railway Companies concerned, together with an intimation that the course recommended by you is to be regarded as finally agreed upon.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secy. to the Government of Bombay, Railway Dept., No. $\frac{359}{323}$ R, dated 15th July, 1864.

With reference to the correspondence forwarded with Public Works Department Resolution No. $\frac{359}{323}$ R, dated 15th July 1864, relating to the line to be taken for uniting the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railways, I am directed to forward copy of a letter addressed to the Resident at Hyderabad, in which he is requested to enquire as to the best site for a Railway Station at Secunderabad. The Government of India considers that the Main Line may best be carried to Secunderabad, with a Branch to Hyderabad, so that the main Railway may be removed as far as possible from any danger of being injured, in time of excitement, by the people of Hyderabad, but without going so far as to cause any practical injury to the Railway traffic to the city, for which every convenience should be given. The Governor-General in Council will be glad if the Government of Bombay will afford to the Resident at Hyderabad its co-operation through the Consulting Engineer, or a Railway Engineer, if possible, in facilitating an early discussion and decision on this point.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Resident at Hyderabad, No. $\frac{358}{322}$ R, dated 15th July, 1864.

With reference to the correspondence forwarded with Public Works Department Resolution No. $\frac{361}{324}$ R, dated 15th July, relating to the line to be taken for uniting the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railways, I am directed to request that the necessary measures may be taken for selecting the best site for a Railway Station at Secunderabad. It appears probable that the best course will be to carry the Main Line into Secunderabad, giving a Branch to communicate with the city of Hyderabad. In this manner, the main Railway may be removed as far as possible from danger of injury in time of excitement by the populace of Hyderabad, but without going so far as to cause any practical interference with the Railway traffic to the city, for which every convenience should be given. The Bombay Government will be requested to co-operate either through the Consulting Engineer, or a Railway Engineer, in facilitating an early discussion and decision on this point on which the selection of a site for a fortified enclosure for the garrison at Secunderabad must, in a great measure, depend, and the further consideration of which the Government of India must postpone till the report as to the best place for the Railway Station is received.

2. The Railway Station plot must be of sufficient capacity to hold all the needful terminal buildings for carriages and engines, workshops, &c.

3. The inquiry should be carried out in concert with the military authorities.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R. E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secy. to the Government of Madras, Railway Dept., No. $\frac{357}{321}$ R, dated 15th July, 1864.

With reference to the correspondence forwarded with Public Works Department Resolution No. $\frac{359}{323}$ R, dated 15th July, relating to the line to be taken for uniting the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railways, I am directed to request that the necessary orders may be issued by the Government of Madras for the prosecution of the lines as approved by the Secretary of State.

2. The Government of India is of opinion that the line to Bellary should be constructed on the same general standard as the rest of the Madras Railway.

From the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India, No. 39, dated 30th June, 1864.

With reference to my despatch, No. 33, of 31st May last, I now transmit, for your information, a copy of correspondence with the Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula Extension Railway Company (Limited) relative to the proposed Branch Railway from Kulburga to Hyderabad. You will observe that I have intimated that any further representation which they may wish to make on this subject, should be addressed to your Government.

From T. R. WATT, Esq., Secy., London Board, G. I. P. Extension Railway Co., Limited, to the Under Secy. of State for India, No. 2, dated 11th June, 1864.

The Board of Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula Extension Railway Company (Limited) have had under consideration the despatch of the Government of India, No. 28 of 1864, on the subject of the line to be adopted for connecting the Great Indian Peninsula and the Madras Railways, with reference to para. 10 of it suggesting a Branch Line from Kulburga to Hyderabad.

2. I am desired to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State, that the Board regards the suggested Branch as one which it would be advisable for this Company to undertake to construct upon the basis of terms analogous to those which have been proposed for the Indore Branch. As soon, therefore, as they receive the decision of the Government of India, which they are now awaiting, upon the proposals they have submitted for the Indore Line, and the Secretary of State has settled the terms on which that line is to be constructed, they will be prepared to submit proposals for the construction of the Branch from Kulburga to Hyderabad, relying upon the Government of India affording every facility for placing the matter in the most satisfactory manner before His Highness the Nizam.

3. The Board trust that the Secretary of State will be good enough to inform the Government of India of this communication.

From LORD WODEHOUSE to Secy., London Board, G. I. P. Extension Railway Co., Limited, dated 23rd June, 1864.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, No. 2, relative to the proposed Branch Railway from Kulburga to Hyderabad, and to acquaint you in reply that a copy thereof will be transmitted to the Government of India, to whom any further representations which the Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula Extension Railway Company may have to make on the subject should be addressed.

From T. R. WATT, Esq., Secy., London Board, G. I. P. Extension Railway Co., Limited, to the Secy. to the Government of India, P. W. Dept., No. 3, dated 1st July, 1864.

Adverting to your letter of the 3rd February last to Mr. A. S. Ayrton, M.P., but which did not reach him until after his return to London, I am instructed by the Board of the Great Indian Peninsula Extension Railway Company (Limited) to state that they had hoped to have received ere this the definitive reply of the Government of India to their proposals for the construction of the Indore Branch.

2. In the mean time the Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company had communicated to this Board the despatch of the Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, No. 28 of 1864, upon the subject of the route to be followed in order to connect the Bombay and the Madras Railways, for their consideration with reference to para. 10 of it, wherein the construction of a Branch Line from Kulburga to Hyderabad is suggested.

3. This Board, having duly considered that suggestion, informed the Secretary of State that they regard such a Branch as one which it would be advisable for the Extension Company to undertake, and therefore that they will be prepared to submit proposals for its construction, analogous to those of the Indore Branch,

as soon as the terms for that Branch have been settled, relying upon the Government of India affording them every facility for placing the matter in the most satisfactory manner before His Highness the Nizam.

4. The Secretary of State has, by letter of the 23rd June ultimo, in reply, informed this Board that a copy of their letter "will be transmitted to the Government of India, to whom any further representations on the subject should be addressed."

5. I am in consequence instructed to make this communication to you, and to state that this Board will lose no time, after the terms for the construction of the Indore Line have been settled, in submitting proposals to the Government of India for the Branch from Kulburga to Hyderabad, and they trust that they may soon be favoured with the ultimate views of the Government of India on the conditions submitted by Mr. Ayrton for approval on the 2nd February last.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secy., London Board, G. I. P. Extension Railway Co., Limited, No. ^{485 R}₄₀₄₈, dated 25th August, 1864.

I am directed by the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge your letter, No. 3, dated 1st July last, expressing the willingness of the Board of Directors to undertake the construction of the line of Railway from Kulburga to Hyderabad.

2. The special conditions approved by the Government of India for the construction of the Indore Branch will, before this time, have been laid before your Board, and the Directors will now be in a position to make a definite proposal of terms for the construction of the Hyderabad Branch. A further communication will accordingly be awaited.

3. The Resident at Hyderabad has been requested to ascertain the views of His Highness the Nizam regarding the proposed line of Railway.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Resident at Hyderabad, No. ^{486 R}₄₀₄₉, dated 25th August, 1864.

In continuation of my letter, No. 358R, dated 15th July last, I am directed to forward a copy of a letter, No. 3, dated 1st July, from the Secretary to the Great Indian Peninsula Extension Railway Company (Limited), from which you will learn that this Company is willing to treat for the construction of the line of Railway from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at Kulburga to Hyderabad.

2. I am also directed to forward a copy of Special Conditions of Agreement proposed to the same Company for the construction of a Branch Line from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Indore, and of my letter forwarding the same to Mr. Ayrton, one of the promoters of the Company. The terms that the Government of India would be disposed to offer to the Company for the construction of the Hyderabad Branch would be much the same as those now sent to you, but no special subsidy would be deemed necessary, as there are no engineering difficulties to be overcome.

3. The Government of India anticipates that His Highness the Nizam will grant the land required for the Railway free of cost, as has been promised by Maharaja Holkar in the case of the Indore Line.

If His Highness does not consent to this the negotiation with the Company cannot be proceeded with. Moreover, it will be necessary that the needful administrative powers will be given to the British Government within the limits of the land so to be made over.

4. The Governor General in Council considers that under no circumstances should a greater subsidy be granted than that indicated in the Special Conditions now sent, viz., £100 per mile per annum of open line for 20 years after the opening, and His Excellency thinks that the Nizam may be fairly expected to give half the amount, the British Government giving the other half. But the Governor General in Council will leave it to you to make the most satisfactory arrangement in your power with the Nizam as to the form of the aid to be given by His Highness to

the Company, and you are requested to report His Highness's views or proposals for the information of the Governor General in Council.

5. Of course, nothing definite can be settled until the Company actually comes forward with a specific proposal. But it will be useful if you will prepare the Nizam for the offers of the Company, and thereby facilitate the speedy settlement of an agreement when an offer is made.

6. The Governor General in Council is of opinion that no negotiations between any of the Railway Companies' Agents and the Nizam, or his Minister, should take place, excepting in the presence of yourself or some one of your Assistants, but on this point any further and more specific instructions that may be deemed necessary will be given from the Foreign Department.

From LIEUT.-COL. H. RIVERS, R.E., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Railway Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Department, No. 1848, dated 8th August, 1864.

By a letter from the London Board of Directors to their Bombay Committee, sanctioned by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, a copy of which is enclosed, this Government has learned that Her Majesty's Government has sanctioned an extension of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as far as Kulburga, and that a Branch is thence to be taken to Hyderabad, and the Main Line to Raichore.

2. Instructions are also contained for the immediate preparation of the drawings and necessary data for letting the works as far as Kulburga by contract.

3. His Excellency in Council has not yet received the views of the Government of India on the subject, but he concludes that the decision now announced is final, and he will be prepared to sanction all the Company's proceedings for carrying it out.

4. I am desired to request that the Government of India will instruct the Resident at Hyderabad to conclude the necessary arrangements for obtaining possession of the land for the line and stations, and inform this Government of the arrangements made on this point, as well as that of jurisdiction in the land made over.

From T. R. WATT, Esq., Secy., London Board, G. I. P. Extension Railway Company, to the Secretary to the Bombay Committee, No. 116, dated 10th June, 1864.

I am directed by the Board to forward herewith, for the Committee's information, copy of a letter, dated the 21st ultimo, from the Secretary of State for India, adopting the line of Railway *viâ* Raichore as the means of effecting the through communication between Bombay and Madras. I am to acquaint you that the Board have concurred in this decision, and being of opinion that no time should be lost in proceeding with the construction of this line from Sholapoor to a junction with the Madras Railway, they desire that the Committee will issue instructions to the Chief Resident Engineer to prepare at once the requisite plans and specifications for letting the execution of the works by contract. The length of Railway to be undertaken by this Company from Sholapoor to Raichore is stated to be 161 miles. This, the Board apprehend, would be best divided into two contracts, the first to terminate at Kulburga, a point about midway to Raichore, from which the suggested Branch Line to Hyderabad would leave the Main Line. This contract should be let in the first instance, and to it therefore all the available force of the Engineering Department should be directed; the second contract being proceeded with later, but so as to effect the completion of the whole line to Raichore as soon as possible. When the contract plans and sections are ready the Committee will transmit them with the Engineer's estimate to the Board, who will let the contracts upon public advertisement in this country, but the Committee will, as in former instances, also invite tenders in India, and transmit such as may be sent in to them unopened, for the Board to dispose of.

2. As respects the suggested Branch from Kulburga to Hyderabad, I am to state that the Board, being fully alive to the importance of it in this Company's interests, have taken the course they consider best to obtain its construction.

From COLONEL R. STRACHEY, R.E., Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Department, to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, Railway Department. No. ⁵⁰²/₁₀₈R, dated 29th August, 1864.

In reply to your letter, No. 1848, dated 8th August 1864, on the subject of the extension of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Kulbarga, and the construction of a Branch thence to Hyderabad in connection with the junction with the Madras Railway, I am directed to state that a copy of the despatch^a from the Secretary of State, sanctioning the above Extension, was forwarded with Public Works Department Extract No. 360R, dated 15th July 1864, which will since have reached.

RESOLUTION by the Government of India, P. W. Department, No. ⁵⁰³/₁₀₉R, dated 29th August, 1864.

Read extract paras: 1 to 4 from a letter from the Secretary to Government of Bombay, No. 1848, dated 8th August 1864, and enclosure.

ORDER.—Ordered that a copy of the foregoing be forwarded to the Foreign Department, with a request that the necessary orders may be issued to the Resident at Hyderabad to obtain the grant of land required in that territory for the extension of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Kulbarga.

From MAJOR G. PRICE, Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad, P. W. Department, to the Secretary to Government of India, P. W. Department, No. 114, dated 6th September, 1867.

It will be in the recollection of the Government of India that the proposed construction of a Branch Railway to connect Hyderabad with the Great Indian Peninsula Main Line running from Bombay to Madras has from time to time formed the subject of correspondence. We do not find, however, that this has led to any conclusive result, or has advanced to any really practical stage. The Resident now directs me to append *précis* of the correspondence as existing in the Residency records, and he trusts that the importance of the matter will justify him in bringing it again to remembrance, and in soliciting the attention of the Government of India thereto.

2. The gap between the Railway advancing from Bombay, open as far as Sholapoor,^a on the one side, and the Railway advancing from Madras, and open as far as Moodanoor near Cuddapah on the other side, is fast being filled up. This interval mainly consists of the *Kulbarga-cum-Sholapoor* country and the Raichore Doab in the Nizam's dominions, and the Bellary District in the Madras Presidency. The Kulbarga above mentioned is the nearest point in the line to Hyderabad, being distant about 130 miles from that city. The section from Sholapoor to Kulbarga is well in progress, and will probably be completed in a year or so. The future communication between Hyderabad and Kulbarga is consequently attracting much attention at the present time. For about a hundred miles of the distance, the old road from Hyderabad to Sholapoor will be available. For the remainder, from 30 to 40 miles, a Branch Road will have to be made.

3. The late Resident, deeming that the matter of a Branch Railway must soon be taken up, recorded a Minute thereon in March last. A copy of Sir G. Yule's Minute is appended to this Despatch. And Sir R. Temple now desires to take up the threads of the case from the point where his predecessor left them.

4. The expediency of connecting Hyderabad with the Main Line from Bombay to Madras by means of a Branch has been explicitly acknowledged by the highest authority, namely, that of the Secretary of State and the Government of India. But the agency and the means by which this view is to be carried out do not seem to have at all advanced towards decision.

5. In 1864 the Great Indian Peninsula *Extension* Company (which is apparently distinct from the Great Indian Peninsula Company itself) made some tender—not very definite, however—for the construction of the Branch; and the Resident at Hyderabad was instructed to take certain preliminary proceedings,

^a Sholapoor must not be confounded with Shorapoor. They are distinct Districts.

This, however, depended on further specific offers being received from the Company, which never were received. And so far as *that* Company were concerned, there the matter has rested.

6. In 1865-66 there are traces of some discussion, not about the Branch itself, but about the site of its terminal station at or near Hyderabad. In this the Great Indian Peninsula Company appear; but, as might have been expected, this movement soon ceased, for it was held that until the general question of constructing the Branch were settled, it would be premature to discuss a detail like the site of the terminal station.

7. After that, there have been various proposals, quite local to Hyderabad itself, for raising capital on the spot for executing this large work. Sir R. Temple has, however, but little faith in any efforts of this sort proving effective for such an undertaking.

8. Under these circumstances the Resident believes that the support or interposition, in some shape or other, of the British Government will be necessary if the Capital of the Nizam is really to be connected by a Branch with the great Trunk Railway between Bombay and Madras.

9. The concession for this Branch, of the same guarantee of 5 per cent. interest which has been given for the other principal Railways in India, would of course be the most effective mode possible of according the necessary support. If this were to be conceded, there would probably be no difficulty in finding a first class Company able to raise the necessary capital (about a million and a quarter, or from a million to a million and a half sterling). In that case the Great Indian Peninsula Company would probably tender; though it is understood that they will not tender unless they obtain the same guarantee as that which they have obtained for the rest of their line. Or, if they did not tender, then some other Company, equally good, could be found. But still, as the point of junction between the Branch and the Main Line must be Kulbarga, or thereabouts on the Great Indian Peninsula Line, and as the trade of Hyderabad will tend to Bombay, the Resident believes that this Company will be the one most eligible for the work.

10. If the 5 per cent. interest guarantee cannot be conceded, or if, for any reason, the Great Indian Peninsula Company cannot undertake the work, then, perhaps, some Company might be found such as that which has made the Branch to Lucknow, or which is to make the Branches in Rohilkund. Then the question will arise as to what subsidies or other advantages should be offered.

11. The consideration then suggests itself as to whether there are sufficient inducements for the Government to guarantee the 5 per cent. interest on the capital for this Branch. The Resident supposes that there are, for the reasons to be stated presently. The advantages to the Nizam's country would of course be vast; but this would not be exactly relevant to the point. There are, however, special advantages to the British Government in particular.

12. Hyderabad is probably, considered politically, one of the most important points in India. Certainly in any general trouble it is one of the most dangerous points. The British Government has for half a century placed itself in the closest relations with this place, and, maintaining a large force of its own there, under treaty obligations, has really taken military charge thereof. In this state of things, the benefit of our possessing a Railway to such a place seems too obvious to require further expatiation.

13. Besides the general advantage in a military and political point of view, there are certain special military advantages. There is a large Arsenal at Secunderabad, near to Hyderabad, with stores not only for the Subsidiary Force, but for the whole of the Hyderabad Contingent. The saving to the State in land carriage by the possession of a Railway would be great. Again, with three European Regiments and four Batteries of European Artillery, the passage of sick and invalids, the transit of reliefs to and fro, will be vastly facilitated by a Railway.

14. Although Hyderabad can hardly be called a great emporium of trade, yet it is a very extensive place, with many important suburbs; with a considerable population; with much local wealth and monetary transactions; and with a

thriving local traffic. In a Foreign State like this, the precise population cannot be known; but the number for Hyderabad, with the places immediately adjoining it, such as Chudderghaut, Secunderabad, and Bolarum, can hardly be less than 350,000 souls, and may be more. A few facts regarding its declared import trade are given in a memorandum to be found among the enclosures. The total value may, in the aggregate, amount to nearly one hundred lakhs of Rupees (£1,000,000) per annum. The connecting of such a centre of inland note with Bombay is, *pro tanto*, likely to prove a remunerative undertaking, so far as such things ever are remunerative in India.

15. The country between Kulbarga and Hyderabad is not uniformly fertile, nor densely peopled, nor productive of any particular staples, such as cotton. But it is tolerably well cultivated. And it does not offer any particular engineering difficulties. But the country to the south-east of Hyderabad is rich, and is, indeed, to be classed among the best Districts for tanks and irrigation. As Hyderabad is situated somewhere about the water-shed of the trade, so to speak, between the Western and Eastern Coasts, a Branch Railway to Hyderabad would "tap" these tracts (as the phrase is), and perhaps cause produce to go to Bombay which would otherwise go to Masulipatam and other ports on the Eastern Coast.

16. The Resident supposes that the foregoing are some of the main considerations on which a case might rest for the concession of a guarantee or other subsidy.

17. To this, perhaps, one argument may be added of a moral rather than a material character. Considering the intimate connection—a connection growing in intimacy and closeness—which has subsisted for more than half a century between the British power and the Native Government of the Deccan, the Government of India will doubtless ever feel a lively interest in the welfare of the people of the Hyderabad country. Now, in this case, besides the invariable benefits materially derivable from a Railway, there will be the enlightenment, the general awakening, of which all classes at Hyderabad, high or low, stand more grievously in need even than their countrymen in other parts of India.

18. A question is broached in the correspondence hereto annexed, as to whether Kulbarga, or some point further south, should be the place for junction of the branch with the Main Railway. The decision of this would soon follow after the settlement of the general question as submitted in this despatch.

19. As regards the action of the Nizam's Government, it is hardly possible to say much in respect to this until it is really determined that the Branch is to be commenced. As might be expected, such a Native Prince as His Highness the Nizam is probably not able to appreciate the importance of a Railway to his Capital. It is the less likely, indeed, that he should do so while the matter remains in an inchoate and inconclusive state. Of His Highness' subjects, some classes, as may be supposed in a place like Hyderabad, dislike all improvements, mechanical or other; while the mercantile, monied, and other such like classes, look forward anxiously to the plan taking effect. But if the Government of India shall be pleased to decide that the work is really to be undertaken, Sir R. Temple hopes that the Nizam's Government will be persuaded to do what is proper and usual in such cases.

Minute by Sir G. U. YULE, on the subject of a Railway or Tramway to connect the City of Hyderabad, and Cantonments of Secunderabad and Bolarum, with the Madras and Bombay Railways, dated 18th March 1867.

I have written so fully on this subject, that I shall now do little more than recapitulate what I have before said.

2. The city of Hyderabad, with its suburbs, is estimated to contain 350,000 inhabitants. It is the chief city in the Nizam's dominions, where he himself, his great officers and courtiers, all reside, and into which all the surplus revenue of his Government, and all the profits arising from jagheers, enams, &c., are poured.

3. The annual imports into it, according to the Custom House returns, amount to 86 lakhs of rupees. There are no exports from the city worth mentioning. The passenger-traffic with Bombay would, I believe, be very large.

Formerly the connections of Hyderabad were with Madras and Masulipatam, but this is entirely changed now, and all its connections are with Bombay.

4. Secunderabad contains at least 60,000 inhabitants, besides the Military Force, which consists of three Regiments and four Batteries of Europeans, and four Native Regiments. Its imports are upwards of 50 lakhs yearly. All its connections are with Bombay.

5. Bolaram, within four miles of Secunderabad, is a Cantonment for two Regiments and one Battery of the Contingent. Its civil population is not large.

6. Of the above imports, valued at nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling, about £400,000 worth may be estimated as coming from Bombay, and capable of bearing the cost of Railway carriage.

7. A Line from Secunderabad to Kulbarga has been surveyed, and there are no great difficulties on it. The country is very fertile in parts, not so in others. The only two places of any size on the Line are Kulbarga, containing about 20,000, and Tandoor about 7,000 inhabitants. From the former and its neighbourhood, large quantities of country produce are exported into the Bombay Districts. There are several large villages on the line.

8. But another line has lately been mentioned, *viz.*, from Secunderabad *via* Muktul to strike the grand line near the Kistna. This would be a few miles longer than the Kulbarga line, and it would remove the junction with the great line some 50 or 60 miles further from Bombay, which is a disadvantage, but the country through which it would run is said to be far easier for a line than that through which the Kulbarga line runs.

9. Whatever line is selected, the station must be in the Secunderabad Cantonments, where it would be perfectly safe, and where a site for it, affording ample room, has already been selected in connection with the intrenched post intended to be made in the Cantonments. The station ought to be the nearest point to the city of the whole line. The further the line can be kept from the city before it must run into the station, the less danger there would be to it in case of any disturbance in the city; and for 10 miles out from the station, a first class road should be made running close to the rail so as to permit cavalry to sweep down at once on any mob coming with evil intent from the city. For any greater distance, the rail itself would afford the speediest means of placing troops where required. And, of course, there would be a short Branch from the station to the city, about 5 miles.

10. As regards our own Government, it will give all its influence with the Nizam's Government to any Company of the competency of which to execute the work it is satisfied. And I am not sure that, if convinced of the propriety of doing so, it might not give other aid. The Nizam's Government would, I presume, do as it has hitherto done, or agreed to do, that is, give the land free, grant jurisdiction on the line to Officers appointed by the British Government, and make equitable arrangements for the levy of duty on such articles of import and export as were liable to it. It might also expect some favour in the carriage of its mails or troops, but there is no probability of any troublesome or expensive results of such a concession. I have mentioned that the line has already been surveyed by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company from Kulbarga to Cantonments. A scheme was also got up here among the Native merchants and others to establish a Railway, in which Somasoondrum Moodelliar was the principal mover, and the Minister was inclined to look on it with favour and give it valuable aid, but it was clear to him and to me that no Company of the kind could carry out works of such magnitude, or work the Railway when finished, and unless we were thoroughly convinced of the capacity of a Company on these points, any encouragement would have had most disastrous results.

Précis of Correspondence on the subject of connecting Hyderabad with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Line, dated 27th August, 1867.

Sir C. Wood's despatch, dated 31st May 1864, terminated much antecedent discussion as to what line should be adopted to connect Bombay and Madras, and

decided that a route *via* Raichore should be adopted for main Trunk line, a Branch being made from Gooty to Bellary, and all proper encouragement being given to the early construction of a Branch from Kulbarga to Hyderabad.

2. Best site for a Railway Station at Secunderabad, then, seems to have engrossed attention of Government, although on 7th September 1864, Foreign Secretary wrote to Resident, requesting necessary arrangements might be made with Nizam for obtaining grant of land required to connect Secunderabad with Kulbarga.

3. On the 28th September 1864, Resident wrote to Secretary, Bombay Government, requesting that sketches might be forwarded of the land required.

4. A schedule of the land required, along with a plan, was forwarded in reply in January 1865.

5. The schedule and plan are not in the file.

6. On the 25th August 1864, Secretary to Government of India, Public Works Department, wrote to Resident, forwarding copy of letter, No. 3 of 1st July, from Secretary to Great Indian Peninsula Extension Railway Company, expressive of Company's willingness to treat for construction of line between Kulbarga and Hyderabad. Copy was forwarded of Special Conditions of agreement proposed to same Company for construction of a corresponding Branch line in another part of India. It was stated that Government would offer similar terms to the Kulbarga Branch speculators, except that no special subsidy would be deemed necessary, because there are no engineering difficulties to be overcome. Government hoped that as Holkar had granted free of cost the land for the Indore Branch, so the Nizam would grant, free of cost, the land required for the Hyderabad Branch. "*If His Highness does not consent to this, the negotiation with the Company cannot be proceeded with.*" Same letter left it to Resident to make best terms he could on the subject with the Nizam, and to report His Highness' views or proposals to Governor-General. It was added nothing definite could be settled till Company actually come forward with a specific proposal, but that it would be useful if Nizam could be prepared for the offers of the Company, and the speedy settlement of an agreement so facilitated against the time when an offer should be made.

7. The question of where the Secunderabad Station should be, again seems to have loomed larger than the primary one of who was to make the line. The fact that the said station was also to be the garrison's fortified stronghold, was one cause of its receiving so much thought.

But in March 1865, the Directors, Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, communicated to Bombay Government their opinion that, until the line should be actually staked out, the question of the terminus could not well be determined.

At the same time, Bombay Government made to Captain Price the following remarks on a point that will recur, *viz.* :—

"The nature of the agency by which the Hyderabad Branch may be undertaken will probably determine the locality of the supervising machinery," for instance, if contract be given to Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, or to a Bombay Joint-Stock Company, supervision should be left to Bombay Government, while if to a Hyderabad Company, then left to Resident.

9. Thus the matter seems to rest. It incidentally appears from a Memorandum by Sir G. Yule (to be noticed immediately), that the line has actually been surveyed and reported favourably on between Kulbarga and Hyderabad.

10. That memorandum is dated 18th March 1867. Before noticing its contents, an anonymous and undated prospectus may be referred to, which is filed with the papers, and of which, as is learned from a different paper, Soomasoondrum Moodelliar was a chief promoter. This shows that the possibility of getting up a Company here for the object in question had at least been thought of. A tramway was the form the proposal assumed, and the estimated cost was £9,000,000 (?), stock and all inclusive.

11. Sir G. Yule's Memorandum, written on the eve of his leaving Hyderabad,

is chiefly recapitulatory of the advantages of the proposed Branch. A new feature in the subject, however, crops up in this Memorandum, where it is stated that, "another line has lately been mentioned, *viz.*, from Secunderabad *viâ* Muktul, to strike the grand line near the Kistna : this would be a few miles longer than the Kulburga line, and would remove the junction with the great line some 50 or 60 miles further from Bombay, which is a disadvantage, but the country through which it would run is said to be far easier for a line than that through which the Kulburga line runs."

12. From Sir George immediately after the above passage going on to remark,—“whatever line is selected,” it would appear that he regarded it on the 18th March 1867 as still an open question what route the Branch line should take.

13. It is to be regretted that it does not appear who mentioned or advocated the Muktul line. Query,—Shall it be thought necessary to take the respective merits of the two routes into consideration before moving any further ; shall we accept the Kulburga route at once on strength of letter of 7th September 1864, from Foreign Secretary to Government of India, *vide ante*?

14. Sir George Yule notices Soomasoondrum's Tramway Prospectus—mentions that Minister was inclined to look favourably on it, and give it valuable aid. He remarks, however, that it was clear to him that no Company of the kind could carry out works of such magnitude, or work the Railway when finished, and that any encouragement given to a Company of whose capacity we were not thoroughly convinced, would have had most disastrous results.

15. It thus seems that the idea of effecting the matter by means of a Local Joint-Stock Company did not recommend itself to Sir George Yule.

16. But it by no means follows that such a Company, though having its nucleus here, might not have numbered some of the great capitalists in other parts of India among its members : Nicol and No., of Bombay ; Bunsee Lall of Nagpore, for example.

STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

Return of Imports in Hyderabad Decan for the year 1276 Fuslee, corresponding to the years A. D. 1866-67.

ARTICLES.	Grain.	FRUITS AND TEXTILES		Spices, Drugs, Dyes, Perfumes, &c.	Timbers.	MISCELLANEOUS.		
		Fruits, Roots, Oil Seeds and Nuts.	Fibres.			Europe an Wines.	Paper.	Sugar, &c.
In quantity, weights and value.	Bullock Loads.	Pullahs.	Pullahs.	Value in Rupees.	Number of Pieces.	Value in Rupees.	Value in Rupees.	Pullahs.
Annual Imports...	535,212	42,506	404½	26,96,107	201,009	15,408	32,378	14,471½
Monthly Average	49,601	3,542	33½	2,24,675	16,750	1,289	2,698	1,205½

ARTICLES.	ANIMALS.				METALS.				MINERALS, EARTHS AND CLAYS, RAW AND MANUFACTURED.	
	Elephants.	Horses.	Camels.	Sheep and Goats.	ANIMAL PRODUCE.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper and Brass.	Iron.	Hard-ware
Quantity, weights and value.	Quantity in Number.	Quantity in Number.	Quantity in Number.	Quantity in Number.	Value in Rupees.	Weight in Tola.	Weight in Tola.	Value in Rupees.	Value in Rupees.	Value in Rupees.
Annual Imports	171	401	72	314,694	7,153	62,397	49,12,812	1,85,827	929½	29,213
Monthly Average	14	33	6	26,174	586	5,199½	40,401	15,485	77½	2,420

No exports of mutton consequently take place from Hyderabad, except about twenty thousand sheep skins monthly.

P. VICCAJEE.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

Return of Imports in the Cantonments of Secunderabad for the year 1276 Fuzer, corresponding to the years A. D. 1866-67.

ARTICLES.	Grain.	Fruits and Roots.	Oil and Oil Seeds	FIBRES AND TEXTILES.		Spices, Drugs, Dyes, Perfumes, &c.	Timber.	MISCELLANEOUS.		
				Fibres.	Cloths.			European Wines and Liquors.	Paper.	Miscellaneous.
Quantity in weight and value in Rupees.	Bullock loads.	Pullahs.	Pullahs.	Value in Rupees.	Value in Rupees.	.....	Number of Pieces.	Value in Rupees.	Value in Rupees.	
Annual Imports...	253,415	13,970½	8,215½	173½	1,18,180 8 0	13,432½	50,061	46,324 6 0	4,937 6 6	3,59,391 3 0
Monthly Average	21,127½	1,164½	684½	14½	9,923 6 0	1,119½	4,172	3,861 3 0	411 7 0	29,949 4 0

ARTICLES.	ANIMALS.			Animal Produce.	METALS.					MINERALS, EARTHS, &c.		
	Horse.	Bullocks, Cows, &c.	Sheep.		Gold and Silver.	Ornaments in Gold and Silver.	Copper.	Iron.	Hard-ware.	Precious Stores.	Earth.	
Quantity in weight and value.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Pollabs.	Value.	Value.	Value.	Pollabs.	Value.	Value.	Pollabs.	
Annual Imports	44	7,116	84,667	963½	18,200 14 0	62,243 13 0	16,370 13 0	1,099	35,775 5 0	2,08,932 10 6	281½	
Monthly Average .....	...	593	7,055	80½	1,516 11 10	5,187 0 0	1,364 0 0	91	2,981 4 0	17,411 0 0	23½

Minute by the HON'BLE G. N. TAYLOR, on the proposed Branch to connect Hyderabad with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway ; with Minute by the HON'BLE SIR HENRY DURAND, expressing concurrence therein.

Although I attach very great importance to the proposed Chord-line from Poona to Nasik, or between any other more convenient points on the two great Branches of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, providing, as it will, the connecting link between Northern and Southern India to the eastward of the formidable Ghâts which intercept both Branches from the central terminus at Bombay, still I do not think we should do right to follow the Secretary's advice, and refuse encouragement to the construction of the projected Branch line from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, which has great and evident advantages of its own, simply because the Great Indian Peninsula Company hesitate to undertake the construction of such a Chord. Nor do I think that it will be proper to wait for the completion of the through Trunk line connecting Madras and Bombay, before advocating the extension of the guarantee to the Hyderabad Branch. I prefer to view the latter as a distinct undertaking, to be considered on its own merits, irrespective of its probable acceptance by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, the concession of the guarantee being in no respect conditional on the prior or simultaneous construction of the Chord-line.

After considerable discussion, the Government of India decided in 1864, with the approval of the Secretary of State, that the Trunk line connecting Madras and Bombay should pass through Gooty, Raichore, and Kulbarga. By thus skirting, as it were, a corner of the dominions of His Highness the Nizam, we have avoided, to a very great extent, if not altogether, the risks and inconveniences which were held to attend the carrying of the Main line through the capital of a Foreign Territory ; but it must be borne in mind that we have, at the same time, denied to the population and commerce of a large city, and to the produce of the surrounding country, the means of continuous, rapid, and easy communication with their natural mart and outlet at Bombay.

Now, it was always considered an essential part of the contemplated arrangements, whichever route were adopted for the Trunk line, that the convenience of the traffic between Bombay and Hyderabad should be adequately provided for. When, as I have said, the Government of India recommended to the Secretary of State the adoption of the main Trunk line *viâ* Raichore, which is now progressing towards completion, it was expressly stated, with the concurrence of the Home Government, that all needful encouragement should be given to facilitate the early construction of a Branch from Kulbarga to Hyderabad. It was thought indeed, at that time, that the great commercial advantages of such a Branch would certainly induce capitalists to offer to construct it without a guarantee of interest ; but public feeling has of late greatly changed in this respect, and recent discussions show unmistakably that subsidised lines are out of favour, and, in fact, impracticable.

As regards the political and military aspect of the question, the objections to having the capital of the Nizam completely isolated from our Railway system were fully exposed when the direction of the Trunk line was under discussion ; and the arguments put forward on that occasion, showing the immense importance of connecting Hyderabad and the large military cantonment of Secunderabad with Madras and Bombay, are of equal force at the present time in the case of the proposed Branch. The present Resident truly says,—“ the benefit of our possessing a Railway to such a place seems too obvious to require further expatiation.” Sir Richard Temple draws special attention to the political importance of Hyderabad as being one of the most dangerous points in any general trouble, reiterating the arguments of the Madras Government, who said, in 1863, that Hyderabad was the largest military station in Southern India, the place of all others where an outbreak may be most expected, the military strength of which would be greatly increased, and the transit of stores, reliefs and reinforcements vastly facilitated by a Railway.

As regards the prospect of such a Branch proving a sufficiently remunerative undertaking to warrant the concession of the guarantee to the Great Indian

Peninsula Railway as part of their general scheme, it would be difficult, I think, to point out any Railway project in respect of which the conditions are more favourable.

Sir Charles Trevelyan appears to me to have correctly stated the case, when he said (Minute 23rd March 1864),—"the accession of Hyderabad, with its great population and wealth, its large military force, and its established relations both with Madras and Bombay, would be clear gain to the guaranteed lines, in the success of which we are so much interested"; and again, "by becoming a point from which the traffic will branch off in both directions, and through which much traffic will pass from both sides, a strong tendency will be created towards the place (Hyderabad) acquiring a peaceful commercial character."

The moral argument in favour of the project has not escaped Sir Richard Temple, who says (para. 17, letter of 6th September) after describing its material advantages,—“considering the intimate connection—a connection growing in intimacy and closeness which has subsisted for more than half a century between the British Power and the Native Government of the Deccan—the Government of India will doubtless ever feel a lively interest in the welfare of the people of the Hyderabad country. Now, in this case, besides the invariable benefits materially derivable from a Railway, there will be the enlightenment, the general awakening of which all classes of Hyderabad, high and low, stand more grievously in need even than their countrymen in other parts of India.”

So also his predecessor, our present colleague, Sir George Yule, in equally forcible, and, if I may be allowed to say so, more graphic terms, described the moral effect which the possession of a Railway would produce throughout the whole population of the country, and the vitality which it might be expected to impart to the Government of the Nizam. He looks to the Railway as the most hopeful instrument for rousing the Nizam and his Nobles from their present debasement and indifference to progress, and as the certain means of spreading wealth and intelligence among all classes.

To such advocacy there can be little to add. I think there can be no room for doubt that the Branch to Hyderabad ought to be placed amongst the first for execution of all the projects that have been brought forward. I do not lose sight of the necessity of pushing on our existing Railway system to completion before undertaking doubtful or unpromising lines; and although I am not prepared to acquiesce in the policy of the extreme measure advocated by Mr. Laing in the recent Indian debate in the House of Commons, I fully recognise the expediency of deferring all new Railway projects until those in course of construction are in a fair way to completion. But I contend that this Branch to Hyderabad is part and parcel of our present system, contemplated as a necessity from the very first, and without which the Trunk line connecting the two Southern Presidencies would be incomplete.

The distance from Kulbarga to Hyderabad is about 120 miles; estimated at the maximum cost of £15,000 a mile, the entire expenditure would be £1,800,000, the interest upon which would be £90,000 per annum. A portion of this would, as observed by Captain Pemberton, be paid at once from the profits of the Branch itself; and a further portion by the increase of traffic brought by it to the Main line of the Great Indian Peninsula which it would, of course, be difficult to estimate.

I venture to think we have the clearest grounds for recommending to the Secretary of State the immediate concession of guarantee for the construction of this short Branch to Hyderabad, either by the Great Indian Peninsula Company, or by a separate agency; and I would suggest that some practical action be taken in the matter without loss of time. When the general question of construction is settled, the minor point of the site of the terminal station can be decided. The rails will, of course, run into Secunderabad, where the Company's stores and workshops will be located and protected by a fortified enclosure. As regards land, and facilities through the Hyderabad Territory, we have Sir Richard Temple's assurance that the Nizam will be induced to do what is proper and usual in such cases.

3rd October, 1867.

G. N. TAYLOR.

I am in favour of the line from Kulbarga to Hyderabad being executed as soon as practicable by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company.

16th October, 1867.

H. M. DURAND.

Minute by the Hon'ble Sir G. U. YULE, K.C.S.I., C.B., on the proposed Railway to Hyderabad; with Minute by His Excellency Sir W. R. MANSFIELD, expressing concurrence therein.

The construction of a Railway connecting the Secunderabad Cantonment with the Bombay and Madras Line, is, in my eyes, of such importance to our interests, that I cannot pass over the question with a reference merely to what I have written about it as Resident at Hyderabad.

2. Hyderabad is the largest city in India outside our own territories. No city in India contains a more turbulent or warlike population—all Mahomedans, too. It is the residence of the Nizam, a Mahomedan Ruler, and of his principal Nobles, almost without exception Mahomedans. In former days, under treaty with the Nizam, we established a Cantonment outside the city to protect it from the Mahrattas. Native troops alone were considered sufficient for that purpose. Circumstances have changed, and now the duty of the Cantonment is to keep the city in check. That is a more important object to us now than keeping out the Mahrattas was in former times; and, moreover, we cannot trust the Native troops as we used to do. Therefore, we have largely substituted European for

SECUNDERABAD.		
Cavalry	}	European.
2 Infantry		
4 Batteries		

1 Cavalry	}	Native.
3 Infantry		

BOLARUM.		
Cavalry	}	Native.
Infantry		
Battery		

TOTAL.

3 Cavalry.
6 Infantry.
5 Batteries.

Native troops in the said Cantonment, and the force there, and at the adjoining Cantonment of Bolarum, now constitutes an army not very much inferior in strength to that we are sending to Abyssinia; and yet, while keeping up this large force, and spending millions upon it and its Cantonments, we hesitate to lay out the few lakhs which would increase its mobility and general usefulness so enormously, or enable us to increase it on emergency within a few hours by the strength which could be spared from the three large Cantonments of Kamptee, Poona, and Bangalore.

3. His Excellency says* that troops could, if required, march to Hyderabad from Kulbarga in four days. Possibly they might, if they did not wait for carriage; but in putting down a disturbance in India, we cannot afford to lose days, or even hours. An outbreak trampled out at once is merely a petty local affair with a result tending to deter from like attempts. But an outbreak not at once trampled out, is the beginning of more or less general rise against us,—perhaps of a mutiny in our Native Army. And this is specially the case as regards Hyderabad. If that city rose, and the tidings spread over the country unaccompanied by the news of instant suppression, the Nizam's country would soon be up, and the Southern Mahratta country, and the Mahomedan districts of Madras would quickly follow suit.

Unite this large Cantonment of Secunderabad by rail with Poona, Kamptee, and Bangalore, and it is little or no exaggeration to say that we thereby quadruple the strength of each of these Cantonments, and the only link wanting in this chain is this little bit from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, which will cost us only ten lakhs per annum, *minus* the traffic returns.

4. We have two dangers to face in the Peninsula—the Mahomedan and the Mahratta. From fear of the former, we have run the Bombay and Madras junction line far from Hyderabad, and far from the protection which Secunderabad would have afforded it, through the comparatively poor unproductive country between Sholapoor and Gooty, and at no great distance from the original country of the Mahratta,—a far more dangerous enemy, I venture to think, than the Mahomedan. Connect this great line with Secunderabad, and we have that force available without a day's delay along the line, in addition to what Poona and other stations could spare.

In short, to disconnect our great military stations by gaps in the rail, which might connect them, seems as great a waste of power, of money, and of life, as can well be imagined. We spent ten lakhs of Rupees to house a few hundred soldiers permanently in one place ; we refuse to spend the same sum to make the whole of our Army in the Peninsula ubiquitous.

5. But turning from military considerations, on which, as a Civilian, I may be thought to have said too much, let us look at the commercial and political side of the question.

6. The Population of Hyderabad and its suburbs is said to be 350,000 ; of Secunderabad, it is known to be upwards of 60,000. Sir R. Temple thinks the two may amount to 350,000. Perhaps even this is too much. But I estimated from the quantity of grain imported, and allowing each man, woman, and child the large quantity of one seer per diem, that the population was 220,000, and this population is by no means a poor one. Nearly the whole of the revenues of the Hyderabad State ; of the receipts of the great Jagheerdars and other holders of land ; of the salaries and perquisites of the Government Officers ; of the profits of the numerous and wealthy Native Firms who have branches nearly all over India, come into Hyderabad.

The population of such a city must, and does, in fact, consume a very large amount of sea-borne goods which are brought chiefly from Bombay by rail to Sholapoor, and thence by cart to Hyderabad.

Then, again, the personal intercourse between Bombay and Hyderabad is very great. The classes noted in the margin constantly visit Bombay. This passenger traffic would of course increase largely with the facilities afforded by a rail the whole way ; and, of course, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway from Sholapoor to Bombay would benefit by all the additional traffic

Affghans or Rohillas.

Arabs.

Agents and servants of Nobles.

Members and Agents of Banking and Trading Houses.

Petty dealers.

Mahomedan pilgrims.

which the Branch Line would bring. A city of at least 200,000 not impoverished souls would surely support a railway of 120 miles. At any rate, to whatever extent support was afforded, to that extent the Government outlay (the maximum estimate of which is ten lakhs) would be reduced.

Then there is the advantage Government would derive from having all its enormous stores for the Secunderabad troops conveyed by rail from Bombay, instead of by cart from Madras. Gradually, too, we may expect that the salt now brought from the Coast, principally by Bunjarees, will be carried by rail.

7. With regard to the political advantages of the Branch Line in question, it will enlighten and awaken the people, and remove the isolation in which they stand to us. Situated as the Nizam's dominions are, in the very middle of our own territories, it is a matter of no slight moment to us that the Government should be moderately good ; that the higher classes should not be at the same time the most ignorant of bigots and the most degraded of sensualists ; that the lower should entertain at least a passive good-will towards us ; and I believe that a rail will bring about these advantages, and open the door to education and general improvement in a way which no less material means could effect.

8. With regard to the best line for the proposed rail, let the general questions be settled, and then, as Sir R. Temple says, there will be no difficulty about deciding the course which the Branch should take, and the best place for its junction with the Main Line. I was informed by an Engineer of high standing, who knew the country in a general way, that he believed a much easier line might be found than that from Kulburga.

9. The Nizam's Government will, I know, give the land and jurisdiction within the fences, as it has done on the Main Line. I believe, also that it would not persistently object to contributing a portion of the interest. I infer this from the manner in which Salar Jung received an informal proposition from me to pay a portion of the subsidy which it was proposed at one time to grant to any Company undertaking the line in question, and also to the fact, that he expressed himself willing to pay 5 per cent. on the capital proposed to be raised at Hyderabad

by a Company of bankers and others for the purpose of constructing this line. But their estimates were so unreliable, and their ideas so outrageously crude, that I advised Salar Jung to have nothing to do with them, unless joined by honest and competent Europeans. But there must be nothing conditional in the proposal made to the Native Government on the subject of a contribution to the guarantee. Amounts and periods must be precisely fixed. The Nizam, his Minister, and his servants generally, entirely distrust our honesty in accounts, and no consideration would induce them to admit any opening by which the amount of demand could be varied by us. Probably, too, some slight concessions, more honorary than real, in regard to conveyance of mails and troops, might be demanded.

18th October, 1867.

G. U. YULE.

I entirely concur with Sir George Yule.

22nd October, 1867.

W. R. MANSFIELD.

Minute by HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, on the proposed Railway to Hyderabad.

The question of constructing a Railway to Hyderabad from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, can hardly be looked upon in any other light than one of manner and time.

2. There can be no doubt whatever that such a Railway would be very advantageous to Hyderabad, and the large population of the neighbouring Military Stations of Secunderabad and Bolarum; beneficial to the Nizam generally, and to that part of his territory in particular which lies along the proposed line of the Railway; in a less degree, profitable to the British Government, in relation to the requirements and mobility of the large body of troops stationed near Hyderabad; and to some extent a source of profit to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and of increased trade to Bombay.

3. The length of the proposed line being about 120 miles, might be reckoned to be likely to cost $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling. The gross 5 per cent. interest upon this would be £62,500 yearly. The set-off from receipts could not be reckoned at a higher rate than £150 per mile per year for the first year, gradually rising after ten years from the opening to £500 per mile per year. This would leave about £45,000 for the payment on account of the guarantee in the first year after opening, with a gradual reduction to nothing after ten years. Besides this, there would be some outlay for the supervising Government Officers, so that the charge on the Government might be put at about £50,000 to begin with; and the period during which the interest would be a charge on the revenues of India must be prolonged somewhat to allow for the period of construction.

4. Now, it has to be asked,—is there anything in all this which places this Railway in a more prominent position for early construction than other lines? And to this question the distinct and decisive answer must be,—that there is nothing whatever so to do.

5. It may safely be affirmed that quite the same recommendations as have been urged in favour of the Railway to Hyderabad might, with perfectly equal fairness, be urged in favour of as many miles of Railway in twenty different places in India, to say the least.

6. It is notorious that, at the present time, the Government has before it the claims of the projected Railways from Kotree to Lahore; from Lahore to Peshawur; from Baroda to Delhi, to say nothing of the projects which have lately come forward for extensions in Southern India; all of which have been pressed upon it on representations which, if they are to be judged by the force of the words in which they have been made, must be regarded as decidedly more worthy of attention than those put forth in behalf of the line to Hyderabad.

7. And what is the position of the Government in relation to those other lines of Railway? It is simply this,—that, on financial grounds, their present construction cannot be recommended. Can it be alleged that the line to

Hyderabad comes forward under any different conditions? I cannot see how this could be said of it.

8. As I have had occasion to say lately in connexion with another discussion, the extension of Railways in India is essentially a matter dependent on financial considerations. If we have the money to spare, certainly let Railways be made. The first great question is,—have we the money? At the present moment, there is only one answer possible to this question, namely, that so far from having an available surplus to apply to Railway extension, we have a deficit to make good, and probably a growing deficit. Until it can be shown that the money is available somehow, either by increased revenue, or reduced charge, I can only come to one conclusion on this subject, that the further extension of Railways is not to be thought of.

9. As is so commonly the case in respect to the demands made on the revenues of India, not one word has been said by any one of the authorities, who press this matter on our attention, as to the source from which the charge that will be caused is to be met. Thus it is that the Government is led into the growing expenditure which never ceases to keep pace with and outrun the expansion of the revenues. Such a course is little short of ruinous. I regard it as the first necessity of a wholesome financial system that no expenditure shall be permitted till it is distinctly seen that the funds can be provided. In the present case, under the present condition of the finances, I see no funds available.

10. But even were funds so available, we then come to a second question,—how shall they be applied? Is this the Railway of all others first to be made? I am not in a position to reply to this question in the affirmative.

11. Referring again to the minute I lately wrote on these subjects, I would repeat that the Government of India is, in my opinion, not justified in taking up so great an operation as this of Railway extension in the sort of piece-meal way in which the present proposal in fact suggests. What has to be done should be gone about with a clear perception of what it is to be. The Government should have before it a general idea of the requirements of the country, and should balance these against the means to meet those requirements. A scheme should be prepared for carrying out such lines of Railway as are admitted to be now of first importance in some defined order, as the money becomes available. The means of making a suitable sum available should, at the same time, be considered. This is the course I have already recommended, and, in my judgment, the present proposal should stand over until it can be taken up as part of a general plan for the further development of Indian Railways.

12. Having thus disposed of the more general considerations which seem to arise in relation to the present proposal, I shall proceed to make a few comments on some of its special features, to which I think attention should at once be given, so as to direct any future action into the course most suitable to the circumstances under which such a Railway would be constructed.

13. The first matter is,—that this Railway will be entirely in a foreign State, and in a State our relations with which are very delicate. Next, we must consider that the terminus will be at a great city, with large outlying stations near it, having in all a population said to be nearly 350,000 in number. Also that this city is the capital of a large and comparatively wealthy Native State, and therefore a great centre of consumption and expenditure. Further, that the traffic on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway between Poona and Sholapoor is at the present time very light; and that there is every prospect of the local traffic on the greater part of the new line, which passes through a country not greatly different in character from the neighbouring districts passed through by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, being moderate also.

14. Under these circumstances, it may be reasonably predicted that the most important traffic on the new Railway would be in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad itself. The tendency will be for passengers and consumable articles to seek the capital. The prospect of any important export trade to Bombay does not seem great.

15. If these views be correct, there will, in my opinion, be a greatly preponderating obligation to place the chief management of the Railway at Hyderabad amounting in fact to a necessity. It would be likely to lead to disagreeable complications and discussions if the management of the line were conducted at Bombay under the Bombay Government. Questions must arise in relation to the Railway in which the Nizam's Government will be directly concerned, and will fairly expect to be consulted, and to have their views considered and attended to. Therefore, the direction of affairs must be under the Resident at Hyderabad.

16. This conclusion almost amounts in itself to saying that the Railway shall not be in the hands of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company. But on other grounds I think it important that the Railway to Hyderabad, if carried out, should not be given to that Company. The lines now in actual progress, or completed, under the Great Indian Peninsula Company, are 1,267 miles in length. The cross-lines in the Deccan, between the Jubbulpoor Branch and the Poona Branch, if carried out, will add 150 miles more, so that the whole system may be expected to be 1,400 miles and more without the Hyderabad line. For all purposes, such an extent of Railway is already too much for a single Company; and, if it were possible, a reduction of its lines, rather than an addition to them, would, in my opinion, be desirable.

17. And here the suggestion may be made whether, if a line to Hyderabad were taken up by a separate Company, an arrangement might not conveniently be made by which the portions of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and of the Madras Railway which run through the Nizam's territory, should be transferred to the new or Hyderabad Company. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway would thus lose about 120 miles of Railway, say, from near Sholapoor to Raichore. The Madras Railway would lose about 50 miles. A compensation might be given in both cases by some extension of the guarantee to other lines. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway might take the cross line above referred to. It is not likely that either Company would seriously object to such an arrangement, as the portions of the lines proposed to be transferred will, almost certainly, not nearly earn their 5 per cent. to cover the guarantee for many years.

18. Such an arrangement would place the whole of the Railways in the Nizam's country under the control of the Resident at Hyderabad, which would be an obvious advantage in many respects. The aggregate mileage above referred to would be a little less than 300,—a length quite suitable for a separate charge. The junction, at some future period, of Hyderabad with Nagpoor in the one direction, and the Madras Coast at Bezwada in the other, would still not involve an objectionably large system for such a Company, which, under this contingency, would still not have quite 800 miles of Railway.

19. The necessity for placing a Railway to Hyderabad in the hands of a separate Company is, I think, further to be supported on the ground that it will, in this case, be of urgent importance to strengthen the Government control over the Company in the manner advocated in my minute already referred to, by requiring the Company to assent to the Government having a power to dismiss the servants of the Company in a summary way, and remove them from the Nizam's territory. Also, in this case, the appointment of all Indian Officers of the Company made in England should be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. I attach great importance to this power being secured in respect to this Railway, should it be executed.

20. Having before us the history of the negotiations with Holkar for the construction of the Railway projected to Indore, I also desire to express an opinion that the Railway Company in the present case should be absolutely prevented from having any direct dealings with the Government of the Nizam in respect to the conditions under which the line should be carried out. The Railway Company should exclusively deal with the British Government, the latter being the sole party concerned in any convention with the Nizam. In no other way could we hope to avoid differences which might readily become of dangerous dimensions.

21. I further only have to refer to the terms which might reasonably be asked of the Nizam's Government in respect of such a Railway. Supposing that the maximum charge for the guarantee were taken, as before estimated, at £50,000 in the first year, it might be considered that, say, two-fifths of this, or £20,000, should be given by the British Government, and the remaining three-fifths, or £30,000, by the Nizam. And generally, that the Nizam should find three-fifths of the needful outlay of the British Government which would be responsible for everything, except the provision of land, to the Company.

22. It may be doubted whether the Nizam would assent to such an arrangement. Two possible plans for the solution of the financial difficulty suggest themselves to me, however, which might be worthy of consideration :—

1st.—That the Nizam should allow us to absorb a certain portion of the surplus revenues of the Berars with this object, on which point I am in communication with the Resident at Hyderabad.

2nd.—The Nizam's territory being essentially dependent for its supply of salt upon the surrounding British Districts, possibly some agreement might be come to by which no salt should be admitted into the Nizam's country, except by the Railway, either from Madras or Bombay, and that a special duty should be imposed to cover the Nizam's share of the guarantee. How far this plan could be adopted, or if adopted, what its fiscal results might be, seems worthy of enquiry.

23. The provision of land free, and the other stipulations as to British jurisdiction on the Railway, and so forth, would probably lead to no difficulties. But on these points, and as to the contribution towards the guaranteed interest, the Resident might be requested to ascertain what the disposition of the Nizam actually is. Till this is known, the real position of the question cannot be seen in respect to its financial aspect, which, after all, is that of most practical importance.

Dated 31st October, 1867.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

From the Government of India, to the Secretary of State for India, No. 131, dated 6th December, 1867.

Adverting to the correspondence noted in the margin, we have the honour to

To Secretary of State, No. 28, dated 4th April 1864.
From " " " 33, " 31st May "

forward, for consideration by Her Majesty's Government, copy of a communication from the Resident at

Hyderabad, on the expediency of connecting Hyderabad with the main line of Railway from Bombay to Madras by means of a Branch from Kulburga.

2. We forward also copies of Minutes which have been recorded by us on the subject, from which it will be observed that our attention has, in the first instance, been given to the consideration of the question, whether the importance of this line is so great as to place it amongst the first for execution amongst the projects which have been brought forward.

3. On this point His Excellency the Governor General is of opinion that nothing has been adduced which places this Railway in a more prominent position for early construction, either on political, commercial, or financial considerations, than the projected lines from Kotree to Mooltan, from Lahore to Peshawur, from Baroda to Delhi, or the projects which have lately come forward or extensions in Southern India, all of which have been pressed upon the attention of the Government of India on representations which must, His Excellency considers, be regarded as more worthy of attention than those put forth in behalf of the line to Hyderabad.

4. His Excellency is further of opinion that the Government of India is not justified in taking up so great an operation as this of Railway extension on a consideration of individual projects only. The Government should have before it a general idea of the requirements of the country, and should balance these against the means to meet those requirements. A scheme should be prepared for carrying out such lines of Railway as are presented for construction in some

defined order as money becomes available. The means of making a suitable sum available should at the same time be considered. His Excellency is therefore of opinion that the present proposal should stand over until it can be taken up as a part of a general plan for the further development of Indian Railways.

5. The above view of the case is concurred in by our colleague, Mr. Massey.

6. The Hon'ble Mr. Taylor and Sir George Yule are, on the contrary, of opinion that the construction of this line should be immediately carried out by the concession of a guarantee: and this view is concurred in by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Taylor states that, having regard to the political and military aspect of the question, there can be no room for doubt that the Branch to Hyderabad ought to be placed amongst the first for execution of all the projects that have been brought forward. While fully recognizing also the expediency of deferring all new Railway projects until those in course of construction are in a fair way to completion, he maintains that this Branch to Hyderabad is part and parcel of our present system, contemplated as a necessity from the very first, and without which the Trunk line connecting the two Southern Presidencies would be incomplete.

7. Our colleague Sir H. M. Durand is also in favour of this line being executed as soon as practicable.

8. For further details relating to the project, and the agency to be employed in its construction, we beg to refer you to the Minutes and letter accompanying.

From the Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India, No. 11, dated 8th February, 1868.

In reply to your Excellency's Despatch of the 6th December last, No. 131, relative to a proposal to connect Hyderabad with the main line of Railway between Madras and Bombay, it will be sufficient for the present to refer you to my Despatch No. 3 of the 16th January 1868. The merits of the proposed Branch to Hyderabad will necessarily receive their due share of attention while the general subject of Railway extension in India, on which I have requested to be furnished with the views of your Government, is under consideration.

From "Further Papers relating to the Extension of Railway Communication in India," Vol. III., pp. 154 to 169.

From MAJOR G. PRICE, Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad, in the P. W. Department, to Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Department, No. 116, dated 9th September, 1867.

I have the honour, under instructions from the Resident, to submit, for the consideration and orders of the Government of India, copy of a letter received from the Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, regarding the feasibility and advantages of constructing a branch line of Railway between Budneira and the large commercial town of Oomrawuttee, situated 5½ miles to the north of that Station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

2. From the statistical information furnished by the Deputy Commissioner on this subject, and the many obvious advantages that must result in taking the rail to the very centre of trade in East Berar, and at no immoderate cost, there can be but little doubt the Resident considers that the execution of this under-

taking would tend greatly to the prosperity of the Province, and be likely to prove a remunerative investment to the shareholders. In corroboration of this opinion, I am directed to submit the accompanying extracts* of the several Reports on this important subject, received through the Officiating Commissioner, who is himself favourably inclined towards the scheme, and anxious to see it carried out.

3. It may be necessary to mention regarding the alternative scheme of a tramway which was proposed at one time between Budneira and Oomrawuttee,

* Letter from Deputy Commissioner, Oomrawuttee District, No. 13, dated 8th May 1867.

Letter from Commissioner, Berar, No. 437, dated 14th May 1867.

Letter from Deputy Commissioner, No. 197, dated 23rd July 1867, with five enclosures.

Letter from Deputy Commissioner, No. 220, dated 13th August 1867, with two enclosures.

that whilst the cost according to the Contractors' estimate would be greater than that of a Railway, it would be attended with all the disadvantages consequent on not being an integral part of the Railway system, and prevent goods being booked through to Bombay. As remarked by the Deputy Commissioner, a Railway would be infinitely preferable to "the best tram with narrow gauge and light rails that ever was constructed, for the latter would not obviate the inconvenience of shifting the traffic to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company's line at Budneira, and *vice versâ*."

4. The estimated cost, I am to add, of the proposed Railway is Rs. 2,50,000, half of which, it is said, would be subscribed by Messrs. Glover and Co. of Bombay, who are also prepared to take up the contract, and about Rs. 80,000 by the Oomrawuttee people, leaving about Rs. 70,000 to be provided by Government. Much would depend of course on the capital and ability of Messrs. Glover and Co. The Resident is not personally acquainted with that Firm, but they seem to be regarded as competent by the Local Authorities.

5. When the line is completed, arrangements could be made, it is understood, with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for the use of their rolling-stock, engine, carriage, &c., 60 per cent. of the profits being paid to the Company for working the line. To secure the cordial co-operation of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company would be of great importance.

6. Lastly, I am directed to enquire, should the scheme be favourably entertained, what sort of concessions Government would be inclined to give towards promoting this very desirable undertaking. The Resident is not sure that Government is prepared to subscribe any part of the capital required to supplement whatever may be obtained from other sources for making up the total of the estimate above-mentioned. If the Resident were authorized to announce that Government are prepared to grant such concessions, no arrangement would, of course, take effect till all the necessary preliminaries and details on the part of the Contractors and others concerned had been satisfactorily settled.

From A. C. LYALL, Esq., Officiating Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, to Secretary to Resident at Hyderabad, in the P. W. Department, No. 953, dated 20th August, 1867.

In reply to your letter No. 486 of the 24th April 1867, I have now the honour to forward all the original correspondence on the question of making a Railway or tramway between Budneira and Oomrawuttee and between Khamgaum and Jullum. The Deputy Commissioners of Oomrawuttee and Akola have taken great pains to collect a quantity of information bearing upon these schemes, and I think that the data now furnished will enable the Resident to decide upon the course which should be taken by the Government.

2. The project of a Railway between Khamgaum and Jullum must, I fear, be for the present laid aside; a tramway from Budneira to Oomrawuttee seems very practicable, but Captain Bell is anxious to promote a branch rail-road, and this would be far preferable if possible.

3. Of course such a line as this will only be promoted by the Government, or by private persons, on the assumption that it will yield a profit. Now it seems to be generally believed by qualified judges that the rail-road to Oomrawuttee will pay, and if Government is satisfied on this point, I presume that any reasonable aid will be afforded to the promoters.

4. I understand from Captain Bell that the Firm of Messrs. Wells, Glover and Co. will subscribe half the capital (estimated at Rs. 2,50,000), and will take the contract; also that the Oomrawuttee people will take shares for about Rs. 80,000 more.

5. For the remaining balance of capital required, whatever it may be, a subsidy from Government is asked by the promoters. Captain Bell suggests a guarantee of 5 per cent. on *all* the money invested, and it has also been proposed that the Local Funds should buy shares.

6. I certainly agree with Major Cadell that the Local Funds must not buy shares,—the Committees would be involving themselves in transactions which they

could not manage. Whether Government would give a subsidy is a question on which I know nothing, but I do not imagine that a 5 per cent. guarantee would be ever given on *all* the capital, though such a guarantee would produce the money speedily enough. It is possible, however, that the Government might be disposed to aid the project by a subsidy of, or guarantee of interest on, a certain stipulated proportionate part of the whole capital, provided that the remainder were subscribed by the public. For, according to Captain Bell's calculation, the amount required from Government would not exceed Rs. 70,000. The interest on this sum might be secured on the Local Funds for a term of years; it is probable that the Oomrawuttee Bankers would advance the money on such security.

Extract from a letter from CAPTAIN J. BELL, Deputy Commissioner of Oomrawuttee District, to Commissioner of Bharat, No. 113, dated 8th May, 1867.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Memorandum No. 400, dated 3rd instant, with its accompaniment, from the Secretary to the Resident, in the Public Works Department.

2. No steps have been taken officially in the matter of a tramway between Budneira and Oomrawuttee. In course of conversation with an influential banker of Oomrawuttee, Jumnadass, Agent for the Firm of Poorummul and Co., the advisability of a tramway between the two places was mooted. Jumnadass appeared to think it could be very easily and cheaply made at a cost of about a lakh of Rupees, if Government would allow the tram to be laid on the present Department of Public Works' road. I mentioned this in conversation with Major Nembhard, and went over the road. My opinion on the subject was that the road, in its present state, was unsuitable, as many of the bridges, instead of crossing the nullahs in a line with the road, were built perpendicular to the streams, and consequently crooked in regard to the road, the object apparently being to avoid skew-bridges. Again, many of the gradients appeared to my unpractised eye too steep, and finally the road was very tortuous.

3. About the same time I saw Major Ker, of the Mofussil Cotton Ginning Co., Messrs. Nicol and Co., to whom I mentioned the subject. He said that plans and estimates for a Branch Railway had been prepared and existed in Bombay: that the estimated cost of the line for about 6 miles was $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of Rupees; that, if the people of Oomrawuttee would subscribe half the capital, and Government would grant the land required, Messrs. Nicol and Co. would supply the other half of the capital, and would arrange with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for the use of their rolling-stock, engines, carriages, &c.

4. After talking the whole subject over with Major Nembhard, with whom I was encamped for some time, he allowed that my objection to the tramway, with the possibility of getting a Railway, were valid, and that if the Railway could be constructed, it was far preferable to the tram.

5. It certainly would be an immense advantage to have a line of Railway between Budneira and Oomrawuttee. I was invited to attend a meeting of the towns-people to confer with the Agent for Messrs. Nicol and Co. upon the subject. I attended the meeting, but nothing was decided upon. People agreed to take up shares of Rs. 500 each to the extent of Rs. 60,000 or Rs. 70,000, provided that Messrs. Nicol and Co. laid before them a prospectus, showing the estimated cost of the line, as well as the cost of working it, and the probable receipts, &c. Nothing more has been done, though I believe hopes were entertained that a line would eventually be constructed. The present tightness in the money-market at Bombay, as well as the late fall of prices in cotton, may again defer the construction of this line, but that it will be made some day, I feel pretty sure.

6. I may mention here that I am credibly informed that the Cotton Ginning Company at Oomrawuttee have this year cleared, after paying all expenses, a lakh of Rupees for ginning cotton. All this cotton found its way to Budneira on camels or carts. Again, I am informed that one European merchant cleared Rs. 30,000 as commission only on purchases he made in Oomrawuttee for Bombay merchants. In addition to this, we must remember, to understand what the cotton

trade of Oomrawuttee really is, that there are a large number of Native purchasers in cotton.

In my opinion either the Railway must be brought to Oomrawuttee, or else Oomrawuttee must be deported to Budneira and to the Railway. The former appears to me to be the most likely, for, people will scarcely care to leave valuable houses, such as belong to the merchants of Oomrawuttee, to build new houses and godowns at Budneira. The money required for this would be better expended, and I suspect would yield a better return, in purchasing shares in a branch line of Railway between the two places.

7. I have one more point to submit for consideration, and that is whether a sum of money might not advantageously be taken from the accumulations of former years in the Town Funds of the whole Province of Berar, and invested in a branch line of Railway between Budneira and Oomrawuttee. Say that Rs. 60,000 were thus invested, each District would receive its income in proportion to the amount invested from its Local Funds. I believe if Natives saw us embark in the scheme, they would readily make up the sum required to induce Messrs. Nicol and Co. to provide the balance.

8. In conclusion, I would observe that, by having a Railway worked by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, the trucks laden at Oomrawuttee would be conveyed untouched to Bombay, and the third objection to a tramway would be entirely obviated.

From MAJOR W. CADELL, Commissioner of Berar, to Secretary to Resident at Hyderabad, in the P. W. Department, No. 439, dated 14th May, 1867.

I have the honour to forward the Deputy Commissioner's Report regarding a tramway from Budneira to Oomrawuttee

2. I quite agree with him in thinking that, as the present road is not suitable for a tramway, it would be better to have a Railway.

3. I am not of the Deputy Commissioner's opinion that the Local Funds should buy Railway shares, but I think that a guarantee of 5 per cent. on the necessary capital might very safely be granted on the revenue of Berar.

4. The line would, I have no doubt, pay ; but without a guarantee, I doubt whether the capital could be raised.

Extract from a letter from the Deputy Commissioner, Oomrawuttee District, to the Commissioner of Berar, No. 197, dated 23rd July, 1867.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Memorandum No. 492, dated 29th May last, with its accompaniment, and with reference thereto, enclose copies of letters which have been addressed to Captain Foord by Messrs. Nicol and Co., and which were forwarded to me by Major Ker, in reply to my letter to him on the subject of a Branch Railway between Oomrawuttee and Budneira.

3. From all I can learn here, the people of Khangaum decline to subscribe anything towards the project. The merchants of Oomrawuttee will, I believe, subscribe from Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 80,000 for a branch line between this and Budneira, but will have nothing to say to the Khangaum Branch.

4. As regards the proposal to a line between Oomrawuttee and Budneira, the case, provided the Government subsidy of Rs. 1,000 per mile per annum for 20 years is granted and capitalized in the manner suggested by Messrs. Nicol and Co., will stand as follows :—

Capital required.....	Rs. 2,50,000
Government subsidy capitalized	74,772
Balance to be subscribed.....	1,75,228

of which possibly the people of Oomrawuttee would furnish one-half, leaving the balance to be made up by Mr. Glover, of the Firm of Messrs. Wells, Glover and Co., and which that gentleman agrees to do.

5. From what I have lately heard, I am not at all certain that the plan of granting a subsidy would be the best. I believe myself that a simple guarantee of 5 per cent. on the capital subscribed would induce capitalists both in Oomrawuttee, Bombay and elsewhere, to invest *all* the money that is required for the undertaking. The tenure on which we hold the Assigned Districts may possibly prevent this guarantee being given; and if so, the subsidy might be found first from the revenues of the country as a loan to the Local Funds to be repaid from those funds; the money so sunk to be considered as an investment in the manner proposed in my letter No. 113 of 8th May last, para. 7.

6. There is a vast difference between the towns of Oomrawuttee and Khamgaum. The latter is a greater cotton mart, and, during the season of cotton dealing, more money changes hands on this account than in Oomrawuttee, but when this season is over, two-thirds of the Dookans are deserted and closed till the next cotton season again brings the Bombay merchants to Berar.

7. Oomrawuttee, on the other hand, is always carrying on a large trade with all the bazaars in Berar, and large bill transactions are continually going on, while the number of cotton merchants who come for the season as mere birds of passage as it were, is far less than at Khamgaum, the cotton merchants of Oomrawuttee being chiefly residents of the place.

8. As you are aware, Oomrawuttee has hitherto been the great emporium of trade, not only for all Berar, but for Candeish, Nagpoor, and other places. The Railway has in a measure altered this, but at present not to the extent which might have been expected. Doubtless, however, when traders in other Provinces find out the advantages, which they will not be slow to learn, of dealing direct with marts such as Bombay, Nagpoor, and others, the present system of dealing with Oomrawuttee must almost, if not entirely, cease.

Still Oomrawuttee must, I am confident, continue to be an emporium whence the requirements of all Berar and Baitool must be supplied.

9. For these reasons, then, and considering that there is a Civil Station at Oomrawuttee, as well as a Military Station already, and a Civil Station in prospect at Ellichpoor, I think, if Government is prepared to countenance the scheme, that it would be better to try first the line between Oomrawuttee and Budneira than the one between Khamgaum and Sheogaon, if it is considered unadvisable to make both lines at one and the same time.

10. In conclusion, I have a few remarks to make upon the estimated revenue to be obtained on the Oomrawuttee branch line. I considered the quantity of cotton shown as received from Oomrawuttee, and despatched from Budneira, to be very much over-stated in Messrs. Nicol and Co.'s letters to Captain Foord.

11. I have had the advantage of almost daily personal communication for some time with members of European Firms at this place, and there can be no doubt whatever that 73,990 candies of cotton have never passed through Oomrawuttee to Budneira. I wrote on this subject to Messrs. Nicol and Co., and append copy of letter No. 1441, dated 11th July 1867, from Major Ker. The figures given therein show the number of bales which have been sent this season from Budneira, and I confess I am puzzled by them. The Cotton Commissioners' Returns, which appeared from time to time in the *Times of India*, showed that only something over a lakh of bales left the Budneira Yard this season, and rather more than two lakhs left the Sheogaon Yard.

12. From what I can learn from the merchants, Native and European, at this place, I believe not more than 60,000 balès left and passed through Oomrawuttee from the north for Budneira this last season. This represents about 20,000 candies.

13. As evidently the Railway Authorities and I are at an issue on this subject of the traffic between Oomrawuttee and Budneira, I have tried to obtain statistics of exports during the past season, and the result is shown in Appendices A and B to this Report. The information has been obtained first from the merchants, and then checked by enquiries made of the Brokers, and I believe is rather under than over the mark.

14. I have used every precaution that I can think of to prevent the estimated receipts being over-stated. The estimated value of piece-goods stored in Oomrawuttee for retail sale, and dispersion over Berar and places within His Highness the Nizam's dominions, as well as in Districts north of Berar, is said to be 25 lakhs of Rupees annually. This may appear enormous, but it is capable of explanation, for a member of a European Firm here informs me that in no other town, village, or bazaar in Berar is any wholesale business in piece-goods done save in Oomrawuttee.

15. By the estimates which I now submit, the revenue to be expected from the traffic between Oomrawuttee and Budneira is Rs. 56,436 per annum. We may safely reckon that it will not be less than Rs. 60,000 if we take into consideration the fact that cotton from the Chandoor Bazaar near Ellichpoor, Burroor, and other places north of Oomrawuttee, which is now conveyed to Budneira, will be brought here. The result will be as follows :—

Capital invested	Rs. 2,50,000
Gross revenue realised	6,000
Cost of working, &c., 15 per cent.	9,000
60 per cent. to be paid to Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for working traffic, &c., on gross revenue of Rs. 60,000	36,000
Total.....	45,000
Balance.....	15,000

or just 6 per cent. on the capital subscribed by shareholders.

16. I am quite satisfied in my own mind that the line, if made, will pay well; and I believe if some specific scheme is laid before the mercantile community of Oomrawuttee, that the amount required will be forthcoming, especially if it is found that the scheme is countenanced in any way by the Government. I feel that the whole future of this at present prosperous mercantile city depends upon its being connected with Budneira and the main line by a branch line and telegraph, and I do earnestly hope that higher authority will give every support to the scheme.

17. I ought to state that the General Traffic Manager, Mr. Knox, and the District Traffic Manager, have both very kindly agreed, the former to furnish me with, and the latter to allow me to obtain, all particulars relating to the traffic between Oomrawuttee and Budneira between June 1866 and June 1867. I feel so satisfied that my present estimates are below the mark, that I have thought it better to send on this report without further delay. The returns from the Traffic Managers shall be forwarded as soon as they are received.

18. The advantages of having the line constructed and open before the ensuing cotton season are so manifest, that it is needless for me to remark upon them, but I would urge that if the scheme is considered at all feasible, that no time should be lost in pushing on the work with the utmost vigour. Mr. Glover, from all I here, is himself very keen upon the subject. He agrees to furnish half the capital, and to undertake the contract. Messrs. Wells and Glover have already earned a name in Bombay for the rapidity and punctuality with which they complete their contracts. There are no engineering difficulties between Oomrawuttee and Budneira, so that I am unable to see why, if the scheme is to be undertaken at all, the line should not be completed before March or April next in time for the conveyance of the cotton after it has been ginned, and pressed at the different presses which have been established here.

From H. MAXWELL, Esq., to the Executive Engineer, Akola, dated 7th May, 1867.

Referring to the conversation I had with you in Bombay, I now hand you rough estimate of the cost of constructing Branch Railways from Khamgaum to Jullum, and from Oomrawuttee to Budneira. I have already handed you the surveys of these lines made in 1865 for the Western India Branch Company, and

regret that I am unable to hand you detailed estimates of cost. The approximate estimates are, however, as follows :—

The Khamgaum and Jullum line at 3½ lakhs, and the Oomrawuttee and Budneira line at 2½ lakhs.

Yesterday, Major Ker and I called on General Rivers, and were fortunate enough to find Mr. Knox, the Traffic Manager, and Mr. Rushton with him. General Rivers stated very decidedly that the Railway Company would not make the new branches, but they would work them, when made, at about 60 per cent. of the revenue.

I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the details of traffic on the roads from Khamgaum and Oomrawuttee to the Railway Station to make a complete statement of the probable amount of revenue to be made on the proposed lines, but taking merely the returns of cotton despatched from the stations last year, and the cart-hire paid for conveying this cotton from the markets of Khamgaum and Oomrawuttee to the Railway as the estimated revenue, there is quite sufficient evidence to prove that these Branch Railways would be remunerative.

	Rs.
Estimated cost of Railway from Oomrawuttee to Budneira	2,50,000
Six per cent. on this amount for interest.....	15,000
Depreciation and tear and wear, say 15 per cent.....	37,500
Railway Company's charge for working the line, 60 per cent. on the bullock cart-hire of 73 990 candies of cotton despatched from Budneira in 1865-66, at Rs. 2 per candy, Rs. 1,47,981,.....	88,788
Total.....	1,41,288

The Khamgaum line does not compare so favourably as the Oomrawuttee line. In these statements I have not included the return traffic, not having any satisfactory data on which to form an estimate.

From MESSRS. W. NICOL AND Co., to the Executive Engineer, Akola, dated 11th June, 1867.

Since writing you on 7th May, we have received further information on the subject of Branch Railways in Berar.

Mr. Huddleston informs us that the Native merchants in Oomrawuttee and Khamgaum are prepared to subscribe half the capital for the construction of the line from these cotton markets to the main line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Mr. Glover, of Messrs. Wells and Glover, has come forward with the proposal that he is prepared to provide the remainder of the capital, and to contract for the construction of both lines. It will be necessary, therefore, to apply to Government for a guaranteed interest of 5 per cent. on the capital required.

We would now suggest that an application should be made to Government to have the line constructed in terms with, and under the conditions laid down in Act XXII. of 1863, and to solicit a subsidy from Government of Rs. 1,000 per mile per annum for 20 years towards the cost of construction. As it would be of much consequence to obtain this Government subsidy capitalized, so that the Company might avail of it for the immediate prosecution of the works, and thus lessen the amount of capital to be raised among the shareholders, we would suggest that, in making the application to Government in terms of Act XXII., the Company should request that the capitalized amount of the subsidy should be granted by Government at once, in place of making an annual payment for 20 years.

The amount of subsidy of Rs. 1,000 per mile per annum for 20 years, treated as a 5 per cent. annuity, would give a capital sum of Rs. 12,462.

In making the estimate of the cost of the lines, we treat the subsidy in this manner; we might request Government to pay us the subsidy in full, viz., Rs. 20,000 per mile, but, in the meantime, we consider it better to make up the estimates at the lower figure.

Since the writer's original hurried estimate of the cost of construction and working expenses of these lines was made, we have had the benefit of Mr. Glover's

practical knowledge and experience, and can now lay before you the amended estimates with more confidence as to their being correct. The lines would be single and laid with permanent-way similar to that in use on the main line, *viz.*, 68 lbs. rails laid in iron-pot sleepers.

We have received no further statistics of traffic, and can only base our calculations on the quantity of cotton despatched from the various Railway Stations without any reference to return-traffic, nor have we any reliable data on which to estimate the revenue to be derived from passenger traffic. In our former estimate we included, amongst the annual expenses, 6 per cent. interest, and 15 per cent. on the capital, for depreciation of property and tear and wear; in the amended estimates we shall not include the 6 per cent. interest. Mr. Glover is of opinion that 15 per cent. for depreciation is excessive, the greater portion of the capital being expended in permanent-way, which he states will last for 12 or 13 years in place of 7 as we estimate; we consider it better, however, to adhere to this percentage in our calculations.

* * * * *

Estimated cost of 6 miles of Railway from Oomrawuttee to Budneira.

	Rs.
Construction and permanent-way	250,000
Amount of Government subsidy of Rs. 1,000 per mile per annum capitalized ...	74,772
Amount to be subscribed by Company	1,75,228
<i>Estimated revenue.</i>	
Quantity of cotton annually conveyed in bullock-carts from Oomrawuttee to Budneira Station is 73,990 candies, for which the average rate of carriage may be taken at Rs. 2 per candy, thus making a gross revenue of	1,47,980
Cost of working Railway, 15 per cent. depreciation of property.....	26,383
Sixty per cent. to be paid to Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for working traffic, gross revenue of Rs. 1,47,980.....	88,788
	1,15,171
Leaving a balance of	32,809

for the payment of dividends, &c.

There is no allowance made for charges of management and local taxes. The former will be trifling, and we shall feel obliged by your informing us what the latter will probably amount to.

We are not aware whether Act XXII. of 1863 applies to Berar, but should it not do so, we have little doubt that Sir Richard Temple could obtain the sanction of Government to supply funds in similar manner. We shall feel obliged by your laying the matter before Sir Richard, and on receiving from you assurances of his support, and the information whether we can proceed under Act XXII. of 1863, we shall make the necessary application.

We have not included the cost of telegraph lines, but the amount is too small to materially affect our estimate.

For your information, we beg to hand you copy of a Resolution of the Bombay Government, (*see page 39 of Reprint XIV., Vol. II.*), regarding an application of Mr. Thomas N. Bulkley, for a subsidy towards constructing a Railway from Neriad to Kupperwunj in Guzerat.

From MAJOR T. KER, General Manager, Mofussil Press and Ginning Co., Ltd., to Deputy Commissioner of Oomrawuttee, No. 1441, dated 11th July, 1867.

Your letter No. 345 of the 1st instant came duly to hand, and I at once communicated with the General Traffic Manager, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, relative to the quantity of cotton sent down from Budneira this season. I have only this moment received his reply, although I have repeatedly asked for one in the interval. He says that 1,107,747 bales have been sent down this season from Budneira. In 1865-66 there were 73,990 candies sent. I think you will find, on enquiry, that the greater part of that sent forward this season has passed through the Oomrawuttee market, but I am inclined to agree with you that the quantity has been much over-stated. We are guided by the Railway return. No traffic of any other kind was, however, taken into consideration, and there can be no doubt that the establishment of a branch line to Oomrawuttee will tend to increase the cotton market there.

STATE RAILWAY AND PUBLIC LOANS.

APPENDIX A.

Statement showing hire realized for conveyance of Merchandize, &c., from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and *vice versa*, during season 1866-67.

No.	Particulars of Goods and Passengers.	The quantity of goods conveyed to and from Budneira, from and to Oomrawuttee.	Cost of carriage from Budneira to Oomrawuttee	Cost of carriage from Oomrawuttee to Budneira.	Total cost of carriage.	REMARKS.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Cotton	50,950 loads ...	...	25,000	25,000	(1.) It is believed that about 10,000 loads of cotton weighed at Chandoor and Burroor Taks pass by Oomrawuttee to Budneira; they will not be taken on if the Railway is opened to Oomrawuttee from Budneira, and thus Rs. 5,000 would be realized in addition to the Rs. 56,436½.
2	Cloth (piece-goods)	4,896 guthas	5,018	200	5,218	
3	Kirana and Salt ...	55,700 „	14,125	...	14,125	
4	Glass-beads	4,300	843½	...	843½	(2.) It is computed that on an average six carts run daily between Budneira and Oomrawuttee conveying four persons each. The hire paid is 1 annas a head, and a cart going and coming earns Rs. 2 a day, which for six carts is Rs. 12 per diem, or Rs. 4,350. This, however, is also within the mark.
5	Bardana (empty bags, gunny, &c.)	2,000 bundles	1,250	...	1,250	
6	Grain .....	...	1,000	4,000	5,000	
7	Passengers .....	...	2,500	2,500	5,000	
	Grand Total .....	...	...	...	56,436½	

APPENDIX B.

Statement showing the number of wholesale Merchants in the different articles of Merchandize with the amount paid as carriage-hire between Budneira and Oomrawuttee, during season 1866-67.

No.	Particulars of Goods.	Number of wholesale Merchants in each kind of goods.	Total cost of carriage from Budneira to Oomrawuttee and <i>vice versa</i> .	REMARKS.
			Rs.	
1	Cotton	22	25,000	(1.) All cotton purchased from the surrounding villages is weighed at the Oomrawuttee Tak, and then sent to Bombay. No cotton is received from Bombay.
2	Cloth (piece-goods)	50	5,218	(2.) Cloth is generally brought from Bombay and Nagpoor. The wholesale dealers sell the cloth they bring to retailers, from whom it is purchased, and taken to the surrounding villages.
3	Kirana, &c.	37	14,125	(3.) As above.
4	Glass-beads	7	843½	(4.) As above.
5	Bardana.....	22	1,250	(5.) These are the empty bags in which the cotton merchants pack the cotton for transport to Bombay.
6	Grain .....	...	5,000	

N. B.—The figures shown in column 3 do not represent the whole trading community of Oomrawuttee, but only the people whose trade has been the subject of enquiry, and who have given approximately the sums they have expended in hire for the conveyance of their goods from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and *vice versa*.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, }
23rd July 1867.

J. G. BELL, Captain,
Deputy Commissioner, Oomrawuttee District.

From CAPTAIN J. G. BELL, Deputy Commissioner, Oomrawuttee District, to the Commissioner of Berar, No. 220, dated 13th August 1867.

With reference to my letter No. 197, dated 23rd July, I have now the honour to forward a statement showing the goods traffic at Budneira between the 1st July 1866 and 30th June 1867.

2. The line having been opened as far as Poolgaon before the 1st July, it may safely be assumed that all goods brought to Budneira between the dates above given was really for Oomrawuttee, or some of the large towns north of the line. The only town of any importance, south of the line, is Karinjah, and all cotton sent from there is despatched to Moortazapoor. All exports from, or imports to, the Woon District go to Chandoor. The greater part of the cotton exported from Woon goes to the Hingunghât mart. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that what is brought to, or despatched from Budneira, comes from either Oomrawuttee, or other towns north of the line, or is sent there.

3. In order to show what revenue may be expected from the branch line if it is made, I beg to append two Statements marked A and B, showing the anticipated revenue and method by which the estimate has been framed.

4. In regard to Statement A, I have only to remark that, as the imports are chiefly of the articles noted in the margin, I have thought it advisable to put an average price of Rs. 2-2-0 per maund for 411 miles, and to base my calculations thereupon, I believe, I am within the mark here.

5. Statement A gives the estimated income to be derived if the present Great Indian Peninsula Railway rates are levied, but I am unable to see why we should be bound down to those rates. It must be admitted that the cost of working a short line is greater than that incurred for a long one. And if we are to levy only those rates, the scheme must be abandoned as unremunerative, for the receipts would only amount to Rs. 34,000 on an outlay of Rs. 2,50,000, and the result would be as follows :—

	Rs.	Rs.
Receipts.....		34,000
Amount payable at 60 per cent. to Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for working the line.....	20,400	
Wear and tear at 15 per cent.	5,100	
	————	25,500
Balance available for dividend.....		8,500

This would yield a dividend of only Rs. 3½ per cent. on the capital subscribed.

6. Statement B explains itself, and calls for no remark. If the present rates for the conveyance of goods between Budneira and Oomrawuttee are levied, then the income realized will amount to Rs. 69,066, but as I have been unable to obtain the particulars of the imports, and there can be no doubt that some Railway materials must have been brought to, as well as exported from Budneira, it would be safer to consider the receipts at not more than Rs. 60,000. This gives an ample margin, and the dividend would still be 6 per cent. as shown in para. 14 of my letter already referred to.

7. You will observe that a large quantity of salt is shown as having been exported from Budneira. I have made enquiry on the subject, and find that merchants imported salt from Bombay to Budneira in the months of March, April and May, which is the chief time for importation of that article, and that as the line was shortly expected to open to Poolgaon, they stored their salt at Budneira, and on the extension of the line, despatched the salt by rail from Budneira to Poolgaon in June. I am also led to believe that some salt was brought up by Oomrawuttee merchants on speculation, and again exported by them during the 12 months to which the traffic returns refer.

8. In conclusion, I must add that should you think the prospects are not sufficiently encouraging to warrant your recommending the branch line of Railway, I have received a verbal offer from a Mr. Bedford, C.E., on the part of Messrs.

Bedford and Willis, to construct a tramway upon the present Public Works Department road between Budneira and Oomrawuttee, and to find 50 per cent. of the capital required for the undertaking. Mr. Bedford was of opinion that most of the bridges would have to come down and be re-built, that a loop line half way between the two places would have to be constructed, and that portions of the road would require widening. The gradients also, he said, would have to be reduced. My objections to a tramway were stated in my letter No. 113, dated 8th May last, I believe the rates given in Statement B appended, would be willingly paid by merchants for goods exported, as by despatching things from Oomrawuttee they would be saved the cost of keeping an Agent at Budneira, paying commission fees, &c. I have endeavoured to lay the subject before you as fully as possible, and trust that nothing will be wanting to enable you to form some opinion as to the advisability or otherwise of the proposed scheme.

A.

Estimated receipts at Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company's rates.

TOTAL EXPORTS—

Deducting Railway material	Maunds. 346,528
Gives for 411 miles	Rs. 9,70,675

Or an average charge from Bombay of Rs. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ nearly per maund, a proportion on this for a distance of 6 miles, gives as the revenue to be derived from 346,528 maunds	14,172
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TOTAL IMPORTS—

No. of maunds 479,344, which gives a revenue of Rs. 4,83,455, or an average of rather less than a Rupee per maund; showing that the average distance which this traffic has been carried is rather less than half the distance to Bombay, the average rate for export for 411 miles being Rs. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. Owing to the large export of cotton, this last average is high, the rate for cotton on account of its bulk being heavy.

The average rate for imports may fairly be assumed to be Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ per maund for 411 miles, articles imported are chiefly those of the 2nd class charged at low rates, as shown in the margin of my letter. By a similar calculation to that above shown, we should realize a revenue upon 6 miles of

To which add passenger traffic ...	14,868 5,000
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Total 34,040

B.

Estimated receipts at prevailing cart-rates.

TOTAL EXPORTS OF COTTON—

Fifty thousand bojas of 226 lbs.—to 33,250 bales of 400 lbs.; on each bale conveyed last season by cart to Budneira, 9 annas were paid, giving	Rs. 18,703
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OTHER EXPORTS—

Sixty-five thousand maunds, and calculating that each cart carries 15 maunds of 80 lbs., and the price per cart is Rs. 1-4, the result is that there are 4,333 carts employed, which receive	5,416
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Total..... 24,119

TOTAL IMPORTS—

No. of maunds 479,344, at 15 maunds to a cart, make 31,956 cart-loads, which at Rs. 1-4 per cart, realize a sum of.....	Rs. 39,947
To which may be added passenger traffic	5,000

Total cost of imports	44,947
Add exports	24,119

69,066

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
OOMRAWUTTEE;
13th August, 1867.

J. G. BELL, *Captain*,
Dy. Commr. Oomrawuttee District

From COLONEL C. H. DICKENS, R.A., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to Resident at Hyderabad, No. 887R, dated 10th October, 1867.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter No. 116, dated 9th September 1867, forwarding correspondence on the subject of a branch line of Railway from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and enquiring what concessions Government would be inclined to give towards such an undertaking.

2. I am to observe, in reply, that the proposed line is one, the importance of which appears to the Governor General in Council to be almost entirely local, and towards the construction of which the utmost aid which can reasonably be expected from Government is a grant of land free of cost. This appears to be all that was at first proposed by Major Ker, the Agent for Messrs. Nicol and Co., and this the Government of India would be prepared to grant on being satisfied that a sufficient amount of capital for the undertaking had been raised. No hope of aid in the way of a guarantee of interest, or an annual subsidy, should be held out to the promoters of any Company which may be found for the purpose of the construction of this branch.

3. If any reasonable prospect existed of a line between the two places returning 5 per cent. on the capital invested in it, there can be little doubt that the small amount of capital said to be required could be easily raised by local merchants and others interested in its construction, without any direct aid from Government beyond that of a free grant of land.

4. The estimate of the probable cost of the line on which the probable net returns are calculated in the correspondence submitted with the letter under reply, appears to the Governor General in Council to be very low, and the receipts are estimated so variously by the different authorities consulted, that the probability of a return of 5 per cent. on the capital expended appears to His Excellency in Council to be open to doubt.

From CAPTAIN C. J. MEAD, Offg. Secy. to the Resident at Hyderabad, in the P. W. Dept., to the Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Dept., No. 170, dated 26th December, 1867.

I am directed by the Resident at Hyderabad to acknowledge the receipt of the Government of India's Despatch No. 1058R of 3rd December, conveying an extract from a Minute, dated 16th August 1867, by His Excellency the Viceroy, on the subject of the extension of Railways in India, and stating that the Government of India wished to receive from each Local Government and Administration an expression of its views on this subject.

2. I am to state in reply, that the Resident has already, in this Office No. 114 of 6th September last, brought to the notice of the Government of India the very great Military and Political importance of a Branch Railway from Kulbarga, on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, to Hyderabad, and he would refer to that communication as giving his views on the subject.

3. With regard to the Assigned Districts, I am to state that the Resident considers Berar already well supplied with the only Trunk Line wanted; all that is required are two short branch lines to connect the great Cotton marts, Oomrawuttee and Khamgaum, with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Stations of Budneira and Jullum. Application for assistance towards the construction of the first of these lines was made to Government in this Office No. 116 of 9th September last, but the Government of India (see your Office No. 887R of 10th October) declined any further aid beyond a free grant of the land required, on the ground that the importance of this line appeared to be entirely local, and the Resident has consequently not submitted any application regarding the Khamgaum and Jullum Branch. I am now to state that Sir Richard Temple considers both branches much wanted; that he believes they could be profitably constructed and worked if Government could see fit to guarantee them; and that their existence would be a great boon to the trade of Berar.

From CAPTAIN C. J. MEAD, Offg. Secy. to the Resident at Hyderabad, in the P. W. Dept., to Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Dept., No. 171, dated 31st December, 1867.

I am directed by the Resident, in continuation of this Office No. 170 of 26th December, in which, replying to Government of India's Circular No. 1058R of 3rd idem, I had the honour to submit Sir Richard Temple's opinion of the importance of two short branches from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in Berar, viz., from Jullum to Khamgaum, and from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, to forward copy of a

communication received by the Deputy Consulting Engineer from the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, intimating that the Company will be willing, with the sanction of Government, if the existing road from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and the proposed road from Jullum to Khamgaum, are made suitable for the purpose, to lay down a single line of rails and work the traffic direct from these important marts.

2. I am to state that the Resident believes the road from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, as it at present stands, is not quite suitable for a Railway, and that to make it so, some bridges will have to be re-built, and perhaps some expenditure required to reduce a few gradients. A report has been called for in detail on this subject, with an estimate of the probable cost of making the necessary alterations, which will be duly submitted for the orders of Government if the Resident is informed that the general question now brought forward meets with favourable consideration.

3. The road from Khamgaum to Jullum is not yet commenced, but from the great importance of Khamgaum as a cotton mart, and the head-quarters of the European traders in that staple, it is, whether to be used as a foundation for a Branch Railway, or as a common road only, a necessity. Surveys, sections and estimates have been ordered, and are shortly expected, and have been directed to be prepared with curves and gradients suitable for Railway purposes. Application has been made (in this Office No. 160 of 10th December) for an additional Budget allotment to commence the work during the present season, and provision made in Budget for 1868-69 (Item No. 32), for carrying on the work; no additional expense will be incurred in making the road suitable for a Railway, as, while if this road has to carry the extremely heavy traffic from Khamgaum to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway on its surface, nothing but a first class road, metalled with the expensive, but only sufficient material, broken stone, can suffice if the heavy traffic is carried on rails. Moorum metalling will be sufficient to bear the light local traffic to be anticipated in addition.

4. In the case of both roads, I am directed to solicit the attention of the Government of India to the fact that, while their conversion into Branch Railways will be a great convenience to the important trade of Berar and, as such, is likely to be a means of accelerating its already rapid development, and are strongly recommended by Sir Richard Temple as works likely to prove both directly remunerative, as there is more than a probability that the guaranteed interest on the comparatively small expenditure on merely laying a single line of rails on roads that would, in any case have been made, will be recouped and indirectly remunerative in the increase of trade, and consequently of revenue, in Berar, as well as of the receipts of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, in which Government is directly interested; they will also cause a direct saving to the State of at least four-fifths of the expense of maintenance of these roads, which will, as regards the really heavy and wearing traffic, be relieved of the cost of repairs and renewal of road-metal.

5. With reference to the concluding para. of Major-General Rivers' letter, I am to state that the Resident believed that, under the provisions of the Indian Railway Act, Sections 18 and 19, in addition to the mere cost of laying down a single line of rails, the Railway Company must also fence the line and construct a telegraph; but the expense of the former will not be great, and he believed that the latter will be in itself remunerative by the transmission of private commercial messages in addition to its use in working the line; and if the Government of India can concede to the general recommendation now made, that both these roads be completed suitable for Railway purposes, and that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company be authorized to lay down their rails on them, and work them as Branch Railways in part of their guaranteed Capital, he anticipates no difficulties on this score.

From MAJOR-GENERAL H. RIVERS, R.E., Agent, G. I. P. Railway Company, to Consulting Engineer for Railways, Bombay, No. 7299, dated 9th December 1867.

In reply to your Memorandum No. 3991, I beg to state that if the Government lay down a road either to Khamgaum or Oomrawuttee, fit to carry our rails

and run locomotives, I shall be prepared to lay our rails and work the line for the Company, if handed over to us, if Government sanction the expenditure.

I do not consider fencing is required, as there will only be slow traffic, but the Company are only to be liable for the cost of a single line of rails, and the expense of laying them down.

From COLONEL C. H. DICKENS, R.A., Secy. to the Govt. of India, P. W. Dept., to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, in the P. W. Dept. No. 89R, dated 22nd January, 1868.

I am directed to forward copies of the accompanying letters from the Resident at Hyderabad, Nos. 170 and 171, dated respectively, the 26th and 31st December 1867, and of one received therewith from the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, offering, in event of the existing road from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and the proposed road from Jullum to Khamgaum being made suitable for Railway purpose to lay down a single line of rails on them and work them as Branch Railways in part of the guaranteed Capital of the Company, and to request that the Government of India may be favoured with an expression of opinion in the matter by the Government of Bombay.

From COLONEL C. H. DICKENS, R.A., Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Department, to the Resident at Hyderabad, No. 90R, dated 22nd January, 1868.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 170 and 171, dated respectively, the 26th and 31st December 1867, communicating your views on the subject of the extension of Railways in India, and in reply to inform you, that the Government of India will reserve its decision on the question until in receipt of the replies of the various Local Governments, when the general wants of the country will be reviewed in a comprehensive manner.

From COLONEL M. K. KENNEDY, R.E., Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay, in the P. W. Dept. Railway Branch, to the Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. Dept. No. 271, dated 13th February, 1868.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 89R, dated 22nd January 1868, forwarding for an expression of opinion, copies of letters from the Resident at Hyderabad, submitting an offer by the Agent, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, in the event of the existing road from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and the proposed road from Jullum to Khamgaum, being made suitable for Railway purposes to lay down a single line of rails on them, and work them as Branch Railways in part of the guaranteed Capital of the Company.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that, in the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council, the arrangement proposed might be adopted with great advantage; but adverting to the Agent's letter No. 7299 of the 9th December, to the address of the Consulting Engineer, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that complications would be likely to arise if the rails were laid on a road constructed by the Public Works Department of Government, and he would therefore suggest, as an amendment on the general scheme, that the branch lines should be constructed, *ab initio* by the Railway Company themselves as a charge against the guaranteed Capital, and as part of the general system.

From COLONEL C. H. DICKENS, R.A., Secy. to the Government of India, P. W. Dept., to Resident at Hyderabad, No. 275R, dated 7th March, 1868.

Referring to the correspondence noted in the margin, I am directed to

From Hyderabad, No. 170 dated 26th December 1867.

To " " " 171 " 31st " 90R " 22nd January 1868.

forward copy of the accompanying letter No. 271, dated 13th February 1868, from the Government of Bombay, which

was referred to in the matter. It is there stated, with reference to the offer of the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, in the event of the existing road from Budneira to Oomrawuttee, and the proposed road

from Jullum to Khamgaum, being made suitable for Railway purposes, to lay down a single line of rails on them, and work them as Branch Railways in part of the guaranteed Capital of the Company, that that Government are of opinion that complications would be likely to arise if the rails were laid on a road constructed by the Public Works Department of the Government, and that the better course would be for the Company to construct the branch lines, *ab initio* as a charge against the guaranteed Capital, and as part of the general system.

2. The Governor General in Council observes that there is nothing in the paper submitted with your No. 171 of 31st December 1867 to show that the Agent desires the latter arrangement, and if he should not, and it should be necessary to resort to the former, it will be proper to consider how any complications are to be obviated. And on this point, I am to seek your opinion.

3. No decision on the matter of constructing the branch lines can, however, be arrived at until the Government of India has received all proposals for Railway extension under the Circulars Nos. 1050—1060½R, dated 3rd December 1867.

Endorsed by P. W. Dept., No. 276R.

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bombay for information, with reference to its No. 271, dated 13th February 1868.

MISCELLANEOUS.

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.



MISCELLANEOUS.

BOMBAY TIMES, April 17, 1841.—Letter from “Anti-Humbug” to the editor of the *Friend of India*, dated Carnatic, 1st April 1841:—

“In the *Bombay Times* of the 24th March I have just seen a letter signed ‘Ryot’ extracted from your paper, in reply to which I wish to make a few observations, which I hope you will be candid enough to publish.

“Before plunging in *medius res* I wish to state that though I had before heard that you had published a letter signed ‘Ryot’ similar in purport to the present I have never been able to get sight of it, or otherwise I should probably have troubled you sooner. I understand, however, that ‘Ryot’ therein accused Mr. Stocqueler by name of being influenced by mercenary motives in permitting the Hyderabad articles to appear in his editorial columns, and that he further pointed to Mr. William Palmer, in a manner not to be mistaken, as the author of those articles. I will now only say—and I can satisfy you that I am in a condition to speak with certainty—that in the first place Mr. Stocqueler, so far from being influenced by the motives which ‘Ryot’ imputes to him, took up the matter purely from a sense of justice, and from that ‘fair-play’ feeling which generally actuates Englishmen when they see a weak and defenceless person oppressed and ruined by arbitrary measures, and on these grounds Mr. Stocqueler *declined* taking up the matter on terms of payment. In the second place, ‘Ryot’ is equally wrong in his guess at the *Englishman’s* correspondent, and I am really surprised that he should be so, for, as he himself says in another place, ‘*the Englishman’s correspondent is perfectly well known.*’ He *is*,—he was perfectly well known at Hyderabad at the time the Hyderabad articles were published,—several of his military friends saw the articles there at the time in manuscript, and, so far from attempting to make any secret of it, the *Englishman* was authorized to give his name to any person entitled to ask for it (I hope ‘Ryot’ has done the same by you, for he is personal enough certainly), but as to the gentleman erroneously alluded to as the author many there at Hyderabad can prove that he never saw one of the articles until they were published in the *Englishman*.

“‘Ryot’ seems to think that no one can act in opposition to those whom he favours except from interested, corrupt, or vindictive motives, and accordingly he imputes these with an unsparing hand; now if report is correct in saying that ‘Ryot’s’ letter is the production either of a certain Captain commanding a regiment of Nizam’s horse, or else of the *Scotch clique* at Bolarum, all of them under the orders of the Resident and Assistant Resident, whom they are now praising with such industry, and all capable of receiving more or less benefit from their favour, they must perceive that others have ample opportunity, if so disposed, of retorting upon them with similar imputations. Whoever he is, it seems pretty plain that he is a Nizam’s officer, and as he is evidently not a man to hide his candle under a bushel his real name is doubtless well known at the Residency.

“I am really glad that he has taken the field so boldly, and I promise him to discuss every point with him, either anonymously if he will not give his real name, or under my real name if he is not ashamed to drop his *incognito*.

“I now proceed to notice a few passages in ‘Ryot’s’ present letter, and first those wherein he adverts to the general tenor of the Hyderabad articles in the *Englishman*:—

“‘The only good that newspaper publication can do in such cases is the

'exposure of injustice and real grievances, and not the statement of fictitious ones, got up for party and interested purposes.

"Throughout the whole of the attacks which for several months have been made on the Hyderabad officials, nothing strikes one so much as the recommendation being continually pressed on the attention of the Supreme Government as the necessity of the removal elsewhere of the present Resident of Hyderabad.'

"Finally, 'Ryot' represents the *Englishman* as advocating the doctrine of non-interference, and of allowing native Governments to oppress their native subjects *ad libitum*, without notice or remonstrance, and ends with these words:— 'As for what the *Englishman* has been writing so long a period—faugh! olet— why should a liberal paper that prides itself as being the leading journal in Calcutta, under pretence of advocating the abolition of abuses, lend itself to be a tool in the hands of a party which, unable in any other way to gain its ends, attempts to do so by attacking officials who honestly perform their public duties?'

"Had 'Ryot' addressed his letters to the *Englishman*, who would gladly have published them, many of my present remarks might have been spared, but he has adopted the paltry artifice of answering the *Englishman* in the columns of another journal, and there misrepresenting much and concealing more of what was really said, and having thus garbled the case he pretends to give a triumphant refutation to what is in reality his own statement.

"This trick is really stale. Let 'Ryot' select the statement or statements of which he complains, let him give the words as they were really printed in the *Englishman*, and he shall have a specific answer.

"The sentiment expressed in the first sentence which I have quoted is one in which I cordially agree, but I must add that the *Englishman* acted in entire accordance with it. Cases of greater 'injustice' or more 'real grievances' than those of Poorun Mull, Kishen Doss, and Mahadeogheer, with his gomastah, Govind Rao, have seldom met the public eye. It is easy for 'Ryot' or any one else to say that they are *fictitious ones, got up for party and interested purposes*"; he would do better to *prove* it. In such a case as this, however, mere assertion will not do: at least it would not in England. The readers of the *Englishman* know, though those of the *Friend of India* may not (another temporary advantage gained by 'Ryot's' artifice), that the statements of those three cases do *not* rest on mere assertion. There was hardly a sentence in them (particularly in the cases of Poorun Mull and Kishen Doss) which was not substantiated either by a reference to official documents, or by the letters of General Fraser and Mr. Dighton themselves! What stronger *prima facie* case can there be than one which grounds itself upon the acts and writings of the adverse party? and is that party to refuse and evade all inquiry, and, without denying his own handwriting, to be held completely exonerated by merely saying 'it's all fictitious'? This may go down in India, but it certainly never would in England.

"If the Supreme Government don't know which story to believe, why not give the parties complaining an opportunity of *proving* their statements? Why not grant the inquiry which they so repeatedly asked for, though in vain? Again, if the Supreme Government believed the complaints to be *false*, why not proceed against the *Englishman* for a libel; the charges were certainly serious enough, and 'Ryot' himself would probably allow that, if *proved* to be true, they were such as the Supreme Government *could not* avoid noticing,

"Let 'Ryot' or his patrons the Hyderabad officials and Mr. Dighton make a purse to prosecute the *Englishman* in the Supreme Court, and then let us see the result. If he recovers *exemplary* damages in any one of the three above-mentioned cases (supposing he takes them separately) everybody's mouth will be stopped. I say '*exemplary*' damages, because from the number and length of the articles in question it is possible that some one or two charges *might* be selected, which, though *substantially* correct, might not admit of a *legal* 'justification,' in which case the Court *must* give *nominal* damages. These *nominal*

damages, however, would sufficiently show that in the opinion of the Court the charges were *substantially* correct, a decision of which the Supreme Government *must* take corresponding notice.

“ Let ‘ Ryot’ and his patrons or the Government do this, or give over such futile assertions as ‘ *fictitious cases*,’ ‘ *got up for party and interested purposes*,’ &c., &c. Will he deny that General Fraser and Mr. Dighton wrote the letters ascribed to them? If not, he will find it difficult to escape the consequences which flow from them.

“ Let not ‘ Ryot’ deceive himself into the belief that the public judge as he does. The public feeling is always adverse to those who when charged with oppression and injustice shun inquiry. In these cases there was no premature attempt to prejudice the public mind ; plain statements were laid repeatedly first before General Fraser and subsequently before the Government, and inquiry was prayed for. Appeal was made, too, to Mr. Dighton ; a native gentleman besought him to submit their differences to English arbitration—to his own countrymen ; all in vain. A case was laid before the most eminent counsel in Calcutta, who recommended strong legal measures to be taken against Mr. Dighton (neither General Fraser nor Mr. Dighton would be very glad to see his opinion in print), but Mr. Dighton is not within the jurisdiction of any British Court, and there is little chance of getting him there. When all these measures failed, then, and not until then, were the cases given to the public, solely with the view of obtaining that inquiry into them which had theretofore been always refused, and so long as it is refused ‘ Ryot’ and his patrons must do something more than *say* that the charges are ‘ *fictitious*’ before they can convince any impartial person. What pretence is there for saying that the legal opinion obtained from Calcutta was a prejudiced one ?

“ As to the allegation that the *Englishman* ever advocated non-interference or the oppression of the poor ryots, it is a most palpable misrepresentation, as a reference to the number of the 17th November and all the other Hyderabad articles will show. He advocated direct interference for the benefit of the ryots in the strongest terms, but urged that it should be direct and *open interference, and under clear and complete responsibility* ; he urged that no one should be allowed to interfere, as General Fraser did in Poorun Mull’s case, in an authoritative manner (as evidenced by his notes), and subsequently, when the case attracted attention, to *get rid of all responsibility by pleading ‘ private capacity !’* The *Englishman* urged that Residents *should* interfere, but that they should do so openly, and *report every such interference to the Supreme Government* ; but, he continued, if the absurd doctrine of non-interference is still upheld by Government, let it be *bonâ fide* acted on by their servants. This is what the *Englishman* *did* say, as your readers can see by referring to the paper. Let them take this as a sample of ‘ Ryot’s’ candour. As to the *Englishman’s* being ‘ a tool in the hands of a party unable to gain its ends in any other way,’ this is true to the extent that it did lend its powerful assistance to those who had sought for and challenged *public inquiry* in every other way in their power, and been ‘ *unable to gain it.*’ Had Mr. Dighton been within the jurisdiction of a Supreme Court no other appeal would have been necessary ; and as to the second paragraph I have quoted from ‘ Ryot,’ a slight perusal will satisfy all that *public inquiry* was the thing *mainly* sought for, and *mainly* urged upon the attention of Government ; though undoubtedly, if the statements into which inquiry is prayed be true, I think it plain that General Fraser’s prejudices and hastiness of temper *are* such as to unfit him, in a *very* great degree, for representing the British character—such as it is generally considered to be. This point, important as it is, is, however, necessarily a subsequent and subordinate one to the main object—inquiry.

“ I really do not think that ‘ Ryot’ is doing General Fraser much service by his attempted defence. General Fraser is admitted on all hands to be above even the suspicion of corruption, and his private character stands confessedly high. Hastiness of temper is at the bottom of all that is charged against him. ‘ Ryot’ praises his ‘ *decision of character*,’ which I never heard doubted, and says that

'his judgment once formed, is as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.' This is the very thing objected to him—that he hastily contracts a liking for one person, and will never afterwards believe anything against that person, or even inquire into any charges against him even when founded on that person's own handwriting ; that, on the other hand, when he once contracts a prejudice against a person, he will neither give him a hearing nor investigate any of his complaints, but on the contrary believes everything said against that person behind his back. When his judgment is so 'unalterable' he should be less hasty in forming it, and, as a public servant, he should be more cautious in refusing inquiry to those who ask only for *inquiry and justice*.

" 'Ryot's' attempted defence of Mr. Dighton is almost equally unfortunate, if not more so. Kishen Doss's case charges Mr. Dighton with using his influence at the Residency (and consequently with the Minister) to *swindle* (it comes in effect to that) Kishen Doss out of nearly *a lac and a half of rupees*!—Oh ! but, says 'Ryot,' Mr. Dighton was an excellent Talookdar, very lenient to the ryots. Why, the *Englishman's* editorials throughout assert the same thing ; 'tis true they add that Mr. Dighton is thus generous to the ryots *not at his own expense, but at the Minister's!* his influence with whom, through the Resident, is said to enable him to obtain a remission for himself of all that he remits to the ryots.

" 'Ryot' says: 'In that paper General Fraser is accused of forcing Mr. Dighton 'on the attention of the Minister' (he certainly is so, and the proofs are somewhat cogent—let 'Ryot' try his hand at *them*) ; 'I only ask, was not Mr. Dighton long 'before General Fraser's arrival at Hyderabad in the Minister's confidence (NEVER to anything LIKE what he has been since Poorunmull's case), 'and treated 'by him as the *only* honest Talookdar in the Nizam's Territory'!! (*I say emphatically NO ! nor is such the case even now*), 'and, if I am not much mistaken, was he 'not agreed to by *both* parties as arbitrator in Poorunmull's business ?'

" 'No, 'Ryot,' *you are not mistaken*, but you are trying how far you can lead others into mistakes. Poorunmull's story is plain enough—the Resident by his own arbitrary act *forced* Mr. Dighton as arbitrator upon Poorunmull *in spite of Poorunmull's remonstrances*. The Resident's notes and Poorunmull's are both on record fortunately, *vide* the *Englishman* of the 19th November, and I can give you more of them if 'Ryot' wants them. Poorunmull protests and remonstrates, says he considers Mr. Dighton strongly biassed in his opponent's favour, and begs for an *impartial* arbitrator ; he is told that his request won't be listened to—that if he won't have Mr. D. he must be prepared for what was tantamount to utter ruin ; he then ceases to remonstrate for a time, and gives Mr. D. a *trial*, but finding him *even more* prejudiced than he expected he renews his remonstrances and is thrown overboard by the Resident. This (and much more) is what Poorunmull prays to be allowed to *prove*, partly by General Fraser's own notes, partly by Mr. Dighton's written report, and yet 'Ryot' coolly says that Poorunmull agreed to Mr. Dighton as arbitrator—voluntarily selected him : yes, just as voluntarily as Fair Rosamond took the bowl of poison to avoid the dagger.

" 'Ryot' again says, to show Mr. Dighton's independence and impartiality, 'Mr. Dighton is *only* his (the Minister's) Talookdar, and no *further* obliged by 'that than by receiving his percentage on what collections he makes, and I suspect 'the Minister would be as much the loser as Mr. Dighton were he to visit any 'decision of his by his removal from the office.' This indeed is 'coming it *strong*'—the Minister *lose* by dismissing Mr. Dighton!! Why at this moment Mr. Dighton's assessments are failing to the tune of about Rs. 1,75,000 at least ; nor is this all : the Minister draws on Mr. Dighton at *one year*, and Mr. Dighton quietly writes *eighteen months* instead of a year, and I am assured that the Minister actually pays the six months' interest to the holders of the assignments ; and, more even than this, Mr. Dighton, I am assured, is not paying according even to his own acceptances. In fact, according to what I learn, the Minister's present losses on the districts given to Mr. Dighton must be near twenty per cent., or about 4 lacs at least per annum. If 'Ryot' will name *any other* Talookdar who has had influence to do such things at any time since Mr. Dighton first became a Talookdar, I will

then believe that Mr. Dighton's influence does *not* arise from his intimacy at the Residency.

"Mr. Dighton is well known to have done many liberal and generous things, he is very kind to his ryots, and of course much liked by them; all this is granted, but how does it bear on the present question? Kishen Doss states (and he adduces sundry accounts and letters of Mr. Dighton himself in support of the statement) that Mr. Dighton, by means of his intimacy at the Residency, and consequent influence with the Minister, has *swindled* him (it comes to that) out of nearly a lac and a half of rupees: the question is "guilty or not guilty?"

"Ryot's attempts to blacken the parties who have complained, and those who aided them in giving publicity to their causes when all other means of redress failed, will not do; it is beside the question. Suppose 'Ryot' to have *proved* that the accusation originated in spite, revenge, malice, envy, or what you please, and that all parties connected with it are scoundrels, does that prove the accusation untrue?"

"The simple question is this, has Mr. Dighton swindled Kishen Doss in the manner charged or has he not? and *if* he *has*, is he a proper person to be screened from justice by the influence of Government or its servants?"

"Secondly, have General Fraser and Captain Malcolm been aiding, whether by acts of omission or commission, in the injustice complained of? and *if* yes, then are they proper persons to represent the British Government at a foreign Court?"

"The statements of the *Englishman* are confessedly *ex parte*, but he has laid before the public quite evidence enough to make out a strong case for *inquiry*—all that is asked for, and a great deal too much to be got rid of by the mere denial of 'Ryot,' or even of his patrons.

"P.S.—If 'Ryot' wants more information as to Mr. Dighton's revenue management it is at his service. Pray send me any number or numbers of your paper containing any of 'Ryot's' future correspondence, that I may lose no time in answering him

"As 'Ryot' magnificently dates from '*the Deccan*,' I suppose I may take a wide berth too."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, May 21, 1846.—Accounts from Hyderabad inform us that Hakeem Ghoolun Hussein, who presided over the Civil Court in that capital, died lately there of cholera. As regards the character of the deceased functionary, we may observe that it speaks well for him among his depraved countrymen, and the natives of India in general, that although receiving but a pitiful salary of Rs. 250 monthly he was believed to be in no degree corrupt or led away by personal motives on the bench. His mind had naturally an upright and beneficent tendency, and so far as relates to his own purposes he was undoubtedly a just Judge. As if, however, to illustrate the truth of the sad maxim that there is in this world nothing good without alloy, his virtues were to a considerable extent neutralized and his public usefulness counteracted by a constitutional timidity so powerful as to render him incapable of acting out his own convictions; hence it came to pass that he frequently evaded doing justice, both under the influence of an apprehension of personal danger, and in subordination to parties holding office or otherwise possessed of power: it must, however, be added, to his honour, that he never allowed this weakness to betray him into acts of positive injustice, except we should so characterize his sacrificing his own view of what was proper in a few instances where the Criminal Judge, appointed to act with him upon certain cases, dragooned him for the purpose of procuring his concurrence in decisions to which he was averse. His avowal that he yielded through fear of insult from his brother-Judge is an evidence that he was silenced rather than convinced on those occasions, and the fact of his having now and then sought the aid of that officer, not because he placed any reliance on his uprightness, but with a view of shifting responsibility from off his own shoulders, affords another proof of the miserable infirmity of his disposition, which manifestly unfitted him to preside upon the judgment-seat. Nevertheless his rectitude of purpose was

remarkable among his fellows, and the circumstance of his having offered to resign the situation held by him is enough to show that he did not become subordinate to official or other influence with the sordid motive of retaining power and emolument, but rather because he feared lest the displeasure of those whom he offended should eventuate in violence and insult. To understand his sensitiveness on this account it is necessary that we should bear in mind the peculiarities of the social system at Hyderabad. There the party who receives an injury or sustains an insult is the one who suffers degradation in the opinion of the public, and the most high-minded individuals are consequently the most apprehensive of outrage and offence. Numerous murders have resulted from the same cause among both the Mussulman and Hindu population of the Deccan capital, and hence proceeded the occasional subservience of Hakeem Ghoolam Hussein to those less upright than himself. We advance this, however, not to justify his shortcomings, for they were serious and indefensible, but to explain how it came to pass that a functionary having such correct feelings and impulses was yet so liable to dereliction of duty, and so little serviceable to the community in which he administered justice. With a corrupt Government like that of Hyderabad, and a popular knowledge that power would always have its weight in the estimation of the Court, a feeble and timorous Judge, whatever the goodness of his intentions, could not but necessarily become the passive instrument of frequent evil ; it is therefore no matter of surprise that the Hyderabad tribunal should have practically wrought little advantage for the public. If the defendant in a suit had influence to back him, and did not choose to enter an appearance, the Court was powerless to coerce him, and was at the same time forbidden to let judgment go by default ; and, again, if the Ministers or other magnates desired that a plaintiff should not obtain justice they found means to keep the suit in Court, by creating every manner of obstruction ; neither was any authority employed for the purpose of carrying out a decree, even after it had been pronounced, except against the weak and insignificant. No person who wore a sword and had the resolution to make use of it stood much in fear of the execution of sentences against him. Under these circumstances the death of Hakeem Ghoolam Hussein will not prove a very serious misfortune to the Hyderabad citizens, but at the same time the loss of such a person is much to be regretted : he erred through weakness, but was never designedly fraudulent or unjust, which is more than we can venture to say on behalf of a majority of the officials whom he has left behind him. His character and conduct form an instructive chapter in the dark history of the Nizam's Government, teaching us how difficult it is for even the well-meaning to preserve their integrity under the adverse influences to which they are subjected. Happier political and social circumstances would probably have rendered the deceased Judge a shining example of public virtue among his native brethren, whereas he has now left only a remembrance clouded by much weakness and many shortcomings. Integrity has indeed to wage a sore warfare in the dominions of the Sovereign of the Deccan !

It appears that the rite of Suttee is not yet wholly extinct at Hyderabad, a woman having lately burned herself with the body of her husband. Raja Ram Bux, whose cook the deceased person had been, did his utmost to deter the widow from self-sacrifice, but she persisted, and having obtained the authority of the Nizam she was permitted to ascend the funeral pile. This was certainly a case calling for the interposition of the British Government, because His Highness is a Mahomedan and cannot entertain any personal feelings on the subject : one remonstrance from the Resident would weigh against the senseless pleading of heathen fanaticism in which he has no sympathy, and, as it could involve neither loss to him nor gain to us, there would be no chance of his misconceiving the object of the interference.

ENGLISHMAN, *March* 10, 1848.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad of the 27th ultimo:—

“Yesterday the Minister entertained General Fraser and his staff, Colonel James, and Mr. Dighton at breakfast. The party, with others whose names are

not mentioned, amounted altogether to ten persons. As usual a report was carried by the hurkaru to the Nizam, and as he was in his retirement it was communicated by him to a woman servant, Beejan, for His Highness's information. The names of several persons of the party were given, amongst others Mr. Dighton's. The woman said, with a view to caution the hurkaru against using Mr. Dighton's name,—that is, having it inserted on the records of the gate (the *decrees*),—that she would sink Mr. Dighton's name in making the report to His Highness, as it incensed him to hear of Mr. Dighton's visiting the Minister in despite of his prohibitions, and she would have to bear the first burst of his anger.

"It is an absurd story to tell. The party was a guarantee that Mr. Dighton was doing no wrong and no good, even supposing the latter to prevail in his conferences; but it becomes no small matter when consideration is directed to it in this point of view, that in a matter so wholly indifferent, both as it concerned Suraj-ool-Moolk, Mr. Dighton, or the politics of the country, Suraj-ool-Moolk should be regardless of the wishes and orders of his master. What is his reliance for so bearding the Nizam? Suraj-ool-Moolk can't be pursuing this line of conduct to mark the independent spirit of his administration; that would be an idle tale. But if English opinion can give it some such construction, I wish English wisdom might come to instruct Suraj-ool-Moolk that the public independent spirit should embrace objects of public utility, and not be restricted to thwarting his master in a matter which it was not worth the value of twopence to know what course it took.

"Pestonjee and Meerjee, the great Parsee house, have just declared themselves bankrupts. I hope to see their case in the papers. A very little would have saved them. Their involvement with the Nizam's Government has been the cause of their failure. The Minister has been for the last twelve months examining their accounts. Everything had been promised to them, but not a tittle has been performed. If the Nizam's Government would settle fairly with them, they could pay their debts five times over.

"You may be sure that bankruptcy will be equally the fate of every man who will only deal long enough with the present administration, and not be content to submit to a first loss."

SPECTATOR, *March 31, 1848.*—Contemporaneously with the failure of Pestonjee's house at Hyderabad we find that five other bankruptcies took place: those, namely, of Bhaskur Sukka Ram, Koolla Nursara, Askurun Megraj, and two additional, whose designations we cannot clearly make out. Further failures among the Sahoo-kars are also expected. Pestonjee, we understand, sent in a petition to the Nizam, complaining of Suraj-ool-Moolk's injustice. It was entrusted to the Nizam's Arz Begee for presentation to His Highness. The Minister, however, directed its return to the petitioner, under the pretext that it concerned matters in his (the Dewan's) department, and ought therefore to pass through his hands. This is an adaptation of the English military rule of application through commanding officers to the civil matters of an arbitrary Government, and we doubt not that the convenient suggestion proceeded from some British adviser of Suraj-ool-Moolk, who has thus aided him in suppressing Pestonjee's petition. General Fraser was a warm advocate of that individual's claims, and it is doubtful whether he will approve of such a misapplication of the British principle for the purpose of obstructing them. The precedent, moreover, is a bad one, and it will be acted on to the arrest of all complaints against the Minister, however well founded.

ENGLISHMAN, *May 5, 1848.*—A letter from Hyderabad of the 22nd ultimo says :—

"There is a set of persons here who, pretending they have access to the archives of the Residency, send out fabricated papers as copies of the correspondence with the Resident and his Government, and the Resident and the Court. You are not to suppose that all the papers they give out are fabrications, for that would only have entailed loss of their profitable occupation; some papers are

correct versions, and the few of this description are made to maintain the numerous that are false. They supply some half-a-dozen persons with these papers, and it is impossible they should not be known; they have acquired considerable audacity since Captain Malcolm's departure.

"I have been selected by the writer to be described as being marked by the special displeasure of Lord Dalhousie for writing in the papers, and a translation of his letter to Colonel Low, said to have been sent up to Suraj-ool-Moolk, was to the following effect:—that I have entered into a conspiracy with editors to publish my misrepresentations; that I am directing the Nizam's Government to an evil course; that His Lordship has expelled my nephews from Calcutta, and has forbidden their coming to Hyderabad, and Colonel Low is enjoined to remove me, without appearing in the business, from the Nizam's country, employing wisdom (*danaee*) and finesse (*hikmuti amulee*) to effect it.

"Now all this would have been too absurd to write about if it were not that in the one instance I apprehend that those who fabricate these papers sometimes give correct versions, and in the next that when Suraj-ool-Moolk was asked by Hakeem Sufdur Ali whether he had received instructions to that effect he said he had, but from pity was not disposed to follow them out. I know all this to be false, but I point attention to it because I know that copies of real papers from the Residency are not unfrequently issued by these people.

"The great want for India I conceive to be publicity, a public to watch especially the conduct of the servants of Government: not for a condemnation of the Government and Court of Directors,—their motives at least combine good principles and intentions,—but for the cognizance especially of the Government itself. The time is gone by when it was inculcated to diplomatists in India that they should write (not the naked facts, but) as if they were writing for history. It is not now necessary that a despatch to do service to the Government should be moulded not simply by a concealment, but by a perversion, of facts, and a demi-official, to be retained or suppressed, employed to tell the truth. (I can give facts.) The Government has now no wants to impel it to that course. Lord William Bentinck and Lord Metcalfe broke through the barriers imposed by the opinions now become obsolete. The latter gave freedom to the press, the former sought information from all sources. It should be by this time exploded that truth is not to be found as existing out of the pale of officials."

ENGLISHMAN, *May 16, 1848.*—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad of the 3rd instant:—

"The Post Master at the Residency is suspected of suppressing letters which were addressed by the Post Master General to the Resident, General Fraser, complaining of his conduct, as he could not have known that those letters conveyed complaints unless he had opened them. It is suspected, as many letters are missing, that many others of private persons have been also opened and suppressed. The Post Master is a pious man, and complaints and suspicions of his conduct were not believed. I hope there will be some inquiry into the business, as this Post Office has obtained some notoriety from the misconduct of its Post Masters, from the impunity attending their misconduct, and from long suspicion of the fact which has now appeared."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 5, 1848.*—The following are extracts of letters from Hyderabad of the 22nd ultimo:—

"In the *Telegraph and Courier* of 16th May there is a notice that the Post Master for a month prior to his dismissal from his office visited the Nizam's Minister daily, and the question is pithily asked what these parties could have of common interest between them. The fact of this intimate intercourse has got up amongst the natives, as usual, all manner of conjectures and surmises which one's judgment cannot follow out and concur in in any degree. It may be presumed therefore that this intercourse has proceeded from nothing besides the taste for associating with a Christian community, and the policy of the Minister. He is

exceedingly intimate with the clerks, and *id genus omne*, belonging to the Residency, and is supposed to call them around him (the Nizam and the people making but little distinction) to exhibit his popularity and consequent influence with the English.

"I can't better describe the genius, rather the stupidity, of this Court than by giving a description of papers now in the hands of an influential person, and accredited by him as correct copies of a correspondence with the Government of India. The first paper professes to be a statement from about a dozen friends of the Minister coarsely describing the Nizam's vices, and calling upon the Governor-General to confine him to Golconda, to put Tufuzool Ali, his half-brother, on the musnud, and to send his friends, some half-a-dozen of them, into banishment, with the view of giving the Minister a fair field. The parallel intellect to that which could believe such a paper was drawn up was capable of drawing it up; but the folly, the intense folly, is in believing that General Fraser could have submitted such a proposal to his Government, and that Lord Hardinge should have condescended to dispose of it argumentatively—to have said he could not dispossess the Nizam in the face of the treaties made by Hamilton Sahib and Kirkpatrick Sahib with his father, and that made by Hamilton Sahib, meaning Martin, with himself. There are no such treaties: that should have pointed out the fabrication; but there is no calculation here, certainly no wisdom. The papers were sent to me for my opinion,—a very superfluous act,—and to mark more strongly my opinion that they were stupid fabrications I would not hear them read throughout. This has become quite the tone of the day; papers of this sort are sold clandestinely—what is extraordinary, to persons in the interest of the Nizam: I presume, for His Highness's inspection, with a view to frighten him into subjection to his Minister. That can't now be, that is, at the present moment. The Nizam, who does not complain, who gives no one his confidence about his distresses and ill-usage, must be understood from that circumstance as being satisfied with the treatment he has received from Colonel Low; his ready resort to him, therefore, will not be wanting on the proper occasions—at least it should not be."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *June 21, 1848*.—The Minister appears to be manœuvring again for the purpose of limiting the intercourse of Colonel Low with the Nizam. It was recently the intention of the latter to seek an interview, but before he had sent the Resident a message to that effect Suraj-ool-Moolk forestalled him by making a similar arrangement for the day chosen. His Highness consequently made no proposal, and if he has not altogether given up his purpose it is at all events postponed *sine die*. We have above imputed the diversion of it to Suraj-ool-Moolk, because such is the general understanding, which agrees with his tactics, but it is fair to add that a different story has also got wind, by which the interview would seem to have been sought on the part of the Resident. Both statements, however, originated with the Minister himself, and their authenticity is therefore open to suspicion in proportion as either of them departs from probability, which the latter version of the matter assuredly does.

ENGLISHMAN, *August 7, 1848*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 24th ultimo:—

"It is said that the revenues of the districts which were assigned to Mr. Dighton's nominees form no part of the Malwala's charge. It is thence concluded that they are employed to discharge those districts, yielding about ten or twelve lacs of rupees a year, the Minister's income derived from the revenues of the country of something more than seven lacs, and the allowance of his personal retainers.

"At all events the state of the country is much more flourishing, and can in no degree be contrasted with the deteriorations of England in point of finance. It would be a clumsy workman that could not reform in this respect. The difficulty in reforming where everything is wrong would be that, in correcting what was wrong, destruction did not follow.

"It is an old tale, but has never been noticed. Zyn-ool-abood Deen, an old

and confidential servant and companion of the Minister, who had been made his private and public secretary on his accession to office, has been made to quit the city at the instance of Suraj-ool-Moolk's mother, as corrupting her son by precept and example; he is now residing at the Residency. We have instances of kings being made to separate themselves from their minions; we have not many instances of ministers being made to repudiate their favourites. Zyn-ool-abood Deen is not debarred the *entrée* of the Minister's house, but there is no longer the constant association of former days."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *September 4, 1848*.—We hear that the Minister has restored Sultan Nuwaz-ool-Moolk (Bhikoo Meean) to his situations, from which he was ejected at the instance of the Resident, in consideration of a nuzzerana, loan, or advance—for we know not which to term it—from the revenue of the restored districts to the extent of five lakhs of rupees. The Resident, however, again requires his ejectment, but it is to be hoped that he will take care the man gets back his purchase money; for otherwise an impression will prevail—and justly too—that the British Government countenance a system which permits the Dewan to sell situations, and then to invoke the aid of the Resident for the ejectment of their purchasers, without restitution of the price paid. If Sultan Nuwaz-ool-Moolk's claim is not liquidated before his expulsion, it will form an ugly item in the long catalogue of discreditable transactions with which the British name has been too much mixed up at Hyderabad.

ENGLISHMAN, *September 8, 1848*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 25th ultimo :—

"I have above described that General Fraser had named the Court into which the suit Ramasawmy *versus* Ali Mahomed Khan was to be tried, and that though the suit was carried into a Criminal Court it was turned out a civil action. I beg to be understood as not implying that there was any favouritism towards Ramasawmy on the part of General Fraser; there is not the most distant ground—*tout au contraire*—for such a surmise. I understand that Ramasawmy desired his suit might be sent into the Criminal Court, inasmuch as the nephew of the Judge of the Criminal Court was in his service, and it gave the promise of some influence. His petition to General Fraser was promoted by a letter from Brigadier James which enclosed it. I do not mean to say, for I have no knowledge of the contents of the letter, that Brigadier James maintained by his recommendation Ramasawmy's request, but I conclude that his intermediation may have procured an attention for the petition which it would not have otherwise received. It is a curious fact that Ramasawmy has been a resident of the cantonment for 30 years; that he was a writer in the Commissariat; but a Court of Requests has pronounced him as not amenable to their jurisdiction, inasmuch as he now farms the customs of the Cantonment Bazaar for the Nizam's Government, and does not carry on trade or banking within those bazaars—the last a very questionable point.

"The question is before Government, but as his non-amenability was a point mooted by Brigadier James it might not be irrelevant to ask in what capacity was he intermediate to the communication of Ramasawmy's petition, a farmer of the Nizam's revenues, and thereby excluded (so a Court of Requests has pronounced) from his jurisdiction against a servant and born subject of the Nizam. There is some irregularity upon the face of it; either the Court of Requests is wrong or the Brigadier has done wrong.

"I must not omit to say that I do not know whether Brigadier James was informed that the nephew of the Judge of the Criminal Court was in Ramasawmy's pay: not, as far as I can understand it, but that the decision of the Judge in this case is perfectly fair and does honour to his unbiassed judgment. If examples had effect, this conduct at Hyderabad might deserve being trumpeted."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 13, 1849*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 28th ultimo :—

"A Court of Requests is sitting on a suit between Mahanund Ram and Poorun

Mull and Ramaswamy. Ramaswamy's case is conducted by a man named Condaswamy, who was agent for Ramaswamy's affairs with Sooraj-ool-Moolk, and being of that party was somewhat behind the scenes, and a personal friend, in sequence to his master, of Mr. Dighton and Azim Ali. He propounded on the cross-examination a question to a witness—"When Mr. Dighton, being Talookdar, received the 'revenues of the Nizam, did you not go to the house of Azim Ali Khan to barter 'for the currencies coming in from the country?' Here was at once proof: the question was answered in the affirmative, of Mr. Dighton being Talookdar and of Azim Ali being connected with him. But, either to some question or incidentally, the witness let out that Mr. Dighton was Talookdar at that time. This was not so, for he had ceased to be Talookdar from the time of Suraj-ool-Moolk's dismissal, but the man spoke in reference to his dealings with Azim Ali,—I beg pardon, Condaswamy called him Mahomed Azim Ali Khan Bahadoor,—which, I presume, had continued down to a recent period. Mr. Dighton has denied holding the districts. We shall now hear that Azim Ali discharged its duties gratuitously; as it is likely the Resident knew that Azim Ali, residing at the Residency, discharged those functions, it is equally likely, if it were so, that he knew they were discharged gratuitously."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *September 28, 1849.*—Further accounts concerning the flood have reached us, and are of a very painful description. The Chooree Bazaar, in the Begum Bazaar, had been washed away, and likewise the suburbs of Dhoolpet and Maharajpet, with Ghasee Meean's bazaar in the city. A rise of between 20 and 30 feet must have taken place in the Musah river. The huge framework of the bridge gate was rooted up, and a hollow formed in the street upwards of 20 feet deep, which completely obstructed the thoroughfare. Of the city wall a large portion had fallen, and also of the Resident's new garden wall. So great indeed are the changes wrought that well-known localities no longer wear a familiar aspect. According to some accounts 2,000 houses of all descriptions have fallen, but others double the number. The truth probably lies between the two. Deplorable appearances present themselves in the city and the Begum Bazaar, where the poor houseless people are huddled together, with all their goods saved from the wreck. Among other sufferers is M. Tenducci, of the Nizam's service, whose house was destroyed, together with all it contained, by the falling on it of Shums-ool-Oomra's garden-house wall.

ENGLISHMAN, *October 22, 1849.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant:—

"I will now give you the instances exhibiting what ready dupes the people of Hyderabad are. A moonshee took a gentleman to Raja Chundoo Lall's house, representing the gentleman as the son of the Governor-General to the Minister, and the Minister as an opulent banker to the gentleman, at whose house he was to have a nautch. The moonshee got thirty thousand rupees by it.

"A late broker of Suraj-ool-Moolk, Ikram-ood-Dowla, gave a letter to an almost unknown person for the Governor-General, and for the use of his influence with the Governor-General. The person entrusted with the letter refused to return it but in consideration of a sum of five thousand rupees. With this money he opened a bank, got credit, but soon retired from the scene of action. It will not do equally for Nusseeb Khan's bank; if this be its purpose, there is nothing in it of the *omne ignotum*.

"A person carried a clock to a Minister and said an officer of high rank leaving the place had sent it to him as a present. The person was complimented with fourteen thousand rupees' worth of jewels to present to the gentleman.

"Such things are getting out of vogue, but they are not extinct.

"The party of persons who were apprehended some time ago at the Residency for circulating false papers, purporting them to be copies of papers procured from the Resident's office, and supporting their fabrication by seals they had forged, had devoted a good deal of notice to me, and had informed the people

of this place (even such a man as Raja Bala Purshad had sent me their copy of the Governor-General's letter) that the Governor-General had instructed the Resident to use craft (*hikmut amulee*) to have me expelled. I do not know whether those persons are out of prison and have taken to their old trade. But it has been told in high places that the Governor-General has desired that measures may be pursued gradually (*tudreejsé*) for my expulsion. I am sure the Governor-General will not expel me for describing them, and certainly not for news mongering, which may possibly once in a thousand times help to put His Lordship right."

ENGLISHMAN, November 17, 1849.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 4th instant :—

"The case of Premsookh Das *versus* Ramaswamy Moodliar is exciting a considerable stir amongst the English community as well as the natives at Hyderabad. It would appear now that the Resident has participated in it, and Ramaswamy's people profess not only that he has addressed the Governor-General upon the subject, but that Ramaswamy has seen his letter. I disbelieve the latter part, and I can form no conjecture as to the subject of the letter. If it bear upon the amenability of the defendant, a law question is not a matter for the decision of a Political Resident, nor of a Governor-General either, and it is to be presumed that in common decency (I do not mean to deny higher motives) neither the one nor the other would resort to any of the subterfuges which their relation to a native State so amply afford, to evade the justice of their country, when the evasion would become a mark to direct the natives of this country to a mistaken opinion of the independence of our Courts. Whatever the subject of the Resident's letter may be, it will receive a proper consideration in the Councils of India, and if a law question it will have the protection of the opinion of the Advocate-General.

"The only event I can bring in connection with the Resident's letter is that, subsequently to the reversal of the decision of the Court of Requests appearing here, Condaswamy, an agent of Ramaswamy, called upon Azim Ali Khan, Mr. Dighton's quondam moonshee, to obtain for him a paper from Sooraj-ool-Moolk which was extant. What this paper was I am not told, but it is conjectured that it is a paper which the parties procured Suraj-ool-Moolk to write, when the question of Ramaswamy's non-amenability to English jurisdiction was first raised, to claim him as a subject of the Nizam and as amenable to His Highness's Courts. If this letter was then received by the Resident and was considered inconsequential, to give it effect now would be liable to suspicion. It will not do to say now that the question was postponed awaiting the result of the Sudder Adawlut's decision; that would in fact be to say that the involvement of the question was preferred to resolving it, when it was a simple question, in the first instance.

"But then there is a report which has long subsisted in the English community, and is therefore somewhat to be relied upon, that General Fraser had suggested to the Madras Government the propriety of indicting Ramaswamy upon some question which was pending before it in the Accountant General's Office. If this be fact, it would indicate that General Fraser was no partizan of Ramaswamy, unless, indeed, he preferred him to the opposite parties, but that which it does demonstrate too manifestly to be questioned is that when the Madras Government was required by General Fraser to prosecute Ramaswamy in the Courts at Madras, General Fraser, at that time at least, must have been satisfied of Ramaswamy's position being then exactly what it now is—that Ramaswamy was amenable to English jurisdiction.

"The Vakeel of Premsookh Das has addressed a letter to Brigadier James soliciting a new Court. The language of that letter is considered offensive by the military authorities. The question is whether civilians will not consider it a fair remonstrance; and it has occasioned no small excitement. Premsookh Das was invited to the Brigadier's, and in the presence of five gentlemen of the staff asked whether he knew of the letter, whether it had been explained, whether he knew of the letter before it was sent, and whether he held himself responsible for it, and whether the letter as translated to him was the same as that which was then read

to him in the translation. He answered the first question entirely in the affirmative, saying Mr. Palmer, his Vakeel, had full powers to act for him, meaning to convey that the resort to his Vakeel would have been more in accordance to the usual course of proceedings. To the last question he observed that the translation then read to him was not exactly that which his Vakeel had given, but it was much to the same effect. He was asked did he admit he had given *galee galoze* to the Sirdars, or burra Sirdars,—the common acceptation of the word is indecent abuse,—and he denied that his letter contained any *galee galoze*; he was startled when he was told that he had called the Sirdars *beiwukoof*—certainly not deducible from the letter, which discusses nothing but what relates to their decisions.

“It is something new to see military men sensitive in regard to being charged with defective judgment in questions of law; that opinion, and even much stronger, would be given by any lawyer to any Civil Court, and would be made the ground for a new trial. However it may be, I am fully assured that either Premsookh Das or his Vakeel will hold themselves amenable either to the Supreme Court or the Sudder Adawlut with the utmost cheerfulness, though not within their jurisdiction, to answer for their conduct.

“It can't possibly be, as Ramaswamy's people would have it inferred, that General Fraser had reported to his Government that there has been ill-usage by a vakeel of a Military Court. General Fraser could neither have so misjudged the letter, nor gone so much out of his way to load the table of his Government with matters of inferior importance.

“Whilst upon the subject of Ramaswamy, I might as well inform you that he having refused to give up his jaghires, yielding Rs. 24,000 per year, upon the Nizam's call, and having forcibly expelled (that is, by threats) the bearers of the Nizam's mandate from his house, a strong party of Arabs was employed to confiscate it.

“Is it as a subject of the Nizam that he is sheltered from punishment for this offence? or does his location in the cantonment, his affinity to certain English gentlemen, and his right as a British subject protect him?

“The only plea that the Resident could possibly have set up on political considerations to separate Ramaswamy from being amenable to the English jurisdiction must be in connection with the farm he holds of the cantonment duties from the Nizam's Government. Could this plea have been extended equally to the previous contractor of the cantonment duties, who was there in the double capacity of bullock contractor to the Company, and farmer of duties in relation to the Nizam's Government? Then, again, Ramaswamy's charge is temporary, and he may be dispossessed whilst the Resident's reference is pending, which would take away from him the very ground on which the Resident would deny jurisdiction to the English Courts.

“It is quite impossible the Resident should have undertaken to discuss the question in a legal point of view, and should have alleged as an obstacle to English jurisdiction that testimony cannot be obtained from witnesses subjects of the Nizam. This could be easily disposed of by the Advocate-General. Witnesses are more effectually wanting when they die, but the death of witnesses has never yet been made the occasion for arresting a suit. While the English authorities appear to make common cause with the defendants against Premsookh Das he never will obtain justice in the Nizam's Courts. Their subservience to the English authorities whenever they understand prejudice or predilection to exist is notorious.”

ENGLISHMAN, November 22, 1849.—In addition to what we yesterday published, our Hyderabad correspondent sends us the following :—

“There are peculiar features in the interlocutory proceedings which have obtained in the cantonment of Secunderabad in the suit of Mahanund Ram Poorun Mull *vs.* Ramaswamy Moodliar. Ramaswamy is a native of Arcot; he was a servant in the Commissariat of Secunderabad; he was made by Colonel Bullock to resign his situation, as incompatible with the banking concern in the cantonment of Secunderabad which he carried on in conjunction with a French gentleman.

Regarding this matter there is a copy of a letter extant in the Commissariat Office of Secunderabad, of which I have knowledge, from Colonel Bullock to the Commissary-General. I presume the original is extant in the Commissary-General's office at Madras. After his forced resignation of his situation in the Commissariat, Ramaswamy's concealed partnership in the bank, to which Colonel Bullock had referred, became avowed. The partnership was subsequently dissolved, and Ramaswamy continued the concern in his own name, and for his own exclusive behalf ; all this time he could be no otherwise than amenable to the jurisdiction where he resided, both in accordance to general law in advertence to his residence and to special regulation. In his capacity of merchant trading in the cantonments it would be difficult for any comprehension to apprehend that whilst so located in the cantonment of Secunderabad, that place, and that place only, was excluded from the sphere of his mercantile operations. In 1843 he undertook to farm the duties paid by the cantonment dealers to the Nizam's Government ; his traffic continued unaltered, the same mercantile connection subsisted that had before subsisted, and the accounts of other merchants with him showed the continuation from first to last in a regular series of balances carried forward. But then, as if to obviate any shadow of a doubt being cast by his farming business upon his amenability to the jurisdiction, there came numerous Police and Court of Requests' trials, in which Ramaswamy was concerned either as plaintiff or defendant, all and each implicating his amenability. Serjeant Jefferson sued him in the Police ; he appeared to the summons, and prevented the matter proceeding to trial by paying Serjeant Jefferson : of this there is a record. He was cited by the Police to answer to a case of burning a Gosain. The offence not occurring in the cantonments, but in the bounds of the Nizam, he settled the matter privately ; the complaint was withdrawn. He appeared as defendant before a Court of Requests to answer to a claim of Bhowanee Sing ; this too is on record, but the Court of Requests considered his acts as inconclusive, as proceeding from his ignorance of his rights. There is some show of reason in this, but a more comprehensive intellect would not have taken these facts insulatedly, but would have connected them with all the other relations of Ramaswamy, and would have seen that although they did not positively confirm his amenability, yet they were powerful facts in corroboration of it. But then came the strong fact, given in the decision of the Sudder Adawlut (I send you their two decisions), that Ramaswamy had sued Sheikh Boodun in a Court of Requests for a debt, in which it was proved that Sheikh Boodun was a camp follower and a Commissariat contractor, and Ramaswamy's own testimony had shown that he conducted a *firm*. This was conclusive of his amenability with the Sudder Court, but not so with the Court of Requests ; they had repudiated everything making against Ramaswamy. This was but one though a large stumbling-block, and they contrived to lose sight of the part of the fact which conclusively convicted Ramaswamy. The gentleman who presided in the suit of Ramaswamy *versus* Sheikh Boodun was also a member of the two Courts of Requests in the interlocutory matter.

" Ramaswamy had never denied his amenability, and had practicably illustrated his understanding of his position, but then there came a large suit, and justice (I am not so sure as I was before) was the expected result of a trial by an English Court. Ramaswamy now denied his amenability, and Brigadier Lovell (no great matter a military man concurring in a mistaken law opinion) concurred in his opinion, and raised a question with his Government ; this belongs to October 1847. The Sudder Court overruled the objection, but their decision came in six months or so ; at this time there was another Brigadier, Brigadier James : Ramaswamy offered him a protest in March 1848, and he raised another objection. Now there is a peculiar feature in the case ; the objections which were raised were kept secret, as if a solution of the question was not desired, as if it was not a primary purpose of justice to put the other party in possession of an objection, to enable him to obviate it, or to confirm it by his powerlessness to obviate it. I quote a recent minute of Sir John Littler. It is instructive to show of what high character right principles are. I wish the sentiment could

be generally diffused amongst the officials of Government. Its prevalence in England is becoming remarkable in contrast to the opinions of former days, and I do *not* despair of a more general diffusion in India in those places where high intellect can aspire to the higher justice and more generous motives of conduct:—
 ‘Government never shows the least hesitation in giving parties interested access to public documents which they want to use as evidence, even though they may be wanted to be used against Government itself. If Government thinks a party has a just case, it yields to his claim; if a party can make out a just case in a claim against Government to the satisfaction of a Court, Government is not aggrieved.’

“This second objection of Brigadier James, resting, I presume, upon Ramaswamy’s protest, was overruled in a period of about six months more by the Sudder Adawlut. Notwithstanding these two decisions of the Sudder Adawlut holding Ramaswamy amenable, in opposition to what he and the Brigadier had shown, Ramaswamy put into the Court another protest, and the interlocutory question of his amenability was admitted by the Court as a point at issue. The Court of Requests declared him not amenable; the Sudder Court reversed the decision, pronouncing the inquiry by the Court of Requests to be insufficient and irregular. The Court had failed to do that which it was its duty to do, and failed equally in what was due to the plaintiff; this reversed decision came in about six months more. Thus eighteen months had been frittered away, another trial on the interlocutory question ensued, and Ramaswamy was again pronounced by the same Court of Requests not amenable. A fourth appeal from the plaintiff followed, and the second decision was again reversed by the Sudder Adawlut, the Sudder Adawlut alleging that Ramaswamy was amenable for his farming business, which the Court of Requests had assumed for his exemption; secondly, that there was ample proof upon his own testimony, as the case of Sheikh Boodun exhibits, that he was a sahookar trading in the cantonments; thirdly, that it was evident enough that he had dealings with military classes; and fourthly, that his location, by his own showing, brought him within its jurisdiction. On every count on which he was charged with amenability, on every one of which the Court of Requests had denied his amenability, he was held amenable by the Sudder Court. The Brigadier was enjoined by precept to have the question tried on its merits; at this time two years had elapsed.

“But now comes the extraordinary fact; we hear that the trial is postponed in deference to the Resident’s opinion, who considers that Ramaswamy, from certain political considerations, should not be held amenable to the jurisdiction of an English Court. This is something so extraordinarily new, it is so totally out of the elements of anything that is furnished analogously or by history, that I am at a loss to account for it. What the political consideration for Ramaswamy is is an enigma which requires a peculiar intellect to solve; but then my information may be all wrong, and the Court of Requests may have been stopped, awaiting an answer from the Sudder Adawlut at Madras, or the Government, as it may be, to the solicitation of the plaintiff to a trial by a new Court. If the plaintiff has no correct information upon this point, it is not his fault. The information is withheld by the Brigadier, who knows his own reason for being mysterious in the position where his communicativeness might be useful to the case at issue.

“An interlocutory proceeding is not settled in two years: one Brigadier raises an objection which has been placed before the Court by the defendant; a second Brigadier raises a second objection, I presume a crude one, because the defendant, who had the same means of access to the last objection as to the first, has not exposed it to light. One year passed in reasoning and reversing the opinions of military men upon questions of law, on the reversal of the second objection a Court is formed, and its decision is reversed on the grounds of its ignorance of the first principles of judicial proceedings—it would not allow the plaintiff to bring his own proofs. The same Court meets a second time to adjudicate the interlocutory question, and its decision is reversed as being against testimony. Another year passed in these two adjudications, the Court is brought to a nonplus, but then

Ramaswamy fortuitously finds himself backed by the Resident, either in his person or in his contract for him of the cantonment duties: he becomes sufficiently weighty to be a subject for political consideration. Parliament can't supersede the judgments of Law Courts, the Governor-General will not. Is it possible the Resident thinks he will?"

ENGLISHMAN, *December 22, 1849*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 9th instant :—

"The Nizam's prerogative is strenuously maintained in behalf of Ramaswamy. But the question is solving itself into this, that it is the behalf of Ramaswamy which is to be maintained, and not His Highness's prerogative. Raja Ram Bux desires to dispossess Ramaswamy of his jaghires and his contract for customs paid in the cantonments; he has submitted his views (*quære*) to the Resident, and has alleged in regard to the former, as if it were necessary to the Nizam's Government to give a reason to the Resident for dispossessing any person of jaghires, that the jaghire was given in the name of Ramaswamy's son, who is dead, and reverts to the Government,—Ram Bux is foolish to give any reason,—and the accounts of his farm are fraudulent (*mootajnulub*), quotes General Fraser's note to Suraj-ool-Moolk that Ramaswamy was bound to pay certain moneys, which he is withholding. In regard to the jaghire, Ramaswamy has thrown a garrison into the *gurrhee* of the place, and Abdoolla bin Ali's Arabs sent to deprive him have been held at bay for more than a month. On this point Raja Ram Bux (I wonder he could be so direct) has told the Resident that Ramaswamy if there was bloodshed should meet condign punishment, and in regard to the other he has stated the accounts to be fraudulent, and has given certain items in support of his allegation. Notwithstanding all this the affair hangs: General Fraser has opened a correspondence.

"Raja Ram Bux, I pledge myself, will be betrayed into misstatement that will be taken advantage of for severe remonstrance, if not heavy objurgation. Ram Bux will feel that he is to be the victim of his duty to the Nizam's Government, and of Ramaswamy's favouritism with the English gentlemen in office: right or wrong, that will be his conception; and Ramaswamy will be permitted to deal with the Nizam's Government according to his pleasure. If Ramaswamy fights it out in his jaghires, more bloodshed will have to be scored up somewhere.

"Why will not the Governor-General abrogate this bastard system, and at once expunge the Residency and the Subsidiary, or the Nizam's Government?"

"Talking of the Nizam's prerogative,—as if that (whatever it might be officials do not like to explain) was not lost by neglect, the prescription of more than fifty years,—one can't help reverting to the fact that when the Subsidiary Force was placed at the capital of the Nizam, the Company's Government, either not understanding the Nizam's prerogative as General Fraser does, or not having much regard for it, which in the matter I am about to describe is quite impossible, took for itself all the duties which were paid in the cantonments for goods brought into it, and as well all those paid for the Abkaree. After many years the first was resigned to the Nizam, not as a right but as a concession, a conclusion at which one does not fail to arrive from the fact that the Company's Government still receive the duties of the Abkaree Department. Hence, when the revenues paid in the country are alienated to the Company's Government, it is peculiarly extraordinary that Ramaswamy, the man born at Arcot, the writer in the Commissariat Office, the trader for more than twenty years in its precincts (according to the Court of Requests, dealing with all distant points but not with his neighbours), the long resident and possessor of houses, is not amenable to its jurisdiction, because of some fancied prerogative of the Nizam. The opinion upon this subject will not see the light. It is a question of a general principle, and the press will not be backward to discuss it.

"The Nizam is not fond of exercising his prerogative, or Ramaswamy could not resist its mandate in arms. If the Nizam should mistakingly in pursuance of his prerogative send his Arabs to apprehend Ramaswamy in the cantonment, as

par excellence his own subject, we shall be gratified to see him supported by a company or two of Her Majesty's troops. The Arabs require being taught, fine fellows as they are, that there are still better troops than themselves."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 1, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 21st December :—

"The only other thing exciting attention is that the Minister is desirous of dispossessing Ramaswamy Moodeliar of his farm and of his jaghire. The latter he continues to hold, and has held it for the last two months, in despite of the Nizam's Arabs employed to dispossess him, by means of a garrison, which he has placed in a mud fort ; and in regard to the former, as I predicted, General Fraser has contrived to get up a correspondence which, though it is not direct to maintain Ramaswamy against the Government, conveys the expression of so much interest on his behalf that it may possibly arrest the purpose of the Minister.

"To the first note of the Minister, desiring to dispossess Ramaswamy on the ground that his accounts were fraudulent, and that he was a rebel in arms against the Government, General Fraser requested an exposition of what was meant by the paragraph which charged Ramaswamy with having given fraudulent accounts. Whatever the Minister may have stated besides, he referred to a former opinion of the Resident conveyed by note to the Nizam's Government that Ramaswamy was liable to make good a heavy deficit which had occurred, of more than Rs. 40,000, to the loss of the Nizam's Government, by his neglect, and to pay the surplus revenue which was regained by the correction of the former remissness ; but that Ramaswamy had not done so. General Fraser in reply to the Minister's note stated that his observation was merely his opinion (*denish*) to the other parts of the accounts, which were charged as being fraudulent. General Fraser made no reply.

"This of course conveyed the impression that General Fraser was in his mind favourable to Ramaswamy, and that he was not more earnest to support him was the result of the strict injunctions he had not to interfere. The whole course of conduct pursued here, unless with a motive, is unintelligible. The Resident goes out of his way to tell the Nizam's Government in the first instance that it has a claim to a large sum of money on Ramaswamy. Time and events change his feeling towards Ramaswamy, and he goes out of his way to discredit his own opinion. It certainly was a mere opinion ; but opinions are sometimes fearful things—they have hung Sonatun Naik.

"It is said, but this is not credible, that General Fraser has required from Raja Ram Bux that Brigadier James should have it proved to his satisfaction that Ramaswamy's accounts were fraudulent. In what capacity was Brigadier James to enter upon the proof, and what means had Raja Ram Bux of satisfying Brigadier James of the misconduct of a man whom he especially favours, an opinion very generally held by the whole bazaar of Secunderabad, and by others in a very different situation from bazaar men ; besides, what peculiar faculty does Brigadier James possess to qualify him for an arbiter of accounts ?

"If General Fraser has said so, then is the non-interference a thing to be used to evade an unpalatable question of right, but not to repress a purpose. If this be not interference, to give a man an appellate jurisdiction over the Nizam's Government, there is then no such thing as interference. The interference would not extend to putting down bloodshed and incendiarism, nor could it be used to get Ramaswamy, evidently protected by his position, to cede his mud fort without fighting."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 9, 1850.*—The following is from Hyderabad, the 28th ultimo :—

"The Nizam's Government required the Resident to confiscate the houses of the persons of his Court situated at the Residency, and at the cantonments of Secunderabad and Bolarum. The Resident properly refused to lend himself to the perpetration of what might have been rank injustice, and requested to know the

offences of the parties on account of which the sequestration was ordered. The perverse understanding of the Nizam's Government, and the entire community, receive this request as reprobating the confiscations, and not in the sense in which it was made. The consequence is that the purpose is arrested, and nothing more will be heard of the matter, unless some of the natives understood to be good authority for English affairs set the Minister right. The obvious motive in requiring this wholesale confiscation was that the persons of his Court accountable to him for their acts should not have the shelter of a foreign power and a foreign jurisdiction; and did the Minister know his own affairs he might have told the Resident that he wishes to preclude the persons of the Court from enjoying for their persons that very protection which they now receive for their property, that it would be objectionable to give to their persons the protection, when the Nizam had complaints against them, which their property was receiving at that instant.

"Brigadier James has forwarded several petitions against the Kurora, who has succeeded Ramaswamy in the customs department of the cantonment of Secunderabad, from some of the merchants, to the effect that their importations are arrested at the Kurora's stations beyond the jurisdiction of the cantonments, and that they are required to pay there the imposts of the Government. They do not complain that they are charged in excess of the regular rates, and Colonel James has solicited officially the Resident's intervention to move the Nizam's Government to keep the peace of the cantonments, as it was preserved in antecedent days—in Ramaswamy's.

"There is always imperfection in adopting one side of a question; inquiry would have given the explanation that the Kurora was informed that when the goods of the merchants came into cantonments he had no authority to compel their being brought into his custom-house, situated in the cantonments and could receive no redress from the jurisdiction of the place, inasmuch as it was a matter belonging to the Nizam's Government only, but that did he coerce the dealers in the cantonments he would be liable to account for assault and battery.

"The Resident has adjusted the question rightly; he has desired that it should be proclaimed by Brigadier James that the dealers are to carry their goods to the custom-house, and only remove them when they have paid the duties. This puts the question at rest. But as to complaints being now made to Brigadier James which were not made in the time that Ramaswamy was Kurora the matter is easy of exposition. The practice has prevailed of allowing the larger shopkeepers to take their goods to their shops and there submit them for examination to the Kurora, with a view to the payment of duties. Ramaswamy had changed this system, which he had a right to do, and had the goods brought to the custom-house. Ruswanjee complained of the innovation to Brigadier James, and was told in official language if he gave or made trouble he should be turned out of the cantonments. It followed that when the complainant, however wrongfully he may complain, was made liable to punishment, complaints ceased. The same tone towards those who complained of the present Kurora would have found equal exemption for him. But it was so far the opposite to this that he understood no complaints from his office would be received."

ENGLISHMAN, *March* 29, 1850.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 16th instant:—

"A circumstance connected with the outbreak and the promiscuous killing of all the prisoners confined in the Residency Cutwal's choultry by the prison guards who followed has come to light that is really appalling. It appears that five out of the nine prisoners had refused to join the prison-breakers and assailants of the sentry, and had in consequence been locked up in a room by them. When the refractory prisoners were overpowered by the Cutwal's guard they most unaccountably proceeded to slaughter the five locked-up prisoners. As they could not effect this without perceiving that the five prisoners were locked in from the outside, and could not have been parties in the outbreak, there is no accounting for their intem-

perate zeal. It is quite impossible that they should not have been aware, as the fellows were without weapons, that they were not concerned in the affray. Being without weapons, they might have been reserved, if they were guilty, for the punishment to which the deliberate judgment of a magistrate might have sentenced them. I hear the jemadar and duffadar of the guard have been dismissed by order of the Resident, and that the Resident has been taking depositions from the Cutwal's people regarding this affair."

ENGLISHMAN, *April 1, 1850*.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 19th ultimo :—

"The slaughter of the prisoners is not of so wanton a character as I led you to apprehend by my letter of the 16th instant. It now appears upon testimony that has been taken that seven out of nine convicts were concerned in assaulting the sentry and firing upon the streets ; two of these, who had been prominently active, fled into the prison, the door of which they closed upon the police. They were followed by the guards, and in the tumultuous affray, whilst there was no distinguishing the guilty from the innocent, the armed from the unarmed, the two prisoners who had not joined in the *mêlée* unfortunately suffered."

ENGLISHMAN, *March 2, 1868*.—We publish under the head of official papers the agreement entered into between the Secretary of State and the Bank of Bengal for establishing a branch bank at Hyderabad in the Deccan for the conduct of the Government business. Under this agreement all the business formerly transacted by the Government Treasury at Hyderabad, such as the receiving and paying money on Government account, and on account of officers in the Government service, is to be carried on by the Branch Bank. No advances are to be made to the Nizam, or any of his relations, or officers, or chiefs of any class, except upon the deposit of Government securities, or shares, or stock guaranteed by Government. The Deputy Accountant General at Hyderabad, with the sanction of the Resident, is to have power to inspect the books and accounts of the Bank to see that the last condition is not violated. The Government is to pay all costs of packing and remitting treasure, and the Bank is to have the use and profit of all cash balances and moneys received on account of Government, the safe custody of uninvested cash balances being at the exclusive risk of Government in the case of war, disturbance, or unavoidable causes. All returns from the branch to the head office of the Bank are to be accessible at all hours to the Government auditor, and any loss or damage arising from any mistake of the Bank or its officers is to be borne by the Bank. A notification in the *Gazette* is to be published within one month from the 19th of February, fixing the date on which this agreement is to come into operation. This gradual extension of the branches of the Bank of Bengal for Government purposes should in time lead to the formation of one Government Bank for the whole of India, with its head office at Calcutta.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Gazette of India, February 29.

The following agreement between the Secretary of State and the Bank of Bengal, for the conduct of the business of the Government Treasury at the branch bank established at Hyderabad in the Deccan, is published for general information :—

THE BANK OF BENGAL.

Agreement between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Bank of Bengal for establishing a branch bank at Hyderabad in the Deccan.

DATED 19TH FEBRUARY 1868.

Memorandum of agreement made the nineteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part and the Bank of Bengal of the other part. Whereas by a general agreement bearing date the fourteenth day of April

one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six and made between the parties hereto certain terms were agreed to having for their object amongst others the management by the said Bank of the Government business and agency which might thereafter be transferred to or undertaken by them at Branch Banks which they might afterwards establish at towns or places other than Calcutta. And whereas the Bank of Bengal have established a Branch Bank at amongst other places Hyderabad in the Deccan and the Governor General in Council has offered to the said Bank (who have accepted the same) the business of bankers to the Government of India for the Government Treasury at Hyderabad and the terms on which business shall be performed have been settled and arranged between the Governor General in Council (acting in the premises on behalf of the said Secretary of State) and the Directors of the said Bank of Bengal. Now these presents witness that for the purpose of carrying out the said arrangement and in consideration of the payments and covenants hereinafter respectively mentioned and contained and by and on the part of the parties to these presents respectively to be paid and performed each of them the said Secretary of State in Council and the Bank of Bengal doth and do hereby for himself and themselves and his and their respective successors covenant and agree with the other of them and their and his respective successors in manner following, that is to say :—

1st.—That the Bank of Bengal shall and will from and after the time when and during the term for which this agreement shall come and continue in operation as hereinafter provided keep up a Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid and provide suitable offices and buildings in a situation as near to the Residency and Treasury Offices and other public offices of the Government of India at Hyderabad as conveniently may be.

2nd.—That from and after the day to be appointed by notification as hereinafter mentioned the business of receiving and paying money on behalf of the Supreme Government of India respectively, heretofore transacted at the Government Treasury at Hyderabad shall be carried on and transacted by the Branch Bank so established and to be kept up by the Bank of Bengal at Hyderabad as aforesaid subject to the provisions of this agreement and to such orders and directions with regard to receipts and payments as may from time to time be given to the said Branch Bank or to the Bank of Bengal by the Governor-General in Council or the Resident at Hyderabad or any of the officers of the Government of India authorized in that behalf and for the purpose aforesaid such account or accounts shall be opened in their books by the said Branch Bank with the Government of India and the Resident at Hyderabad as the Government of India shall from time to time direct.

3rd.—That from and after the day so to be appointed by notification as aforesaid the cash balance then in the Government Treasury at Hyderabad in the Deccan shall be deposited with the Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid, who shall also thereafter receive and hold for the said Government of India and subject to the orders of the said Government all monies and balances which but for these presents would have been received or held by the Treasury Department at Hyderabad aforesaid and the said Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid shall transact all such business for the Government of India and the Resident for the time being at Hyderabad aforesaid respectively regarding the receipt collection payment and remittance of money and securities and other matters as is usually transacted by bankers for their customers or shall be *bonâ fide* required for the exigence of the Government and for all departments of the public service in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts and also all such business regarding receipt collection payment and remittance of money and securities for and on behalf of officers in the different Government Departments as has hitherto been usually transacted by the Government Officers in charge of the Government Treasury at Hyderabad aforesaid and shall and will transact all such last mentioned business in such manner in respect both of Government and individual Officers of Government as may be from time to time required by the orders for the time being of the Government of India after due notice thereof given to the said Branch Bank.

4th.—That the said Bank shall not nor shall the Agent or person for the time being in charge of the said Branch Bank at Hyderabad directly or indirectly make any advances of money or monies worth on mortgage or security of lands or villages or immoveable property of any description or of jewels or jewellery or effects of a like description or on any other securities than are hereinafter specified and allowed to or for the Government of the Nizam or Soobadar of the Deccan or any of the relatives of the Nizam or of the Ministers or Officers for the time being or of Chiefs of any class whatever within the Nizam's Government. But that all loans and advances to the Nizam's Government or persons comprised in any or either of the classes before specified shall be restricted and confined exclusively to loans or securities of the Government of India or Railway shares or stock the interest of which is guaranteed wholly or partially by the Government of India.

5th.—That the Deputy Accountant General for the time being at Hyderabad shall have the power with the sanction and authority of the Resident to inspect the books and accounts of the said Branch Bank at Hyderabad at all reasonable times and after giving reasonable notice of his intention so to do and to report from time to time through the Resident to the said Secretary of State of the Government of India concerning the observance and performance by the said Bank of the fourth condition or clause of this Agreement.

6th.—That from and after the day appointed in the notification aforesaid the said Secretary of State in Council shall pay to the Branch Bank the actual costs and expenses of packing and remitting specie under the preceding clause and for which costs and expenses contingent bills shall from time to time be submitted to the Accountant General for the time being of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts and be passed by him on approval.

7th.—That by way of remuneration the said Branch Bank shall be at liberty to use and employ for its own benefit and profit all cash balances and monies placed at its disposal and received as aforesaid subject to the provisions of the Charter Act of the Bank of Bengal or any future Act relating to the said Bank and also subject to the provision of the said Agreement bearing date the fourteenth day of April one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six and made between the parties hereto and to appropriate the profit arising from such employment without being charged with any interest in account. But the safe custody of the unemployed Government cash balance from time to time in the hands of the hands of the Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid so long as the same shall remain uninvested shall be at the exclusive risk of Government in case of loss from war disturbance or unavoidable cause.

8th.—That all returns furnished by the said Branch Bank to the Head Office of the Bank of Bengal as also of all official reports of the Bank's Inspector on the said Branch shall at all times be accessible to the Auditor appointed by the Government of India under clause fifth of the General Agreement with the Bank of Bengal hereinbefore mentioned and in part recited and it shall also be in the power of the Government of India at any time and as often as they may think fit to cause the accuracy of the Government balance in cash or securities to be inspected and verified by any Officer duly authorized for that purpose but not otherwise to interfere with the ordinary banking operations carried on at the said Branch and the report of such as to require on the part of the said Bank an explanation shall first be laid before the Directors of the Bank of Bengal to enable them to furnish an explanation or further information touching any of the matters referred to in the report and such report together with the explanation shall then be submitted to the Governor-General in Council whose order decision or finding on such report shall be binding and conclusive on the said Branch Bank and the Bank of Bengal respectively.

9th.—That the whole responsibility for any loss or damage which may result from or arise in respect of any error or mistake committed by the said Branch or by any of its Officers or Agents in conducting the Government banking business at Hyderabad aforesaid shall as between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the said Bank of Bengal rest solely and entirely with and shall be borne by

the said Bank of Bengal who shall have no claim upon the said Secretary of State in Council for compensation or indemnity for or in respect of any such loss or damage.

10th.—That this agreement and the powers and authorities herein contained and the covenants hereby entered into shall come into operation from and after a day to be fixed by the Governor-General in Council by notification in that behalf which shall be published in the *Gazette of India* within one calendar month from the date hereof and shall continue in operation down to and inclusive of the first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four and after that date this agreement and the powers authorities and covenants herein contained may by notice in writing from the Governor-General in Council to the Directors of the Bank of Bengal for the time being be renewed with or without any notifications as may be agreed on between the Governor-General in Council and the said Directors. In witness whereof the Right Hon'ble Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence Baronet Knight Grand Cross of the Most Hon'ble Order of the Bath and Knight of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India the Viceroy and Governor-General of India acting in the premises for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State in Council hath hereunto set his hand and seal and the said Bank of Bengal have hereunto affixed their corporate seal the day and year first above written.

(Sd.) JOHN LAWRENCE,
Governor-General.

Signed sealed and delivered by Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence beforenamed the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council in the presence of

(Sd.) ED. H. LUSHINGTON,
Secy. to Govt.

The corporate seal of the said Bank of Bengal was hereunto affixed in the presence of

(Sd.)	S. GLADSTONE.	} Directors.
"	HENRY CROOKE,	
"	EDWD. F. HARRISON,	

Bank's Seal.

MADRAS SPECTATOR, July 3, 1850.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 24th instant :—

"The case of Rajooree Veriah and Veeramah is again upon the *tapis*. The abbreviated history of the case is that on Rajooree Veriah, the husband of Veeramah, dying, the wife and Rajooree Veriah the brother disputed about their shares in the inheritance. Ramaswamy patronized the suit, and under his auspices a Panchayut was established to adjust the claims of the parties. The sittings of the Panchayut were held at the house of Condasawmy, a confidential servant of Ramaswamy, formerly employed by him as his Vakeel with Brigadier James, at whose house he then gave an almost daily attendance. The sequel will explain my reason for describing this man so particularly.

"The Panchayut could adopt no arrangement satisfactory to the parties; and the suit—there being no right of cognizance in the Military Courts of Secunderabad in cases referring to real property and inheritance—was in consequence, according to rule, transferred to the Civil Court of the Nizam. This Court decided $\frac{7}{8}$ in favour of Veeramah, and apportioned the rest of the property to Rajooree Veriah. The decision was unsatisfactory to the latter. The Court of the Nizam has no power to enforce its awards, even within the precincts of its immediate jurisdiction. It was wholly powerless to do so in Secunderabad, and the award remained a dead letter.

"Rajooree Veriah appealed from the decision of the Court to Raja Ram Bux when he became Minister some nine months ago, and obtained a reversal of the decree—it was then understood, upon a large disbursement of money. To this, which is the object of my communication to you, I shall refer presently.

"Rajooree Veriah dying, Veeramah procured a decision, by carrying up her suit

to the Nizam at a considerable expense, decreeing the guardianship of Rajooree Veriah's son, an infant, and the custody of the entire property, to her care.

"There was more activity in the Nizam's Government to effect enforcement of the award now given than there had been before, when the Court gave its decision. The suit in the previous instance ended with the award, but on the last occasion an injunction by the Nizam's Government was sent, through the channel of the Resident, to the authorities in Secunderabad, and measures were taken by them to put Veeramah in possession of the estate.

"The books of Rajooree Veriah necessarily formed a part of the assignment, and they exhibited a disbursement of about Rs. 28,000, as made by Rajooree Veriah, to obtain an award in his favour. The names of the parties, to whom money was given, were all with one exception entered openly. Independently of the moneys paid to people of the city, there appears one item of Rs. 1,000 paid to Condasawmy, whom I have described above, and of Rs. 100 as paid to Chittumbrum, Ramaswamy's commercial gomashtha; besides these, a line marking the place where the name should be exhibited, a debit of Rs. 5,000 was entered. The gomashtha of Rajooree Veriah being questioned as to whom this money had been given, whatever he may say privately, alleges publicly that the money was paid to the aforesaid Chittumbrum. This is but too shallow a device, and satisfies no one. It was obvious that when he paid Chittumbrum Rs. 100, which morally is of the same effect as Rs. 5,000, no effort was made at concealment. Then how are we to understand the 5,000 and the 100? The splitting of the 5 and 100 on one and the same date is but too suspicious a circumstance, unless we understand, that, like the palkee-bearers, having received Rs. 5,000, Chittumbrum still coveted a sheep.

"In conclusion, that the character of judicial proceedings here may be understood at Madras, I state a report to you as it prevails in the Indian community, of the one fact, that money was paid to Raja Ram Bux; of the other, that Veeramah, who disbursed Rs. 30,000, paid Rs. 15,000 to the Nizam: nothing is more likely; such purchase money for justice belongs to their institutions, and gratuities are received in open day by the Nizam; but the estate is nearly Rs. 60,000 out of pocket. I question whether a law-suit at Madras would cost this sum."

ENGLISHMAN, *May* 28, 1851.—The following is, from Hyderabad, dated 17th instant:—

"I believe I told you that there was a report, a rather questionable one, of the heir-apparent having addressed two notes to the Resident on the subject of public affairs. A friend of Suraj-ool-Moolk's has recently given confirmation to the fact of a communication by the heir-apparent, but in a different version. His story is that the Prince made overtures to Suraj-ool-Moolk to convey a letter addressed to the Governor-General, through his intermediation, to the Resident, for ulterior despatch, and that, Suraj-ool-Moolk having declined compliance with the request of the Prince, His Highness had himself forwarded the letter direct to the Governor-General. The communicant deprecated the notion that Suraj-ool-Moolk could have been a party to any affair of this sort and not have communicated it to the Nizam. This was very simple, but of this sort of simplicity all the friends of Suraj-ool-Moolk, English and Native, are possessed. At what stage of the proceedings would Suraj-ool-Moolk have then apprised the Nizam of this objectionable letter; it cannot be supposed, as this friend of Suraj-ool-Moolk's would imply, that he would have done so if his own agency in this—which, if not *suited* to the English Government, will be called intrigues—had been employed. It is a pity, as it leads to much mischief, that Suraj-ool-Moolk should continue to believe himself to be in a position to benefit by any change which may be effected by the direct operation of the Government of India. The Nizam disapproves of his intimacy with the English community, and, after having in vain prohibited Suraj-ool-Moolk giving parties to the English, he has resorted to the extraordinary method of desiring the gates to the city to be opened on no account after certain hours at night, to prevent these parties being given, by not permitting egress from the city. His Highness,

I apprehend (he is not acquainted with the effect of turtle and iced champagne as our Ambassador in France is), has been actuated by some bigoted or political prejudice. There was now no objection to these parties on the score of decorum they were not as before, after certain hours disreputable—actually and positively disreputable—orgies, which, though suitable to Sovereigns, are not becoming to Ministers.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, June 11, 1851.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 4th instant:—

“This is cunningly devised, but it will be of no avail; Suraj-ool-Moolk can neither influence the Resident, nor will he be committed with him. Suraj-ool-Moolk will not withhold exposition; and the Resident, in common with all other persons, knows that His Highness will not permit any arrangement to be concluded but under his own direction. A plea of obstruction is *prima facie* good evidence against the Nizam, and it certainly will be advanced by Suraj-ool-Moolk if matters cannot be arranged through his means satisfactorily to the Resident. The fears of the Arabs will equally prevail to direct the Nizam and Suraj-ool-Moolk. I question whether even a spirited remonstrance will be made by Suraj-ool-Moolk to the two Arab Chiefs, who communicate with him on the subject, lest their replies should insult and humiliate him. No man here uses any other language but that of humble persuasion to these powerful and occasionally irritable Chiefs.

“The mode of communicating with the Resident by official notes has become rather complicated, Syf Jung used heretofore to receive : and answer the Resident’s notes ; it has now been ordered that Syf Jung should receive the notes, deliver them to Ghoolam Kumee Khan, who will present, not the notes, but an abstract of them to His Highness, write the answers, and send them to Syf Jung to have his seal and signature attached, and transmitted to the Resident. I suppose this grows out of complaints by the Resident of the unsatisfactoriness of Syf Jung’s correspondence. No wonder if it be true that abstracts of the Resident’s notes were alone presented to the Nizam, parts of them being suppressed, from fear of rousing his anger, which he ordinarily directs to the person communicating with him at the time, and that His Highness’s answers, if not given at the time, dare not be applied for afterwards, and lie in abeyance till a second note from the Resident gives the valid opportunity for the renewal of the subject.

“Perhaps Ghoolam Kumee Khan is on a probationary trial as to his fitness for the Ministry. He is not much known, but, whilst his abilities are described as respectable, I hear nothing to his disadvantage. This is not a little in favour of any man in this lawless country.”

ENGLISHMAN, June 25, 1851.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 14th instant:—

“I have communicated to you that the Nizam took a strange method of preventing Suraj-ool-Moolk’s giving parties to English gentlemen, by desiring his Cutwal on no account to open the gates of the city after a certain hour at night. Suraj-ool-Moolk has recently given a party. This does not contradict my statement; the Nizam may have sanctioned this special party, or may have rescinded his order. His Highness has been at some difficulty for some months past to adjust the demand of the Resident for redress of an outrage committed by Arabs against a guard of Company’s sepoy (I believe a sepoy was either killed or wounded), and His Highness has appointed Suraj-ool-Moolk to dispose of the matter, either by softening down the Resident, or by prevailing upon the Arabs to give the full satisfaction he demands. Whilst His Highness has such a use for Suraj-ool-Moolk, it is not likely that he would refuse him a request of no material import, and it may be surely taken for granted that Suraj-ool-Moolk would lose no opportunity of carrying any object he had in view ; and I do not know that he gives to any more weight than he does to his desire of appearing to the Durbar as being on exceedingly good terms with the English. He has succeeded in impressing upon the Nizam that he stands high in the favour of General Fraser, and to this may be

imputed His Highness's employing him when he has any solicitations to make to the British Government. It was thus that Suraj-ool-Moolk was employed to obtain from General Fraser time for payment of the debt, the recall of the order to demolish Duroor, and now in regard to the affair of these Arabs. I do not believe that General Fraser's acts tend to give encouragement to such an impression, but nothing short of an open retraction of his former favouritism will efface it."

"P.S.—Ghoolam Kuvie Khan had been officiating for the last two months in the department of correspondence with the Resident, which had previously been occupied by Syf Jung. This gentleman was superseded for not conducting the duties of his office with efficiency. Ghoolam Kuvie Khan has also failed on his probationary trial, which might have elevated him to the Ministry, and was yesterday dismissed from his charge.

"The natives say that General Fraser has procured his removal; I do not believe this: General Fraser may have represented that the correspondence with him, now as before, was unsatisfactory. If the imperfections refer to the matter of the correspondence, and not to the language and style, the writer is not to blame. I apprehend, however, that there is a *mélange* in the construction of the letters: a direct reply to the Resident is to be evaded, and all the little wits at Court are employed in contriving answers that may say nothing. This is difficult to do with effect, and their contrivances usually terminate in saying things that are not; the style could hardly have been made a matter of objection, for I cannot fancy a worse style of correspondence than Rajah Chundoo Lal's, whether proceeding from his own pen or from his Moonshee's department, but ordinarily it was not defective in matter.

"The Rohillas are up and doing. There has been a battle at Kullianee, nineteen persons put *hors de combat*; the intelligence has just arrived, particulars not known."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 29, 1852*.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad, dated the 18th instant:—

"The interchange of intelligence among Sahookars is so rapid, and of such general circulation, that though I apprise you but three days after the event of the failure of Bolaram it will be no news to your native commercial community, to whom alone the information can be of any interest. The amount of the failure is not known, nor will be. Property is never put under commission; the general practice here, I do not speak of it in application to Bolaram, is for the bankrupt to rob the till of what he can; and for the creditors to snatch up for themselves, each individual for himself as much as he can; and frequently if a bankrupt is powerful, by position or influence, to pay nobody: he is no bankrupt, he retains his property, and his creditors make the best bargain they can with him. The thing of more general interest, however, will be the information that the poverty of the country has reached the commercial capitalists, and other bankruptcies are expected. Its next stage will be to impoverish the capitalists of the warlike clans, who maintain for the present possession of their wealth by their actual or supposititious physical strength—in fact, by dragooning; they do not perceive that wealth exists more upon paper than in specie, and that they cannot escape the effects of a common impoverishment."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *February 16, 1852*.—Our Hyderabad correspondent writing on the 9th instant says:—

"The story is again abroad, and seemingly upon authority, that Akbar Jah has left a large property in Sahookars' accounts and in specie. Before I believe the fact, I should like to know whether these Sahookars ever rendered him accounts, whether he issued any drafts upon them, whether he received the interest of his money; if all this has been done, and has been done without exciting notice in the commercial community, then is this something new; if this have not been done, I for one will not believe the fact. He had a bazaar and had some money in

it. The most opulent man of that bazaar, Hurdeo Bhuttee, is now in confinement at the Minister's house, and no man calculates upon his possessing great wealth, which would be the reputation of a man trafficking upon ten or fifteen lacs of rupees. A dissemination of that amount of money amongst many persons could not be a secret."

ENGLISHMAN, *February 21, 1852*.—The following is an extract of a letter from Hyderabad of the 9th instant :—

"We have recently had two circumstances to which considerable interest was attached, though that is now past. The one was the death of Akbar Jah, the Nizam's uncle ; he was reported to be worth considerably more than a million of pounds sterling, and his death, by the escheat of his property to the Nizam, was calculated upon to bring almost entire relief to the pecuniary embarrassments of this Government. The delusion, for it was such, terminated with his death, and the opinion prevails amongst the better-informed people that his entire property, the bulk of which consists in jewels, will yield not much more than twenty lakhs of rupees. This even would accommodate the Minister, and stave off many an imminent evil. It remains to be seen whether the Nizam will resign the sequestered property to his Minister, or carry it home to his own treasury. If he were politic he would resign it, lest the imputation of his having other hoards should be confirmed by his cupidity in this instance."

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *March 1, 1852*.—The following is from our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 22nd ultimo :—

"One of several apartments containing treasure in Akbar Jah's house has been opened, and has yielded a sum of 14 lacs of rupees ; of this, 10 lacs have been sent to the Resident, and 4 reserved for the use of Akbar Jah's family, and to pay the servants and dependants of the deceased, with whom, although a certain small subsistence was allowed them, no adjustment of their pay for the last nine years has been made."

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE, *July 2, 1852*.—We understand that Sooraj-ool-Moolk has recently established an hospital at Hyderabad at his own expense, but under the superintendence of the Residency Surgeon, an act highly honourable to that nobleman.

ENGLISHMAN, *December 27, 1852*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 13th instant :—

"Your paper of the 30th November gives an account of the Darya-i-Noor, which to a certain extent I am able to correct. The Darya-i-Noor was bought by W. Palmer and Co. from Messrs. Arbutnot and Co. for one hundred thousand Company's rupees, and was sold to Mooneer-ool-Moolk, Suraj-ool-Moolk's father, for one hundred and thirty thousand Hyderabad rupees. I am glad of the opportunity of adverting publicly to this matter, for Mooneer-ool-Moolk complained that he had been defrauded. Sir Charles Metcalfe and the Court of Directors of course adopted this opinion, but Mooneer-ool-Moolk knew better, for he procured Rs. 80,000 upon a mortgage of the jewel, two-thirds of the value, being the ordinary proportion for which jewels are mortgaged here."

"P.S.—I do not hear that any punishment has been awarded to Mihrab Khan; if it be on the consideration that Suraj-ool-Moolk is the principal culprit, then the indemnity given to Mihrab Khan is justice."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 20, 1853*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 6th instant :—

"A distressing occurrence took place the day before yesterday. Meer Tuffuzul Ali, the only son of the late Nizam by the right-hand marriage, the *beah*,—a useless ceremony, however, according to Mahomedan law,—came to the Residency, seeking

for justice. His complaint was that for nine years he had not received his pension (I understand he receives that pittance of it monthly called Mayakhoree—as I should translate it, pocket money), that his mother, who assisted him, had just died, her jageers were sequestered, and in common with them her personal property. But this was not all : he was required to pay his mother's debts contracted to Arabs, which were not inconsiderable ; the Resident could not see him without giving offence ; he did not see him, but allowed him the accommodation of a room at the Residency until he should receive a deputation from his brother recalling him to the city. Sufter Jung and Koorset Jung came to the prince from His Highness and prevailed upon him to return with them. If it be true that I have correctly described the complaint of the prince, and if he was truthful in making it, then is the condition of the country deplorable, when it cannot afford to maintain—or, worse still, if the indifference of its rulers will not maintain—those so nearly allied to the throne. The reason that may be assigned elsewhere for such negligence of blood relations does not exist here. The Nizam sees no rivals in his brothers.”

ENGLISHMAN, *January 12, 1854*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 29th ultimo :—

“The orders for pensioning the local officers of the Nizam's Contingent are out. As they are dated so far back as the 14th December, you will have heard of them from some of your correspondents. The pensions, to which a donation of six months' allowances is added, are admitted by all to be liberal.

“The Rajah of Nagpore is dead ; and the rumour in the English community is strong, coming from a creditable source, that the English Government will take possession of that principality. Just as well : for though the English may not govern India well, they govern better, beyond all comparison, than Indian sovereigns.”

MADRAS SPECTATOR, *May 31, 1854*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 25th instant :—

“In the *Englishman* of the 12th instant there is a notice that Company's rupees are to be sent into the Nizam's dominions. The information is not given so fully as to lead to any conclusion as to the reason for affording this supply to Hyderabad. It strikes one prominently, whilst nothing is explained, that the money is to be sent up to pay the troops, to obviate the loss now incurred upon the sale of Government bills ; and yet it is difficult to understand how this can be, for I hear it was recently told a Resident by a Paymaster of the Subsidiary Force that payment in Company's rupees to the troops would in point of fact reduce the pay they now draw, and occasion discontent among them. I hear, besides, that a proposal made to the present Resident by a Commissioner to pay the troops stationed near his provinces in Company's rupees was not sanctioned. The measure of supplying Company's rupees to the Nizam's dominions is a large measure. We know nothing of it here. A question of this sort can scarcely be a state secret, unless, indeed, it is made an axiom that there is wisdom in mystery.”

ENGLISHMAN, *January 10, 1857*.—We published the telegraphic announcement of Mr. Bushby's death on the 1st inst. Our Hyderabad correspondent, under date of the 30th ult., writes as follows :—“I regret to announce to you that Mr. Bushby died at 3 o'clock this morning. His death cannot be said to have been sudden, for certain distressing symptoms of a determination of blood towards the head, the consequence of a journey of about 52 miles in one day, appeared, and though he was intermediately relieved of those symptoms I presume he sustained a relapse of which he expired this morning.

“Mr. Bushby was decidedly popular. As a Resident no man that I have known, from first to last, has surpassed him. He had the singular merit, which shows an equable and straightforward course of action, of not being discussed, certainly not prejudicially, either in the English or native communities. He discharged his duties without favour or prejudice, and if it can be said of him that he did

not use his public influence to promote the private interests of individuals with the Nizam's Government, which some would impute to him as a fault, it certainly can be said of him that he did not use it to the prejudice or molestation of any person."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 22, 1857*.—The following is from our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 7th instant:—

"The condition of the country makes us anxious to know what sort of a man may be sent here for a Resident. It is sustained by so nice an equipoise that a very slight deviation of its position would throw it off its balance, and a revolution of some sort would follow. This might, under other circumstances, be beneficial generally, and a desirable event for the Nizam's Government. But I question whether at the present moment any movement calculated to produce a difficulty can be either expedient or desired by the English Government. It will depend entirely upon the character of the Resident, whether such shall be forced upon the English Government, or the present state of quiescence, which, though disturbed in details and in minor matters, certainly leaves masses and the greater affairs of the State unmolested, may still be left to us for a time.

"I could not better describe the man we want than by saying he should be such as General Low and Mr. Bushby. They did the work of their Government quietly and in a manner conciliatory to the Nizam's Government. General Low, though he was the agent for making a treaty with His Highness's Government obnoxious to the Nizam, is popular throughout the country, and, upon the present understanding of the Nizam, in no way objectionable even to him. His after conduct, in its whole series, but more especially in the matter of the appeal made to him by the Prince Meer Tuffuzool Ally, had quite reconciled the Nizam to him, and even had that event, conducive to the satisfaction of the Nizam, been wanting, the earnestness and sincerity with which he sought to do service to the Nizam's Government were beginning to be understood by the Sovereign himself, and at its proper season, when that arrived, would have produced the best results. Mr. Bushby's course of action was even; there was no intermeddling with affairs out of the pale of his duty, and no encroaching upon the authority or province of the Nizam's Government; as I have before said, Mr. Bushby was scarcely ever heard of—the best test in ordinary times of a good Resident. Neither he nor General Low were greedy, as others have been, of power; such men are not apt to intermeddle without authority, and when they do, give the least possible offence.

"I have been here many years. Several Residents have passed in review before me, and I can only add Colonel Stewart's to the category of the names I have given above, as one who, like them, came to do his duty by his Government, and not to indulge in the gratification of his personal sentiments. The history of the Residents here is illustrated by a curious fact. No one but the three I have mentioned (there have been nine altogether) but was removed from his appointment by constraint. Lord William Bentinck has noticed in his famous *Oude Minute* that our Residents interfere too much for private and too little for public objects. This opinion, the result of collective information, proceeding from a man of acknowledged good judgment and of an integrity of the highest order, removes the necessity for any dilatation upon this point, for it may be presumed to be equally applicable to those we have had at Hyderabad. Lord Hastings has spoken also to the same effect; he deprecated the interference by fits and starts of our Residents in the affairs of the States to which they are deputed. Such interference, generally coercive, and if adopted without the authority of the British Government clandestine, gives effect to no measure of a permanent nature. It has merely a tendency to disturb the system of the Native Government, and to embarrass its administration. What I have meant to say is that we require such men as General Low or Mr. Bushby for our Residents here."

ENGLISHMAN, *October 16, 1858*.—The following is from Hyderabad:—

"The Resident has proposed to the Nizam's Government to change the impression upon his coinage, and it has been determined to substitute the name of the

founder of his dynasty for those of the Kings of Delhi. The good sense and propriety of the recommendation was at once obvious to the Nizam and his counsellors, and was met by a ready concurrence on their part.

"I do not understand yet the public opinion upon this movement, but at every movement when the English Government is brought in contact with them their scarcely dormant rancour is revived. It has been animated at present to a more than ordinary height, and false rumours of English bad faith, English oppression and usurpation are spread abroad with no little assiduity.

"One rumour tells us that the English Government has proposed to disarm the subjects of the Nizam, and that the Arabs, alarmed at the movement, are calling in their forces to resist the measure. The rumour and its contingency are false, but it is got up with a view to a double effect. It will excite the people on the one hand, and encourage them on the other to carry out their project, when they can be brought to it, by giving them expectation of support from the Arabs, which, though frequently urged upon them by others, they have as yet consistently withheld and refused to conspirators and insurgents. I say this of the general body directed by their chiefs. The Arab soldier is ready to join any party or any cause offering high pay, and it is a moot point with me as to whether they would not even take service with the English, on good terms, to put down the Mahomedan fanaticism of the times. The Rohillas have been offered service but will not accept it, partly because they will not be of you, but more especially because the pay was considered small. They would take service for high pay, but they are a vile, treacherous race,—not worse perhaps, as our experience goes, than the races constituting our troops have been,—and would betray you the first opportunity.

"The next rumour is that the Nizam, opposed in his mind as to a change of the impression on his coinage, consulted a faqueer of much reputed sanctity, not a bad man, and only not to be relied on in so far as he is a Mahomedan devotee, and was advised by him to get up disorders in the State as a means of retarding the carrying out of the measure. This is false, but it answers the purpose of the seditious, as it enlists the Nizam on their side.

"A third rumour is that the English are building a fort in their cantonment of Secunderabad with an ulterior object, not distinctly expressed, but easily to be understood as designed to give the English Government a predominant influence, if not domination, over the Nizam's country and subjects, and perhaps direct usurpation of his sovereignty. Every man is left to form his own conjectures and to come to conclusions dictated to him by a virulent spirit of hatred. They are certainly entrenching themselves in the cantonments with a view to its future security. This is done after a lapse of sixty years, during which the subsidiary troops have occupied an open cantonment accessible on all sides, without any protection but that of the ordinary guards to their public buildings and arsenals. It is the movement of a factious people, of conspiracies and of overt insurrection that has forced this precautionary measure upon the English Government. But then we should necessarily look to the impressions which such rumours are calculated to make upon the influential people of this court, very few of them possessing information, and some guided to their conclusions by a pre-existing factious spirit. There is but little room for apprehension from the Nizam, as he is favourably disposed toward us—it is said, from conviction. Who can deny that his dynasty has been maintained by our alliance and support, and that the best security for its continuance will be found in his alliance with the English? With the impressions upon his mind and guided by the advice of his two wise counsellors, Mookhtar-ool-Moolk and Shums-ool-Oomrah, I hope to see things conducted in a spirit of cordiality and friendship, and a reliance upon the faith of our Government which has existed since the alliance was first formed.

"But then it is miserable to see that, whilst it is not impossible that certain influences may effect changes in opinions, we do nothing to strengthen and confirm the good feelings the Nizam has towards us. In the early days of our Indian history we showed great indulgence to native Sovereigns and Princes. Our Residents gratified them, not by dry disquisitions upon proprieties, but by giving them

satisfaction, wherever it could be rendered without doing wrong, without much care as to the childishness or folly of their requisitions. Latterly we have changed all this. Our Residents, under direction of the Government, are hard task-masters. The Sovereigns are come to the condition that they feel it would be presumptuous in them to ask us for anything. On the other hand, our wants from them, or the supposed necessity for a change in the conduct of their Governments, force upon us a constancy of small requisitions, not unfrequently but too irritating. We have but little to give them in exchange, but that little—kind words, manifestations of friendliness, and avowed satisfaction at their conduct—would be but little to give, but I am prepared to say, by knowledge of the opinions of the small party moving with us, it would be considered a sufficient recompense. I have good reason to believe that the authorities contemplate giving a reward to the Nizam's Government. Whatever it may be, it perhaps cannot be given now, but the Nizam may receive assurances of our sentiments and intentions towards him. These conveyed to him on a future day will be the expression of gratitude, at the present they would have a political effect of no small importance."

ENGLISHMAN, *June 15, 1860*.—From a correspondent at Hyderabad :—
 "There has been a curious attempt at swindling. A person having bought on two occasions jewels from a jeweller, to the amount of two thousand rupees each time, paid for the purchase immediately. The jeweller was then invited by the purchaser, a female, to bring jewels to the amount of a lakh of rupees to her mistress's house for inspection by the lady. He carried a valuable collection of jewels, worth sixty-five thousand rupees, to the house, where ten thousand rupees were given him as an earnest of future purchase to a large amount, and permission was asked to retain the jewels with a view to having them valued. This was granted, but the return of the jewels being evaded for some days a complaint was made to the Minister, who sent an armed party to the house and apprehended all that were within it. The jewels were then sent to the Minister from a house than which there is none more respectable in the city, and to the master of which, able to command by his word lakhs of rupees, it would be impossible to impute any concern in a swindling transaction."

ENGLISHMAN, *July 2, 1862*.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 20th ultimo :—

"The daughter of a Brahmin having become adult and not married, the father erected a hut on the river running past the city, close by one of its principal gates, *Chumpa Durwaza*, the tomb of a *Suttee*, and opposite to a temple of *Byragees*. The Hindoo religion enjoins the immolation of daughters who reach unmarried an adult age. The daughter was placed in this hut to be washed away by a flood of the river. There was no concealment of his purpose. With one section of the community, the Hindoos, it was considered a highly meritorious sacrifice and was encouraged; and I suppose it was believed by the father that the other section, the Mahomedans, had no right to interfere with his performance of a most sacred duty. When his intention became known to the Minister the girl was already placed in the hut and crowds visited her; the father was brought up by his orders, and security was taken from him to provide against his carrying his intention of immolating the girl on any future day into effect. The intention of the Brahmin may be put by the side of your case of the sacrifice to *Kali* of a human being at Hooghly. When I mentioned the conduct of the jury of Hindoos empanelled to try that case to a Moulvie, a man of liberal opinions, his observation was that, similarly, there would be no conviction by a Mussulman jury if a Soonnee were brought before it for having taken the life of a Sheah for execrating (*tuburra*) the three first Caliphs. It was permitted by their law and recognized as meritorious. To this I would add that no respectable Mussulman jury could pronounce a Mussulman guilty for the murder of an infidel. Their law does not permit Mussulman murderers being sentenced capitally for the murder of an infidel; and a conviction in your courts would be to consign him to death. What is to be done with Brahmins,

Mahomedans, and Vallabhacharyas, not forgetting the indecent representations at Hindoo temples? These are stupid words to utter; your prevention will go but a small way; there must be a total moral regeneration. There is progression towards it, but when will it be consummated? Not in the lifetime of any of our legislators, nor that of any person at present existing, nor perhaps within the period of our rule. It is long to wait, can no fetters nor exorcism bind them?"

ENGLISHMAN, *August 5, 1862*.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 22nd ultimo :—

"A letter in the *Friend of India* says that Lord Dalhousie, remarking on the boot question, observed to Colonel Davidson, "Were I Resident at Hyderabad, catch me taking off my boots!" Lord Dalhousie sent his especial Resident, Colonel Low, to Hyderabad; he took off his boots. He sent Mr. Bushby, a *quondam* member of the Indian Secretariat, to Hyderabad; he also took off his boots. Lord Dalhousie contented himself with the observation quoted in the *Friend of India*, but gave no instructions to his Residents about the boots. The quotation seems to me to go to prove too much, for it would appear as if Lord Dalhousie only cared for the degradation of the bootless feet in his own person, but not in that of his representative.

"The stories quoted by the *Friend* of Colonel Davidson's demeanour at the durbar are too strange for belief. There need be no difficulty in regard to this matter, for about forty persons were present; the truth, if cared for, is easily ascertainable. The *Friend* also advances suppositiously many omissions on the part of the Nizam to do grace to the ceremony. In regard to some of these I can put him right. A salute was fired; a ball, sparing no expense, was given to the English society; and His Highness had a *nautch* on the night of the installation. I believe thanks were rendered officially to the English Government, a fact about which, as it must have been reported, there can be no mistake. If the facts be controverted upon which the *Friend* has hung his comments much of their applicability will be taken away. Whatever the occurrences of the Durbar were, the Government of India must possess correct information regarding them. I am rather disposed to think, not from any information I possess, but judging from the nature of the subject, that the reports have not been much heeded either by the Resident or by the Governor-General. The public, as usual, will pull on both sides; but who will credit the story of the Resident going on all fours to a seat near the Nizam? And who will believe the Nizam meant to put a slight on the Resident, when the first ceremonial of the reception was to meet him at the edge of the white carpet and to embrace him? The standing posture necessary to meet in an embrace must have hampered not a little Colonel Davidson's going on all fours. I have omitted to say that the entire party sat on the same level, and as to the sneering courtiers I can only say it is not their wont."

ENGLISHMAN, *August 22, 1862*.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 7th instant :—

"A telegram from Hyderabad will have apprised you in Calcutta some days ago of the death of Colonel Davidson, the Resident. I regret it. We, and in common with us the people of the country, owe him much for having, in conjunction with Salar Jung, preserved peace when the chances were considerably against it. In this respect we are also indebted to the Arabs, who rejected proposals made to them, from persons concerned in getting it up, to take part in an insurrection. I have this on the authority of an Arab chief; had they done so a general rebellion would have been inevitable. Those who were here at the time will not have forgotten the excitement and the panic which prevailed, and of the extent of which, perhaps, a better sample cannot be given than in the circumstance that a military council was assembled in the cantonment of Secunderabad to consider what measures should be taken during the absence of the Hindoos at the Dussera from their lines to guard them from any outbreak of the Mahomedans. The council ended without any result, which will only go to show that it was considered impolitic to take any measures indicative of the native troops being suspected.

Those who can recollect the difficulties and apprehended dangers of those days owe it to the late Colonel Davidson to rescue his memory from obloquy, and my information, from the best authority, enables me to correct what has been erroneously affirmed on two points. If I recollect rightly, much stress was not laid at first by the *Friend of India* upon the Nizam's taking the Star with his left hand. This subsequently became a prominent topic to establish that indignity was offered with design by the Nizam to Her Majesty. The subject was discussed with Colonel Davidson, on or about the 19th July, by a friend, when the Colonel observed to him "The Nizam took it with his right hand, I swear it." But on this subject, if it was thought proper or necessary either by the Government of India or the Resident, a full explanation, I conclude, has been given where it was due. About the 29th July, Lord Dalhousie's opinion, as given in the *Friend of India*, about the boots was mentioned to Colonel Davidson, and he observed, laying a strong emphasis upon the word I have italicized, "He *never* said anything of the kind, if he had wanted this he would have given his orders." I hope this notice will be considered conclusive of these facts. They are, of course, susceptible of attestation being given to them. Who is to be the successor of Colonel Davidson? We speculate here upon Colonel Durand, the Resident at Baroda, Colonel Brown, or Colonel Lumsden. Mr. Temple is properly housed, and can scarcely desire to flit; but would not Major Thornhill be the legitimate person? He is intimately acquainted with the state of parties and intrigues, and would effectually guard us against them. In the present times a Resident at Hyderabad should be inaccessible to any machination or to any party, however silly the one or powerless the other, as witness the recent affair of the Brahmin. The danger is not in the plot, nor the head, but the material. He would probably follow in the steps of his predecessor. The belief that he would do so would give confidence to the Nizam's Government and the people. He is popular and deservedly so.

"*August 8th.*—I have just heard that *jowaree* cakes have been passing from village to village, of which information has been received by Major Thornhill. What precludes the Government from punishing the officials of the village by whose mandate the *jowaree* cake is passed on? I begin to believe that the fellows do this to annoy us, for whilst there is nothing moving, and no rumour of a general spread of disaffection from any known grievance, the circulation of the cakes must be unintelligible as to its purpose, and consequently useless. One interpretation has just been given me. It is to cause a drought, that good prices may be obtained on grain. This never could have been avowed, and no one, if it had been, would have given any aid to the circulation, but the reverse may be gathered from hence, and the circulation of the cakes may be a supplication for rain, the want of which—we have not had more than six or seven inches—threatens a famine.

"I observe in a Poona paper a complaint against the Nizam's Government for not permitting the exportation of grain out of the country. The party complaining does not recollect that self-preservation is the first object of a Government and the first law of Nature; and if we feed others from our scanty granaries we must starve. Prices of most articles of food have risen one hundred per cent. It is much to be lamented that *jowaree*, the common food of the poor, should have risen to that price. The people clamour to have prices for grain fixed by the Government, and the Nizam, knowing no better, issues his mandate to his Minister to that effect. The Minister is obliged in appearance to lend himself to a purpose the impolicy of which is not and would not be understood by the people here; political economy is not an Indian science, and I fear the Minister will have a difficulty in steering his course between the Nizam and the people, acting conjointly, and the dictates of a sound policy. A letter from Lahore addressed to a Mahomedan who was not to be found came by post to Bolarum, the cantonment of the Nizam's Contingent in the vicinity of Hyderabad. It was opened, and its contents were to the effect that during the last rebellion the Mahomedans had given no assistance to their brethren in the north. There would be a rising in October next, which they were expected to join. The letter has been sent to Sir Robert Montgomery, and it is clear that it and the *jowaree* cakes have no connection with each other."

ENGLISHMAN, *September 30, 1862.*—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 17th instant :—

“The delay of the British Government in appointing a Resident to Hyderabad indicates that the office is considered important. And so it is, but not in the sense in which, I take it, the Government consider it to be so. It requires no accomplished diplomatist to conduct the affairs here. The English Government has only to issue its mandate to the Nizam, and it will be obeyed even if it be unpalatable ; and that all its requisitions are so, its demands being generally considered exactions, or if too trifling for notice, as containing some latent sinister purpose, is notorious to all. Whatever movement the English Government may make will, whether understood or not, be unacceptable to the people at large, and believed to be progressive towards the end of breaking up the Nizam's Government bit by bit. It is not within the power of diplomacy to correct this deep-rooted prejudice ; all that a diplomatist can do is to avoid giving offence, and to move in the affair in which he may be employed with amenity towards the Nizam, so as to satisfy him, if practicable, of the fairness and real views of his Government in any depending negotiation. We require no pre-eminent abilities here for the preservation of English interests. We rather require a man of judgment and temper who will not be guilty of the ebullition that may offend, of high honour that shall not fail to make itself understood even to natives ; a man above all meanness, shuffling and disingenuousness, without any wants for himself from the Nizam's Government—this, of course, but also without any wants for others ; and above all we want a man to act here more as a defective officer, a Fouché, than an able diplomatist, a Coudaincourt. We want to guard against rebellion, which to whichever of the two parties, the English or the Nizam, it may be directed, will involve both in its consequences, and against those who hate us obtaining power to counteract the measures and the influence of the Minister in the State, in whom alone I believe we place unalloyed confidence. Our principal want here, in the present temper of India and its people, is to be watchful of hostile factions and their intrigues, and the man who possesses the best knowledge upon the state of things here will be our best Resident.

“It will be difficult to conceive that the wit of man could devise and assign a sinister purpose for the sixteen lacs of rupees sent by England to relieve the famine in Hindoostan, but the foolishness of the people here, excessive beyond that of the rest of India, could do even this.”

ENGLISHMAN, *November 3, 1862.*—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 20th ultimo :—

“I have nothing new to tell you. We are expecting with much anxiety the nomination of a Resident to this place, and wondering not a little why it should be so long deferred. Colonel Durand and Sir Herbert Edwards are talked of as the elect, but they say there is some demur on the part of both, though from different views, to the acceptance of the office. We hear that the Government has designated the transaction in which poor Mrs. Davidson was foully and cruelly implicated a “most iniquitous act.” Mata Deen and Devec Deen, of whose conspiracy to get up a rebellion there was such full information, have not been taken. We must have other casting-nets than those we use. The Minister, alive to his situation, has prepared an elaborate code of rules, comprising minute instructions, for the guidance of his police. I have had it cursorily read to me. I am not acquainted with systems of police, but I cannot mistake that the code is comprehensive and distinct. The Minister is also about to establish a court of appeal—a very necessary measure, for litigants are never satisfied with the decisions of the courts here, and their complaints and expositions bring but too much discredit upon the judges, of which a great deal, I cannot doubt, is due. The police code and the court of appeal evince the Minister's desire to improve the condition of the country. His movement is initiatory, and will be brought to bear with much difficulty. I do not think either of his projects will, at the present, work effectually. There are but too many powerful influences which can be put down by nothing but the interposition of the English Government to counteract their working. It is, however,

a beginning. Something, and that of no small use, will come out of it, and the beginning will lead to an end, though that may be arrived at with considerable modifications and alterations. Why should not this be? It is no disparagement: the world has never concluded a system of legislation, and it will continue to legislate interminably."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 5, 1862*.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 24th ultimo:—

"I hear that a Civil Magistrate is to be appointed to the cantonment of Secunderabad, and that the Native *Cutwalee* is to be abolished, and an English Superintendent of Police and English constabulary to be established in its place. This is certainly an improvement. I am of opinion that a Native *Cutwalee*, from the familiarity of the *Cutwal* with his fellows, is the more useful as a detective department; but then the knowledge and information of the Native *Cutwal* is not yours, and you only receive such portions of it as he may choose to dole out to you. To this may be added that he has the power of repression and suppression. Upon the whole, the change is decidedly an improvement. The timid native, unlike Sir Francis Bacon's timid man, is nobody's but his own. I could wish the Government of India would go a step further and give the cantonment of Secunderabad a Judge. It is a large and opulent bazaar, and litigations for large sums of money, and intricate cases, arise there frequently. The litigants depend generally for decisions to their appeal on the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut. When there is so much clamour about military courts-martial it may be supposed that there would be as much about military courts of requests were the cases adjudged in the last as well known as the former. If there exist defects in the former courts they must be multiplied manifold in the latter. I wish with all my heart we had a lawyer here; he would serve, though by a slow process, as a school of instruction to our Native judges and lawyers. I have just heard of a Moulvie sentencing a man convicted of forging a Government pass for the free passage of his merchandize to pay a penalty of five rupees. The forgery was effected (perhaps the practice is not known to you, it is familiar here) by pasting a seal extracted from another paper upon the forged document."

ENGLISHMAN, *December 15, 1862*.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated the 4th instant:—

"It is now noticed by everybody that the influx of emigrants from Hindoostan (Lucknow they all express it) and from Madras is very considerable. The numbers they state are incredible; for instance, they say that thirty thousand men have abandoned Madras and have come here. Had they said three thousand I should have been disposed to doubt it. I, however, have no means of estimating the numbers with any approach to correctness."

ENGLISHMAN, *January 15, 1863*.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated 5th instant:—

"I ought to have told you before that the intention of substituting an English Superintendent of Police and constabulary for the present Kutwalee department as constituted in the cantonment of Secunderabad had been relinquished. It appeared that the proposed measure had not been contemplated from any necessity of the case, or with a view to improving the department, but was simply a measure of economy. Some sort of necessity for the removal of two native regiments from this station subsisted, and as this diminution of the force would have brought a pressure upon the remainder for the discharge of the usual duties of the cantonment a police was to be substituted to relieve it in some part. It is now found to be necessary to remove but one regiment, and the change proposed in regard to the police is relinquished. Of course, if a hope had been before formed of a remodelling of the Courts of Requests, it is, now that the motive for the contemplated change in the Police department is understood, annihilated.

"We are all anxiously expecting Mr. Yule, he brings golden opinions with him

from all quarters, private and public. I suppose, however, there will be some change in our *régime*. I have seen ten Residents here ; every successor brought fundamental alterations to the administration of his predecessor, with the exception of Mr. Bushby in the following of Colonel Low. Colonel Davidson's administration was good, quite sufficient to the day, a day of so much difficulty as to give to my expression 'good' what I have not meant—a signification of damning with faint praise. But there is nevertheless much room for improvement ; where is there not ? And it is not at all likely that Hyderabad, a Native State, can be exempt from a common condition."

ENGLISHMAN, *March* 19, 1863.—"I conclude that, as far as human foresight can venture to predict, the era of great wars and great mutinies is over. Little wars we may have, for it is impossible to calculate on the conduct of such a State, for instance, as Hyderabad, which is the refuge of the discontented spirits, Arab and Affghan adventurers, and Mahometan fanatics of all India. But even Hyderabad was kept quiet during the crisis of the Mutiny by a single regiment of European infantry."—From Mr. Samuel Laing's pamphlet on *England's Mission in the East*.

ENGLISHMAN, *May* 25, 1864.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 14th instant :—

"An alchymist, a transmuter of base metal into gold, has been introduced to His Highness by an Amcer of considerable note, and received into his service. His Highness does not mean to employ him professionally, but as he is a *fauqueer* he will be retained perhaps for the benefit of his prayers. He comes from a distance, from Baroda, and from that circumstance necessarily has a reputation : *omne ignotum pro magifico*. An oculist of great pretensions has appeared here, whose practice the Minister is putting to the test. He is a Hindoo from some part of Hindoostan, and pretends to cure cataract without the aid of any surgical operation, by merely introducing medicine into the eye. *Credat Judeus!* Many cures, it is said, have been performed by him. This I believe, but not the manner in which it is said they have been performed, and he is at this moment in high repute throughout our credulous city. So long as he is favoured he will not be subjected to the test of an examination by English oculists, although their fiat in favour of his practice of curing cataracts without surgical operation might be the making of his fortune. England would not think it too dear to purchase his secret, at the lowest valuation, for fifty thousand rupees. Try him by what test the Government of the Nizam may, no examination will be satisfactory unless English oculists preside at the examination.

"One of the pupils trained in the Medical College established at the Residency has taken to mixing up the two systems of modern Europe and of Yunnan (quasi Greece) in his practice. He has obtained a high reputation in the city ; but this is no test of his merits, for the gold-maker and the oculist enjoy it in common with him. This man is a proof of a fact that, instruct a Mahomedan as you will, you cannot overcome his preconceived opinions ; he will adhere to them in secular as well as religious matters. See if you can get their most learned men to believe that Greece was not overwhelmed by the sea, and that no trace of it is left. The Minister has bought a small steam-boat here, which is now being put together by an artificer brought from England for that purpose. We have no sufficient expanse of water to use it with effect, but *n'importe*, it is an advance, though a small one, towards the main point. His Highness the Nizam has imported from England an iron house, and an Englishman has come with it to put it up. He has also imported a large quantity of candelabras, &c., with an Englishman to take care of them. These are circumstances not a little pleasurable. We cannot be without dacoities so long as there is scarcity of food and high prices. One extensive dacoity was committed in a suburb a few nights ago. The greater part of the dacoits have been apprehended by the police established in that suburb. There is greater efficiency evidently in some of the branches of the Kutwal's Department.

I will hope for the best, and that we may come to have that department as well regulated as with you—and why not? since a native Government with its absolute rule (no rule) has the greater capacity for giving efficiency to a police. This is not aspiring to too much. Oh, that it may all come with a quick pace! Life is short, and Shah Niamutoolla has predicted the coming of Imam Melhudee within the next twenty-five days, that is, by the end of the present *Hijra* year. The Minister has doubled the pay for good services of the person Hyder Beg I mentioned to you, and has allowed him to raise ten horses—a great boon—to serve in his department. This will be a great encouragement to the other officers serving in that department. Several cases of torture, inflicted as well by Government authorities as by individuals, have lately appeared. The Minister has acted energetically by bringing persons of a somewhat higher than ordinary station in life to trial, and in other instances to punishment.”

ENGLISHMAN, *August 30, 1864*.—The following is from a letter dated Hyderabad, the 15th instant :—

“The Nizams, from the time of Nizam Ali Khan, or perhaps antecedent to it, have provided themselves with a regiment of women to serve in the departments of the zenana. It is an improvement upon the system of eunuchs, but, *selon la coutume*, it has been resolved into an absurdity by their being made to wear red military jackets over their *sarees*, and to carry a musket. These guards consist principally of the lower castes, the Dhers and Chamars. The Nizam accidentally heard a sepoy of his guard, a Hindoo, probably a Brahmin, rating one of these women for approaching too near his sanctified person. The Nizam took part with the man, and ordered that the low-caste women should either turn Mussulmans or be dismissed; they have all accepted the former alternative.”

ENGLISHMAN, *October 24, 1864*.—The following comes from Hyderabad, dated the 10th instant :—

“There has been a discovery here which has made no small sensation, and I am glad of it. The detection will put down a practice, to my certain knowledge, of long standing. It appears that a communication to Mr. Yule from the Foreign Secretary, which had not passed out of his hands, was known abroad. Suspicion that the letter had been tampered with fell upon one Moonowour, a Jemadar of the Resident, whose duty was to be in constant attendance in an antechamber to receive the letters and messages for the Resident and to convey them to him. It seems, however, that he possessed himself of the Foreign Secretary's letters by obtaining them, in his capacity of servant to Mr. Yule, from the Post Office. His house was searched, and not only a copy of the particular letter, but copies of several letters from the Foreign Secretary, were found there, and an amount of wealth which it was impossible he could have amassed from the savings of his wages or of the common emoluments of his office. He was tried yesterday at the Residency by Moulvie Moad-ood-deen. Mr. Yule, too, was present, I do not know in what capacity, but I am disposed to think as watching the proceedings, and not as assisting in them. Captain Fraser was the prosecutor. Moonowour has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment and to pay a penalty of one thousand rupees. His son, who assisted him, understanding English, to copy the several letters, has been liberated. I do not hear that the name of the party to whom Moonowour communicated these letters was ascertained at the trial. Out of doors suspicion falls on one man, and I believe correctly. It is not likely there can be any mistake about the party at the Residency, though for obvious reasons it may be proper to conceal his name. The person who got Moonowour to betray his trust must have been wealthy to pay him so largely; jewels to the amount of eight thousand rupees were found at his house, and much valuable property besides. This is conclusive that the person who paid him for his intelligence is in a position of such consequence as to render political intelligence important to him.”

ENGLISHMAN, *December 1, 1864*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 21st ultimo :—

“News of the disaster at Masulipatam reached us very late. I am happy to say that subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers were immediately proposed, and have been responded to in a liberal spirit within the Resident’s Bazar, by the Minister and Mr. Yule. The *Sahookars* have subscribed something more than four thousand rupees, which I consider liberal for a set of people not used to be bountiful in this way. One Ramdhun, not very opulent and noted for his economy, deserves honour for his subscription of five hundred rupees. The Minister has subscribed five hundred rupees in cash, and has desired the Talookdar of Kummum to send with all expedition to Masulipatam four thousand rupees’ worth of grain and cloths. I hope the Talookdar will be actuated by the same spirit that the Minister has been, and will not be remiss in the discharge of the duty imposed upon him. They have got up a subscription in the cantonment of Secunderabad. The bazar of that place is also opulent, and as many persons from Masulipatam are residents of it I hope to hear of a liberal subscription. But the trading classes of natives in India, with the exception of Bombay, are proverbially sordid, and there is no reckoning upon their liberality as a rule, though we know of many individual instances of great, even uncommon, generosity.”

“P. S.—I have omitted to say that the Nizam’s Government has remitted all duties for three months on goods passing from any part of its territories into Masulipatam.”

ENGLISHMAN, *February 18, 1865*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 7th instant :—

“A Small Cause Court, of which Captain Jones of the Madras Presidency is appointed Judge, is established in Secunderabad with power to decide upon money claims not exceeding a thousand rupees. It is an improvement upon the system of Courts of Requests, and, fortunately, the appointment of Captain Jones is popular, and the people are satisfied with his patient attention to the cases which come before him, and the justice of his decisions. This Court is established by the authority of the English Government. This is as it should be. We now require, for the completion of the measure and for entire exclusion of Courts of Requests, the establishment of a Court to decide on money claims whatsoever the amount may be. This, I am told, is to follow immediately, but the plan for it, as reported, bears a form so incongruous to all it relates to, that I do not trust to the correctness of the report, and will write to you more fully when I have better information on the subject. Circular letters about the alteration in customs and duties about to be charged are in preparation, and will be promulgated in a few days. The Minister makes compensation to all Jageerdars, Zemindars, &c., for the loss they may sustain by the reduction of duties. I understand the family of Shums-ool-Oomrah—part or whole, I cannot tell which, it being now divided into two—claim as their compensation sixty thousand rupees a year. Their demands, and perhaps those of the parties similarly concerned, will be complied with, without passing through an Audit Office, which the Minister has just established. Its use in this case would appear manifestly, and save the Minister from coming into collision, through his own immediate office, with a large and powerful class of persons. The intention, I believe, is to reimburse to the Nizam’s Government as much of the losses sustained by its reduction of duties as may be practicable, and to that effect the stamps heretofore issued in the cantonment of Secunderabad for judicial purposes on the part of the English Government will cease to be used, and stamps be supplied by the Nizam’s Government, which will receive the proceeds from them. I have just heard that Captain Jones will be vested with powers to try all civil cases, of whatsoever nature, an appeal from his decisions-lying with Mr. Yule. The measure will be, I am confident, popular, and will give us better assurance of receiving speedy justice than we possessed before.”

GAZETTE OF INDIA, * February 29, 1868.—*Official Papers.*—The following Agreement between the Secretary of State and the Bank of Bengal, for the conduct of the business of the Government Treasury at the Branch Bank established at Hyderabad in the Deccan, is published for general information :—

THE BANK OF BENGAL.

Agreement between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Bank of Bengal for establishing a Branch Bank at Hyderabad in the Deccan.

DATED 19TH FEBRUARY 1868.

Memorandum of Agreement made the nineteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part and the Bank of Bengal of the other part: Whereas by a General Agreement bearing date the fourteenth day of April one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six and made between the parties hereto certain terms were agreed to having for their object amongst others the management by the said Bank of the Government business and agency which might thereafter be transferred to or undertaken by them at Branch Banks which they might afterwards establish at towns or places other than Calcutta. And whereas the Bank of Bengal have established a Branch Bank at amongst other places Hyderabad in the Deccan and the Governor-General in Council has offered to the said Bank (who have accepted the same) the business of Bankers to the Government of India for the Government Treasury at Hyderabad and the terms on which business shall be performed have been settled and arranged between the Governor-General in Council (acting in the premises on behalf of the said Secretary of State) and the Directors of the said Bank of Bengal. Now these Presents witness that for the purpose of carrying out the said arrangement and in consideration of the payments and covenants hereinafter respectively mentioned and contained and by and on the part of the parties to these Presents respectively to be paid and performed each of them the said Secretary of State in Council and the Bank of Bengal doth and do hereby for himself and themselves and his and their respective successors covenant and agree with the other of them and their and his respective successors in manner following that is to say :—

1st.—That the Bank of Bengal shall and will from and after the time when and during the term for which this Agreement shall come and continue in operation as hereinafter provided keep up a Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid and provide suitable Offices and Buildings in a situation as near to the Residency and Treasury Offices and other Public Offices of the Government of India at Hyderabad as conveniently may be.

2nd.—That from and after the day to be appointed by notification as hereinafter mentioned the business of receiving and paying money on behalf of the Supreme Government of India respectively heretofore transacted at the Government Treasury at Hyderabad shall be carried on and transacted by the Branch Bank so established and to be kept up by the Bank of Bengal at Hyderabad as aforesaid subject to the provisions of this Agreement and to such orders and directions with regard to receipts and payments as may from time to time be given to the said Branch Bank or to the Bank of Bengal by the Governor-General in Council or the Resident at Hyderabad or any of the Officers of the Government of India authorized in that behalf and for the purpose aforesaid such account or accounts shall be opened in their books by the said Branch Bank with the Government of India and the Resident at Hyderabad as the Government of India shall from time to time direct.

3rd.—That from and after the day so to be appointed by notification as aforesaid the cash balance then in the Government Treasury at Hyderabad in the Deccan shall be deposited with the Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid who shall also thereafter receive and hold for the said Government of India and subject to the orders of the said Government all monies and balances which but for these Presents would have been received or held by the Treasury Department at Hyderabad aforesaid and the said Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid shall transact all such business for the Government of India and the Resident for the time being at

Hyderabad aforesaid respectively regarding the receipt collection payment and remittance of money and securities and other matters as is usually transacted by Bankers for their customers or shall be *bond fide* required for the exigence of the Government and for all Departments of the Public Service in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts and also all such business regarding receipt collection payment and remittance of money and securities for and on behalf of Officers in the different Government Departments as has hitherto been usually transacted by the Government Officer in charge of the Government Treasury at Hyderabad aforesaid and shall and will transact all such last mentioned business in such manner in respect both of Government and individual Officers of Government as may be from time to time required by the orders for the time being of the Government of India after due Notice thereof given to the said Branch Bank.

4th.—That the said Bank shall not nor shall the Agent or person for the time being in charge of the said Branch Bank at Hyderabad directly or indirectly make any advances of money or monies' worth on mortgage or security of lands or villages or immoveable property of any description or of jewels or jewellery or effects of a like description or on any other securities than are hereinafter specified and allowed to or for the Government of the Nizam or Soobadar of the Deccan or any of the relatives of the Nizam or the Ministers or Officers for the time being of or Chiefs of any class whatever within the Nizam's Government. But that all loans and advances to the Nizam's Government or persons comprised in any or either of the classes before specified shall be restricted and confined exclusively to loans or securities of the Government of India or Railway Shares or Stock the interest of which is guaranteed wholly or partially by the Government of India.

5th.—That the Deputy Accountant General for the time being at Hyderabad shall have the power with the sanction and authority of the Resident to inspect the books and accounts of the said Branch Bank at Hyderabad at all reasonable times and after giving reasonable notice of his intention so to do and to report from time to time through the Resident to the said Secretary of State of the Government of India concerning the observance and performance by the said Bank of the 4th Condition or Clause of this Agreement.

6th.—That from and after the day appointed in the notification aforesaid the said Secretary of State in Council shall pay to the said Branch Bank the actual costs and expenses of packing and remitting specie under the preceding clause and for which costs and expenses Contingent Bills shall from time to time be submitted to the Accountant General for the time being of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts and be passed by him on approval.

7th.—That by way of remuneration the said Branch Bank shall be at liberty to use and employ for its own benefit and profit all cash balances and monies placed at its disposal and received as aforesaid subject to the provisions of the Charter Act of the Bank of Bengal or any future Act relating to the said Bank and also subject to the provision of the said Agreement bearing date the fourteenth day of April one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six and made between the parties hereto and to appropriate the profit arising from such employment without being charged with any interest in account. But the safe custody of the unemployed Government cash balance from time to time in the hands of the Branch Bank at Hyderabad aforesaid so long as the same shall remain uninvested shall be at the exclusive risk of Government in case of loss from war disturbance or unavoidable cause.

8th.—That all returns furnished by the said Branch Bank to the Head Office of the Bank of Bengal as also all Official Reports of the Bank's Inspector on the said Branch shall at all times be accessible to the Auditor appointed by the Government of India under Clause fifth of the General Agreement with the Bank of Bengal hereinbefore mentioned and in part recited and it shall also be in the power of the Government of India at any time and as often as they may think fit to cause the accuracy of the Government balance in cash or securities to be inspected and verified by any Officer duly authorized for that purpose but not otherwise to interfere with the ordinary Banking operations carried on at the said Branch and the report of such as to require on the part of the said Bank an explanation shall first

be laid before the Directors of the Bank of Bengal to enable them to furnish an explanation or further information touching any of the matters referred to in the report and such report together with the explanation shall then be submitted to the Governor-General in Council whose order decision or finding on such report shall be binding and conclusive on the said Branch Bank and the Bank of Bengal respectively.

9th.—That the whole responsibility for any loss or damage which may result from or arise in respect of any error or mistake committed by the said Branch or by any of its Officers or Agents in conducting the Government Banking business at Hyderabad aforesaid shall as between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the said Bank of Bengal rest solely and entirely with and shall be borne by the said Bank of Bengal who shall have no claim upon the said Secretary of State in Council for compensation or indemnity for or in respect of any such loss or damage.

10th.—That this Agreement and the powers and authorities herein contained and the covenants hereby entered into shall come into operation from and after a day to be fixed by the Governor-General in Council by notification in that behalf which shall be published in the *Gazette of India* within one calendar month from the date hereof and shall continue in operation down to and inclusive of the first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four and after that date this Agreement and the powers authorities and covenants herein contained may by notice in writing from the Governor-General in Council to the Directors of the Bank of Bengal for the time being be renewed with or without any notifications as may be agreed on between the Governor-General in Council and the said Directors. In Witness whereof the Right Hon'ble Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence Baronet Knight Grand Cross of the Most Hon'ble Order of the Bath and Knight of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India the Viceroy and Governor-General of India acting in the premises for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State in Council hath hereunto set his Hand and Seal and the said Bank of Bengal have hereunto affixed their Corporate Seal the day and year first above written.

(Sd.) JOHN LAWRENCE,
Governor-General.

Signed Sealed and Delivered by Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence beforenamed the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council in the presence of

(Sd.) ED. H. LUSHINGTON,
Secretary to Government.

The Corporate Seal of the said Bank of Bengal was hereunto affixed in the presence of

(Sd.) S. GLADSTONE,
" HENRY CROOKE,
" EDWD. F. HARRISON, } Directors.

Bank's Seal.

TIMES OF INDIA, *June 24, 1868.*—The following is from our own correspondent at Secunderabad, Deccan, dated 19th instant :—

"Mr. Saunders, C.B., has now been among us some little time, and has got through some of the heavy formalities that are attendant upon the inauguration of a new Residential reign. There was a *levée* at the Assembly Rooms a few mornings ago, at which all the officers of the cantonment, civil and military, attended in the splendour of full dress. The Resident was in orthodox diplomatic uniform, as became his position. I mention this because, although it is in itself a trifling matter, it shows that he has an eye for conventional proprieties, which have been somewhat neglected here. It is surely befitting that an officer like the British Resident at the Court of the Nizam, representing as he does one of the leading powers of the earth, and living in daily contact with a native Government which sets considerable store on outward display, should maintain a certain amount of official state.

"Yesterday he presented his credentials to the Nizam in full durbar. At 9 A.M. Sir Salar Jung arrived at the Residency, and paid a short complimentary visit. At a little after 10 Mr. Saunders, accompanied by the Residency Staff, the

Brigadier-General, and a party of officers from the cantonment, set out for the city. "On arriving at Sir Salar Jung's palace, where a guard of honour was drawn up, the carriages were dismissed, and all mounted upon elephants. The procession, escorted by a detachment of light cavalry and bodies of spearmen, traversed the main street of the city, and reached the Nizam's palace about 11 o'clock. The route was kept clear, and the scene altogether was imposing and picturesque. Every balcony and window was full of spectators, and the side streets were blocked up with dense crowds, in which every colour of the rainbow was blended in one bright mass of turbans. Not a sound proceeded from the crowd, nor was there the slightest symptom of disturbance in any quarter. The people of Hyderabad certainly seem to be remarkably orderly on occasions of this sort. A sudden turn to the right took the party under an old gateway into the entrance courtyard of the Nizam's palace. Here were drawn up some companies of the Nizam's private troops, with bands, and presented arms. The less that is said about their military appearance the better. At the further side of the space kept open by these wonderfully got-up soldiers the elephants came to a halt, and the British party dismounted. Passing under a second gateway, leading into an inner courtyard, they found themselves in the thick of a multitude, from the foremost ranks of which Sir Salar Jung and one or two of the leading nobles of Hyderabad stepped forward to meet the Resident. He, with the General, and a few of the party, passed easily through the crowd, which made way for them, towards a third gateway. But the people closed up in their rear immediately, pressing upon their heels, and cutting off some of the British gentlemen from their chief. Then ensued a regular scrimmage, such as one witnesses at the pit entrance of the Victoria Theatre on a benefit night. Officers, in full dress, who had come to what they believed to be the most decorous and magnificent of Native Courts, might have been seen working energetically with their legs and elbows to force a passage through the press of natives, who were pushing and fighting to get in before them. Some of the Nizam's people were using their long sticks about the heads of the most violent, with a will and some considerable noise. The passage of the gateway having been carried thus, by force of arms, legs, and spurs, the disordered array of British officers concentrated themselves at the bottom of a low flight of steps, in a dirty-looking room, at the top of which the *darbar* was to be held. Here commenced the arduous process of pulling off their boots. It is no joke for officers in 'review order' to have to perform this operation before a number of spectators, in open daylight, and with nothing to sit down upon. The desperation of some who had managed to get one off, and were hopping about on the gravel tugging apoplectically at the other, may be almost better conceived than described. Some were in their stockings very quickly, with such ease indeed did they shed their boots that I can't help thinking they must have rehearsed privately beforehand, but others, who had not had this advantage, were not ready in time to see the Nizam enter the room and seat himself in its centre. They stole therefore noiselessly up the steps, and sneaked round to the rear of their party, who by this time were fidgetting about on the floor, searching vainly for a portion of their persons on which they could squat without agony. The serenity of countenance which some of them maintained, although in the extremity of torture, was very creditable. One or two of them subsided at once into the proper position, and here again I must be allowed to express my conviction that they had practised the movements at home, but others flagrantly outraged all Oriental notions of a seat. The Resident and party squatted on the left of the Nizam. His Minister and other native dignitaries were on his right, and the whole assemblage was hemmed in all round by a deep circle of lookers on, who chattered in a way that was anything but respectful according to European notions. The Nizam is a tall, portly man, with massive features and a severe expression of countenance. His presence is certainly commanding, and courtesy would come from him with the enhanced effect with which a commanding presence always invests it. The Resident tendered his credentials, which were read aloud after an awkward pause. Then followed another pause, equally awkward. At last the Nizam

inquired after the Governor-General, and Mr. Saunders replied. Sweetmeats were then handed round, and pounced upon by the attendants, who in some cases bagged them coolly without handing them at all. One or two little skirmishes went on over these sweetmeats within three or four yards of the Nizam. The British party got upon their pins again, salaamed, and came down the steps, looking about apprehensively for their boots. Had the attendants behaved to the boots as they did to the sweetmeats there would have been—no, I can't say what might have ensued. The complication would have been too awful. Luckily the boots were all there, and the officers managed to get them on again. No practical jokes had been played upon them in the absence of their owners, although some of the Wellingtons would have held no end of sweetmeats. In a few minutes the procession was on its way back, and all the Britons felt very glad to inhale the cool air of the Residency gardens again, and rest their eyes upon its shady trees and fresh soft grass, after the glare, dust, and smells of the city."

TIMES OF INDIA, *July 21, 1868*.—From our own correspondent, dated Secunderabad, Deccan, 16th instant:—

"On Monday, the 13th, Sir Salar Jung's palace was again the scene of festivity. A banquet and display of fireworks was given by the Nizam's Government in honour of the arrival of Mr. Saunders, our new Resident. The dinner was spread in the old part of the palace, and was, as usual, remarkable for its profusion and the extent of table. The spacious gardens were brilliantly illuminated, and with the crowds of guests, native as well as European, presented a very pretty sight. After dinner the firework *tamasha* commenced, and lasted for about three-quarters of an hour. It was hardly so striking as the last, owing probably to the dampness of the powder, rain having fallen during the day. However, the entertainment altogether was handsome, and the guests seemed well pleased.

"We are to have a perfect whirl of gaiety and diversion shortly—that is, for Secunderabad which has lately grown anything but a lively station. There is to be a concert on Monday, and a theatrical performance at the end of the week. Then we have the Bowenpilly race meeting, the 18th Hussars regimental ball, athletic sports, and feats of arms, cricket matches, grand rifle matches, and probably dances at certain mess-houses, &c. The theatrical performance is for the benefit of a Corporal Bodily, of the 21st Fusiliers. This non-commissioned officer has acted for the last two years with the officers of the cantonment in every performance that has taken place. He is undoubtedly one of the best male personifiers of woman that has ever appeared on these boards. His manner is quiet and natural, and he acts with considerable feeling. He has won the hearty good wishes of all the officers who have acted with him, and they very properly show their appreciation of his merits by giving him a benefit on this his last appearance at Secunderabad."

TIMES OF INDIA, *September 26, 1868*.—*A Raja Redivivus*.—Some of our readers will remember that during the troubles of 1858 the Beder or Berdar Chief of Shorapoor—or his people for him, for he was comparatively a young man—joined in the revolt and rebellion, and that, after a short action, Shorapoor was taken by a body of the Hyderabad Contingent, the Rajah seized and taken captive to Hyderabad, where he was tried and convicted, his sentence being transportation. On the road to the coast, however, with a guard commanded by an officer, on the occasion of the guard halting to rest, the prisoner Rajah got hold of a pistol and destroyed himself, and the little territory was bestowed by Lord Canning on the Nizam. To all appearance the transaction, and all connected with the Berdar Chief of Shorapoor there closed, and during the past ten years the Nizam's talookdars have been collecting the revenues and administering justice. But at the close of 1867 a rumour became current in that Berdar town that their Rajah was not dead, but was wandering about the western skirts of the principality, and he was ultimately seized near Kulladghee and brought to Shorapoor. Some identified the captive with their late Chief, but others denied all identity, and amongst the latter was the widow of the Rajah,

who years before had performed the rites customary on widowhood. The uncle also of the Rajah denied the captive's identity ; but the treasurer and other old servants asserted the prisoner to be their own Chief, who, ten years before, had been taken from them. On this Sir Salar Jung, in November or December last, ordered him to be sent to Hyderabad, and he has remained a prisoner in the Kotwali ever since, while the Minister has been making inquiries regarding him. We understand, as the result of these inquiries, that Sir Salar Jung has transferred the matter to the Resident, for disposal. Of the fact of the death of the person proceeding under the charge of the guard there has never been a doubt ; but the prisoner asserts it was a substituted servant, and he details all connected with the change, with much clearness. He alleges, we are told, that another petty chieftain, the late Rajah of Wanparti, arranged for his escape. The case, it is understood, is being investigated by Captain Tweedie, the Assistant Resident, and we shall be curious to learn the result of his inquiry.

ENGLISHMAN, *December 7, 1868*.—Our Hyderabad correspondent in a letter, dated 25th November, says :—" Mr. Saunders bids fair to become very popular. He is an excellent administrator, and is evidently anxious to make progress. He has recently issued printed rules regulating the messes of the Contingent force, and making it compulsory on every officer, married or single, to join a mess. This is all very proper when the Government grants a mess allowance."

TIMES OF INDIA, *January 12, 1869*.—A correspondent of the *Madras Times* writing from Hyderabad on the 30th ultimo says :—

"The town is full of the expected arrival of Major Hastings Fraser, who is to succeed General Briggs, the Military Secretary to the Resident. The newly-appointed Military Secretary is no stranger to the station and people, having been here as Assistant to the Resident some years ago. He is eagerly looked for by the native and other sections of the community, who always found in him a friend and a warm supporter of every public institution here. He has also many staunch friends among the nobles of the city. In connection with him I might mention the *Anglo-Vernacular School*, alias Fraser's College. The public examination day, and distribution of prizes, took place on Tuesday last, and was largely attended, the Resident, C. B. Saunders, Esq., C.B., kindly presiding."

TIMES OF INDIA, *January 20, 1869*.—*Meer Akbar Alee*.—From Hyderabad in the Deccan we learn that among the presentations to the Nizam which were made on the high-day held annually at His Highness's Court in celebration of the month Ramzan and its fasting being ended was that of Meer Akbar Alee, a subject of the Nizam who made himself so favourably known to the British Government during the Abyssinian Expedition that the important services rendered by him formed, at the conclusion of the campaign, the subject of a most friendly communication from the Government of India to the Nizam. In token of His Highness's satisfaction at these occurrences he was pleased to confer upon Meer Akbar Alee, at the recent *levée*, the title of Khan Bahadoor, with all its attendant privileges. We sincerely congratulate Meer Akbar Alee Khan Bahadoor on the tribute thus paid his many distinguished qualities by his own Sovereign. But what are the British authorities about, that no notice has been taken by them of services rendered directly to them beyond a few flattering orders and paragraphs in despatches? They may rest assured that thousands in the Nizam's capital, to whom Meer Akbar Alee Khan Bahadoor's services in Abyssinia are, through report, familiar, watch with curiosity to see what recognition these will call forth from a Government whose proneness to reward is estimated not very highly.

The present forms a good opportunity of convincing the natives that it is otherwise in reality ; and we are sure that every officer of the late expeditionary force, from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief downward, who was brought much into contact with Meer Akbar Alee in the course of the late campaign will be disposed to join us in hoping that the honour which has just been bestowed on

him by his own Government will soon be followed by a still more marked and satisfactory token of appreciation from ours.

Times may yet be in store for our Indian Empire when the value of services such as only a friendly and enlightened Mussulmān like Meer Akbar Alee Khan Bahadoor can render will receive fresh illustration. If such as he is are few amongst the class which he represents, all the greater is the necessity for our taking care that the masses of his fellow-countrymen who are acquainted with what he is and what he has done should witness also his reward.

TIMES OF INDIA, February 1, 1869.—We lately had occasion to congratulate Meer Akbar Alee on the tribute paid to his many distinguished qualities by the Nizam, his own Sovereign, in raising him to the rank of Khan Bahadoor, and expressed surprise that the British authorities had taken no notice of his services in Abyssinia beyond making flattering mention of them in despatches. We remarked that thousands in the Nizam's capital, to whom Meer Akbar Alee Khan Bahadoor's services in Abyssinia were, through report, familiar, were watching with curiosity to see what recognition these would call forth from a Government whose proneness to reward is estimated not very highly. The present forms a good opportunity of convincing the natives that it is otherwise in reality; and we are glad to know that some suitable reward is in store for Meer Akbar Alee. Lord Mayo took the matter into consideration the very day after he reached Calcutta, and although it is not yet decided what Meer Akbar Alee's reward shall be it will not be long delayed.

TIMES OF INDIA, February 16, 1869.—The Nizam's western provinces appear to be exporting grain into British territory. Lately no less than 300 Brinjary bullock-loads of grain were conveyed to Poona. It is said that the merchant who adopted this course chose conveyance by pack-bullocks because he discovered that he could transport his grain by this means cheaper than by railway. If the Bombay Government reduce the freight on grain to the rates now prevailing in the Bengal Presidency the railway ought to beat pack-bullocks out of the field.—*Englishman.*

ENGLISHMAN, April 14, 1869.—Our Hyderabad correspondent writes :—

"The Mohurrum is fast approaching, and the fanatics among the lower class, who do not approve of the Minister's leaning to the English, will no doubt endeavour to find some opportunity for marking their dislike. Meer Akbar Ali, Khan Bahadoor, has not yet received his patent as Nawab. His patron, Captain Tweedie, has gone home. He will therefore, most probably, have to wait some time before he is admitted to the Hyderabad passage. To use a native adage, the Minister's life is in his own hands. He has created several powerful enemies by his redemption of the jaghire lands from the chiefs who held them in mortgage."

We do not share our correspondent's apprehensions. The people of Hyderabad are too wise to rid themselves of the only native administrator to whom the Government will entrust the rule of the Nizam's territories, and Sir Salar Jung himself, knowing what he has to fear, will not rashly court the fate his personal enemies have so often prepared for him—fortunately for his country—without success.

TIMES OF INDIA, July 20, 1869.—*The Cotton Trade at Jaulna.*—The following is from our own correspondent at Jaulna dated 10th instant :—

"The cotton trade at Jaulna is closed for the season. Last year's crop was tolerable, and the number of bales exported from Jaulna to Bombay and Ahmednuggur exceeded 40,000. Most part of the cotton cultivation within thirty miles around Jaulna was brought here for sale, while a large quantity also came in from places still more distant. An unusually large area of land has been taken up this year for cotton cultivation, and the plants have already appeared above ground. The sowings commenced rather earlier this year, owing to the very favourable state of the season, but for the past week there has been no rain, and cultivators begin to look anxious. The crop, however, is looking healthy as yet, and seems

as if it could do without rain for a few days more. In your correspondent's opinion very much of the cotton grown in the districts about Jaulna is of a superior description, and if unadulterated and carefully cleaned will bear comparison, both in quality and value, with middling Oomrawuttee. As an experimental measure, exotic seed was sown here last year, but the experiment quite failed. This season a persevering gentleman has sown some 'Sea Island' seed for trial, and he thinks the experiment will succeed. Thus Jaulna is in a way to become one of the seats of a considerable cotton trade in H. H. the Nizam's dominions. Since the civil war in America every year has seen the trade greatly augmenting, and latterly the traffic of this place has began to allure a few traders from Bombay. The establishment of a Government cotton market at Jaulna is said to be in contemplation: several of the traders have petitioned the Sudder Talookdar for one, and there is little doubt our intelligent and energetic Minister, H. E. Sir Salar Jung, K.C.S.I., will sanction this measure. All the cotton from the adjoining districts would then be brought here for sale, and Jaulna would 'drive a roaring trade.' This measure, if carried out, would prove beneficial alike to the cultivators and the traders. No doubt the cultivators would at first object to take their cotton to such a distance for sale, but in the end this step would prove advantageous to them: for the country dealers here, directly they get intelligence from Bombay of cotton having gone up, hasten to the adjoining villages and buy up all the stock that can be had from the unsuspecting ryots, at a very low value. Moreover, they often swindle them shamefully in weighing the cotton. But if the cultivators had to bring their cotton to the market, competition among the buyers would secure them a fair price, and they would also escape loss from fraudulent weighing. On the other hand, adulteration, which is now carried on to a shameful extent, would then be prevented, owing to the bales having to undergo a scrutiny at a public market before sale, where it would not do for the seller to have his adulterated docras opened. The market could be made self-supporting by the levy of a small fee on every bale weighed and sold there.

"About three years ago, some enterprising gentlemen of this place started a cotton ginning and pressing company. This company at the outset has had to struggle with difficulties, owing to the absurd conception formed by the traders that the seed was damaged by steam, and became unfit both for sowing purposes and cattle consumption. But this absurd prejudice is wearing away, and traders are beginning to be alive to the advantage of having their 'kuppas' ginned by Macarthy's gins, and many of them have latterly taken to getting their bales half-pressed for transmission to Bombay. Better days are drawing for the shareholders, and it is anticipated that the company will do a brisk business next season. Your correspondent, for one, heartily wishes them success. Great credit is due to Mr. Pestonjee Merwanjee, the managing director, for having, amid much discouragement and difficulties, carried out this scheme, and no doubt he will in time reap the reward of his labours. Mr. Pestonjee is also the proprietor of the Jaulna Transit Company, which runs between Jaulna and Nandgaum during the cotton season, and affords to the traders every facility for sending their cotton to Bombay at little trouble and expense.

July 16.—After a long cessation of the rain, which caused great anxiety among the ryots, and sent the prices of grain high, we have had very bountiful showers within these five or six days. Owing to this timely rain the drooping cotton and grain plants have revived, and they are now in a thriving condition. There is promise of further rain, so that our anxiety is at an end."

TIMES OF INDIA, July 26, 1869.—*The Poisoning Case at Secunderabad.*—Some weeks ago, when cholera was raging to some extent in Hyderabad, a lady, the wife of a Captain in the Nizam's service, was said to have fallen a victim to it. She was the daughter of a paymaster in one of Her Majesty's regiments, and only came out to India some six months back. Previous to her marriage, it appears, the officer (her husband) had known another young woman of respectable parents, but somewhat of a loose character, who had

threatened revenge on the unhappy lady, and administered some poison in her food, from the effects of which she died. It was supposed at the time that the deceased fell a victim to cholera, but some time after it was rumoured that she was poisoned by the woman above alluded to, and that the husband of the deceased was an accomplice in the affair. The brother of the deceased, on hearing of the circumstance, brought it to the notice of Sir Salar Jung, who after due inquiry dismissed the officer from the Nizam's service. Subsequently the Residency Surgeon was ordered to go to Trimulgherry with two other medical officers and exhume the body, which was accordingly done. The stomach was sent to Madras to be analyzed, when a quantity of arsenic was found. Upon the receipt of the report the husband and the young woman were arrested, and are now in close confinement awaiting their trial. Dr. Sellars, the medical adviser of the deceased, died a few days ago after giving his evidence in this unhappy case, and it was said that he had committed suicide, which was not true, as he was ailing for some time previously, and his death was from cholera. He was much respected, and during his last moments was surrounded by a circle of his attached friends, who saw him quite reconciled to his approaching end.—*Correspondent of Bangalore Spectator.*

TIMES OF INDIA, October 11, 1869.—Some occasional correspondents of the *Englishman* writing from the Nizam's territory appear to make statements as if for the purpose of having them corrected. There was, for instance, the "gunpowder plot" of a few weeks back, which we had to state was even destitute of foundation. The same cannot exactly be said of the report, emanating from a similar source, to the effect that Sir Salar Jung, in order to restrain the undue extent of cotton cultivation in proportion to the area occupied by grain, had raised the assessment on all cotton land as such. As the production of the staple within the Nizam's territory, independently of the Berars, is so considerable as to affect our supply for export, some of those interested in the subject have tested the above story. The actual facts about levies on cotton and on land are thus stated, in the words of one well acquainted with Hyderabad affairs and the revenue system as now managed :—

"The frontier duty on cotton is Rs. 2½ per bhojah at the present time. It is raised or lowered according to the value of cotton, but at no time is it allowed to exceed five per cent. *ad valorem*. The present high price of cotton would justify the *Sirkar* in raising the duty ; but he does not raise it unless the high rates continue for a considerable time. As regards the tax of Rs. 5 per beegah on lands under cotton, such a measure is not in force now, nor has it ever been contemplated. There has been no alteration whatever made in the land tax."

This is quite intelligible. The tax alluded to is an export duty according to value, and that has necessarily been somewhat higher during the last few months of better prices of cotton. There has been no capricious or exceptional levy on land with the object of restraining the cultivators' preference for the profitable crop. We may mention here that, while copious rains have gladdened the ryots throughout the Nizam's territories, the immense volume of waters that have there run to waste brings painfully to mind the incalculable loss which India suffers for lack of ample storage contrivances. Yet these tanks and bunds are far more general in the Nizam's dominions than in our own Deccan districts.

Whilst referring to Hyderabad, we may mention that the Government of India has granted the right to a salute of 17 guns to the Ameer-i-Kabeer (premier noble) Shums-ool-Oomrah Bahadur. This worthy Mussulman chief is one of the colleagues of Sir Salar Jung in the Regency. Though his name is scarcely known in comparison with the latter, yet he is an excellent friend of the British power, and was of very great service in the Mutiny times. All men of this disposition may feel secure of impartial countenance and aid from the present Resident, Mr. Saunders, who, by the way, is not at all likely to be going home on leave, as some careless gossips have chosen to report. Things under the Hyderabad Residency seem to be generally moving along with smoothness ; but we should like to hear more definite reports as to the progress of the line from Gulburga to Hyderabad. Is the

tardiness of the work due to the Public Works Department under the Resident, or the Railway staff employed have not inducement to push on to completion? As there is no Cotton Commissioner to stimulate those concerned, as in the case of the Khangaum line, it becomes needful to ask what is being done south of Gulburga. As to the snail's pace of the G. I. P. towards Madras, the mention of the Kistna bridge and viaduct is supposed to answer all inquiries.

TIMES OF INDIA, March 18, 1871.—*Mr. Theodore Jensen at Hyderabad, Deccan.*—Some months since, Mr. Theodore Jensen, the artist of the Portrait Gallery of Western India, proceeded, by invitation, to Hyderabad, Deccan. H. E. Sir Salar Jung had long since promised to sit for his own portrait, but as the old orthodox Mussulman feeling against making graven images, or “the likeness of any living thing,” is still strong in the great Mahomedan capital of the Deccan, there was little inducement for the artist to transport himself and studio kit over a rough journey of three hundred miles. Sir Salar Jung's personal example would not avail much with the more conservative nobles of Hyderabad, but we must presume that the skill of the artist has sufficed to stimulate the wits of some enlightened Moulvie, who may have found a new gloss for the stern Mosaic prohibition which was transferred to the Koran. Be that as it may, the fine presence of the Minister, as it emerged from the canvas, must have encouraged the other leading nobles of Hyderabad to forego their scruples. One by one they are submitting themselves to the cunning inspection of the painter's eye; and, after many delays on the plea of family *tamashas* or religious fasts, some results are appearing from Mr. Jensen's visit to the Nizam's capital. The principal pictures already completed are those of—

H. E. Sir Salar Jung, K.C.S.I.

H. E. the Nabob Shums-ool-Oomrah, Ameer-i-Kabcer, Bahadur.

The Nabob Vikar-ool-Oomrah, Bahadur.

„ Khoorsheed Jah, Bahadur.

„ Fushcer-ood-Dowlah, Bahadur.

(The late) Ali Mahomed Khan.

Most of these are being painted in duplicate, and we believe it is the intention of the sitters to present them in due time to the Poona Portrait Gallery. There would be more chance of this, perhaps, if the somewhat somnolent committee of that institution, or whoever may be responsible in the matter, would bestir themselves towards obtaining at least a safe and convenient, if not handsome, building for these pictures. The addition of a few fine Mussulman state portraits will render the collection such as any presidency or capital might envy. We trust that before Mr. Jensen has to leave Hyderabad he may obtain the opportunity of painting a likeness of the young Nizam. There are indications that, in spite of traditional prejudice, these Mussulman sirdars have a taste for arts, and its being gratified in this way may open a path for other branches of modern culture, in which the example of the young Prince may have an excellent influence. There is neither geographical nor political connexion between Hyderabad and Seringapatam, but if the young Rajah of Mysore had been taking a trip northward during this cold season it would have afforded a good chance to secure, by painting the two portraits together, an historical picture commemorative of the new era of political justice in India under Her Majesty's sway.

TIMES OF INDIA, June 2, 1871.—The following is from a correspondent at Gulburga, dated 24th ultimo:—

“Many of your readers, I am sure, will find pleasure from perusing the following few lines respecting the once insignificant Gulburga. Since I came here, some 18 months ago, the place is quite a different one. The Railway is one addition. The natives here are struck with awe at this innovation, for multitudes are seen daily along the fencing of the line, watching in amazement the passing trains. It appears to me they still can't make head or tail of it, although trains have been running daily for the last year. The railway station (the best on the S. E.

extension from Poona downwards) is much resorted to by the higher class of the Nizam's subjects, who appear to be much more absorbed and amused than the more ignorant. The platform is exquisitely decorated with the choicest plants, and every part is kept very neat and clean.

"The Police is another subject of observation, as on arrival at the station these men cannot escape view, from the difference of their uniform to that of the Bombay or Poona police, which is, comparatively, much neater. This police, I am informed, was established here under the superintendence of Captain Dobbs, and placed under the orders of Mr. Inspector Sayers, who has taken great trouble to fit them for their duties, and I must add that they are very well disciplined. But now the above gentlemen are both away, and a third is concerned, who, if he continues his present mode of administration, will not only ruin his own prospects, but also gain for this corps a bad name. There is one case already against him, which is for hearing on the 31st instant.

"I will now enter into the most interesting part of my subject—the suburbs and town of Gulburga, which at the time I visited this place were most disgusting to behold, much more reside in. There were no such things as roads or bungalows, none other than mere rugged pathways, nullahs, and mounds of ruins, some of which are still standing, and were at that time occupied by the European employés stationed here, and by travellers passing through. The interior of the town was worse than the suburbs, and the occupants seemed quite ignorant of science and art; for their mode of residence was to be compared to that of wild animals, living as it were in a deserted, dilapidated village. Mostly every piece of masonry had either fallen altogether or was roofless, with jungles of prickly shrubs covering the whole place. Everywhere were stagnant pools of water and putrefying carcasses of animals. All this, I am happy to say, has been rectified. There are now two travellers' bungalows, a hospital (a very neat and well-built place), a custom-house and bazaar (near the railway station, the latter is a great blessing); there are also (still under construction) a jail, and a tahsildar's kutcherry, which, when finished, will be really a fine piece of masonry. Besides the above, there are several private bungalows in the vicinity of the railway station, and neat metalled roads to and through the town, a branch of which passes through the town and joins the trunk road from Sholapore to Hyderabad, a distance of 40 miles. The interior of the town is quite different from what it was; a bazaar has been erected, and the ryots have been compelled by the Nizam's Government to rebuild their abodes, under the supervision of one Mr. Hill, of the D. P. W., who, I am told, made all the above alterations alone. Besides the alterations above mentioned, a Municipality has been formed, which has also been deputed to the supervision of Mr. Hill, and I can assure your readers that His Highness the Nizam could not have pitched upon a fitter person."

TIMES OF INDIA, *July 10, 1871.*—*Art in the Nizam's Capital.*—From a correspondent at Hyderabad, dated the 28th ultimo:—

"You frequently have reports of what is going on at Secunderabad or Trimulgherry, but not so often is there note taken of what is doing in Hyderabad itself, unless it be some very grand *tamasha* at the Residency or the Minister's. Therefore let me give you an account of an Art Exhibition recently held at the 'Cypress Bungalow,' Oludderghat, which, as you know, is the Residency side of the city. This show consisted mainly of Mr. Jensen's state portraits of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the whole or most of the Poona Portrait Gallery, which has been removed here for a while. H. E. Sir Salar Jung attended in state with all the Resident, Nawabs and Sirdars on the opening day, June 19th, and honoured Mr. Jensen's residence and studio with their presence. His Excellency also kindly contributed several pictures, as did other gentlemen. As your readers are aware, the portraits of the Ministers and others of our leading chiefs have been painted during the artist's stay in this capital, and these add very much to the variety and effect of the whole collection.

"I must here say something about this gallery of pictures for the benefit of any

readers who have not visited Poona or Hyderabad whilst it has been on view. To do so it will be necessary first to remind the public that the two State portraits painted from sittings given at Windsor Castle are full length, and were taken for the express purpose of being exhibited in India, with a view to enlarging the ideas and improving the taste of the people of this country. That this admirable intention has met with a fair measure of success the Poona gallery, consisting of the leading Sirdars of the Deccan and Rajahs of the western coast of India, sufficiently testifies. These princes have not only given long sittings to Mr. Jensen, which, with their dislike of constraint, is some sacrifice, but have presented their portraits to the gallery, or rather to Government; and it may safely be said that this is an institution that at present stands unrivalled of its kind throughout India. Of itself it is sufficient to free the British from the sarcasm that if they were to leave India to-morrow the only visible mementos of their reign would be those supplied by Allsopp and Bass.

"These pictures will, for a hundred years to come, delight the descendants of those princes who are represented in this gallery, which, as a whole, is well worthy of the talented and persevering artist.

"I must now describe our event of Monday last. At 12 o'clock H. E. Sir Salar Jung, accompanied by Major Tweedie, Assistant Resident, drove up in his state carriage and four, which is a magnificent equipage that would attract notice even in one of the great capitals of Europe. We all know here that Sir Salar Jung's taste is excellent, and, another thing to be noted, he is no blind copyist. He has his own ideas as to embellishment and show, and also as to carrying them out: to wit, these postillons were not dressed in European style, but were in character and keeping, and formed picturesque accessories to the equipage, with its grand escort of smart dashing cavalry.

"And now let us return to our pictures; some know, but many more do not know, that pictures of living creatures, and, above all, portraits, are hateful to the orthodox Mussulman. This subject was discussed, you may have noticed, with reference to the Sublime Porte, some months since, when it was shown that in Turkey some attempt was being made under the sanction of the Sultan to counteract the existing prejudice and to introduce pictures and paintings. H. E. Sir Salar Jung is well aware how far he can go hand in hand with Europeans in their schemes for progress, and what is called enlightenment and advance of science. It is certain that what he recognises as good and useful he adopts without much hesitation, although in so doing he often excites the secret discontent of his own countrymen and citizens, whom he seeks to benefit against their will. Most of the Maratha chiefs have, I imagine, been represented on canvas, and consequently it will be necessary for our artist to seek fresh fields and pastures new, and we trust that the Minister and Resident will encourage Mr. Jensen's return to this Mussulman kingdom, where his visit has been productive of so much good, and where by his exertions there might be instituted a gallery permanently open to the public for their education and delight in things artistic. It has recently been remarked by one of the best critics on the London press, when referring to the portraits sent by Mr. Millais and some others to the Royal Academy this year, that portrait painting in good hands may reveal the highest style of art. It is gratifying to know, by the thousands of this Mussulman population who visited the exhibition at Chudderghat daily, and expressed their regret at its close, that such an institution would be highly appreciated by all classes of people in the Deccan. We have now to wish Mr. Jensen farewell on his approaching departure to visit Lord Napier in Madras, and trust to have before long the pleasure of welcoming him back again to the capital of the Nizam."

TIMES OF INDIA, December 2, 1872.—The Viceroy visits H. H. the Nizam's dominions.—From our special correspondent, dated Rozah, near Ellora, 28th ultimo:—

"On Tuesday afternoon (26th) the Viceregal party, including H. E. Sir Philip Wodehouse, his Private Secretary, and a few other gentlemen, arrived at Nandgaum *en route* for Ellora and the ancient retreat of Roza, on the hill above the

famous caves. Here is encamped H. E. Sir Salar Jung, waiting as the Minister of the Nizam to receive His Excellency the Governor-General and suite. So good were the arrangements made by Capt. Dobbs and the officers of the Contingent encamped at Nandgaum that scarcely five minutes elapsed between the arrival of the special train and the despatch of the Viceregal party to their camp at Terroda, a place about fourteen miles on the way towards Ellora. At this camp, which is within the Nizam's territory, His Excellency and Sir Philip Wodehouse were received by the Minister, who also stayed there that night, starting an hour in advance in the morning, so as to be on the top of this fine ghaut sanitarium to receive the party at the large and peculiarly commodious tents provided for them.

"It was about 9 A.M. when Lord Northbrook and H. E. Sir Philip Wodehouse reached the tent, when a salute was fired by the battery of the Hyderabad Contingent, which together with a company of infantry and four hundred cavalry, all of the Nizam's forces from Aurungabad, are encamped on the plateau. General Abbott, the Commandant of the Contingent, is also here. The visitors breakfasted in the fine tents aforesaid, H. E. Sir Salar Jung and the Nabob Bushere-ood-Dowla being also present. I should remind you that Lord Northbrook is accompanied here by two of his Councillors, the Hon'ble General Norman and the Hon. B. H. Ellis. On turning out after breakfast it was a fine sight to see half-a-dozen noble elephants, brightly caparisoned, waiting to convey the 'Lut Sahib' and the rest down the hill to the caves. But Lord Northbrook chose one of Sir Salar Jung's fine Arabs, Mr. Saunders, the Hyderabad British Resident, mounting the stalwart 'Piccadilly,' purchased by the Minister from the stud of poor Lord Mayo, and Sir Philip Wodehouse bestrode a small elephant *à la cavalier*.

"The visit to the cave-temples was rendered more interesting and instructive by reason of His Lordship being accompanied by your Dr. Bhow Dajee, of Bombay, who acted as cicerone. He explained what all the principal figures represented, going from one cave-temple to another in order of excellence, but not finishing with the far-famed 'Kylas' or halls of paradise, for there was a Jain cave also to be seen. His Excellency the Viceroy went through the exploration most industriously, seeming to find fresh interest as he went along; but it must be owned that by the time the Jain temples were reached the antiquarian zeal of the party had been tested to the full. However, the equilibrium was restored (Sir R. Temple was not present) by means of an ample tiffin spread in the cool chambers of the rock. So libations of champagne and claret being duly poured out and certain nutritious viands being consumed, the Jain temple is re-consecrated, for here a Viceroy and a Governor were refreshed, rested, and enjoyed pleasant talk.

"The party arrived on the hill again about 4-30. Soon afterwards a review of the Contingent forces present took place, which Lord Northbrook duly surveyed. This episode in military exercise was by no means a tame affair; there was much hard riding and many rapid manœuvres; but the shades of evening put a speedy end to the mimic charges. At 7-30 the dinner took place in the large tent, and for those who can estimate the trouble and cost it must have taken to spread such a tastily furnished table in the wilderness this must have been regarded as one of the achievements of Sir Salar Jung's Rozah entertainment. About 9 their Excellencies and the whole party adjourned to the shamianah provided from which to watch the pyrotechnic display by the Nizam's artist, or Mr. Delaney, who is duly retained at Hyderabad for these purposes. The sky-rockets were very good; the fire-balloons went far away, no one knows where, to the westward; but the most brilliant illuminations of the evening were, first, a glowing outline of the Taj in coloured light, then another with the legend—

" 'WELCOME TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN'S REPRESENTATIVE,
LORD NORTHBROOK,
FROM HER ANCIENT ALLY THE NIZAM.' "

"On this emblazonment coming out in all its perfection the Governor-General arose and politely bowed to Sir Salar, seated by his side, as H. E. the Nizam's

Minister, who in turn rose and made his suave acknowledgment. The company—which included Mrs. Saunders, Mrs. Abbott, and several ladies from Aurungabad—dispersed about 11.

“Not yet had Lord Northbrook finished his sight-seeing in the Deccan. At early dawn next (that is, Thursday) morning His Excellency, with a small party including his Private and Military Secretaries and Mr. Aitchison, the Foreign Secretary, galloped off to visit the famous stronghold of Mahomed Toghlouk, the fort of Dowlutabad. They arrived soon after seven, and were conducted over the hill and fortress by the intelligent Parsee tehsildar of Aurungabad, within whose district lies this hill-fortress. There is a large number of cannon in the fort ‘of sorts,’ and some apprehensions had been expressed at Rozah as to the consequences should the firing of a salute be attempted. These fears were vain: the artillery of Dowlutabad proved quite equal to the occasion, and its 21 discharges, both at coming and going, filled all the region with reverberations from the opposite ghaut, and wreathed the sides of the grim stronghold with clouds of smoke, beautiful in the morning sun. Lord Northbrook afterwards expressed the great satisfaction he felt in having made the effort to see this strange castle in and on a rock. He mounted on the topmost stone, gazing on many a scene memorable in Mogul, Maratha, and British history, for though the field of Assaye is hidden by a range of hills many other scenes scarcely less famous may be descried from that lofty vantage ground.

“For the present I must stop these very hasty notes on this Viceregal tour, the first any Governor-General has had really into the heart of the Deccan. Much might be written in connection with so suggestive a theme, but I must now cease abruptly, not having time even to allude to the names of those officers and assistants who, following the behests of the ‘princely minister,’ have strained every nerve to make Lord Northbrook’s visit pleasant and successful. That it has been so in His Excellency’s own estimation there is good reason to believe.

“I must try to give you details another day.”

TIMES OF INDIA, December 3, 1872.—The Viceroy in the Deccan.—From our special correspondent, dated Rozah, near Dowlutabad, 29th ultimo:—

“When in these days of incessant intercommunication the Governor-General and the Governor of the ‘minor’ presidency, with their Private Secretaries and other intimate advisers, disappear from public view for a period of four days, the irrepressible ‘Special Correspondent’ is bound, for his own credit and that of his useful craft, to account for the hiatus so occurring in the steady stream of news about the Viceregal progress which has flowed through the daily press during the last six weeks. Though I cannot quite claim to belong to the worthy and valued craft just named, and am indeed, as a correspondent, one most easily repressed by the *désagréments* of mofussil travel, it may be well for me to jot down a few notes which, by showing what is involved in the visits of great personages to out-of-the-way places, may serve to explain why yours, in common with all other journals, has had to wait near a week for any detailed news of Lord Northbrook’s pop visit to H. H. the Nizam’s territory. Be it known, then, that Rozah (which I choose to transliterate as ‘city or place of tombs’) is not only on the top of a ghaut 2,300 feet above sea-level, but is considerably apart from the post road, by which, from the G. I. P. station of Nandgaum, the mails and travellers regularly proceed to Aurungabad, Jaulna, and the Central Deccan generally. True, Ellora is at the foot of, and the far-famed caves are excavated, in the hill on which Rozah stands; but as antiquaries and sight-seers are few it is still correct to say that the locality is an out-of-the-way one, the reaching of which demands special transport arrangements. It should be noted, too, that the distance to the camp of H. E. Sir Salar Jung, where Lord Northbrook and Sir Philip Wodehouse have just been received in such comfortable—not to say lordly—style, is full forty-two miles from the railway station, without adding anything for the extra time and strain incurred by the very stiff ghaut ascent over the top of the caves at last, and the unbridged nullahs by the way, which make it equal to fifty miles of ordinary district road. The

post road diverges at Peepulgaum, a place about two-thirds of the way between Nandgaum and Ellora or Rozah. These general remarks, though not at all needed by old Bombay men, may be useful by way of saving parenthetical explanation as I go on to narrate how Lord Northbrook, His Excellency of Bombay and their suite fared on this somewhat rough but pleasing journey.

"From the outline account already sent you, it would be noticed that the distinguished guest arrived at Nandgaum station at nightfall on Tuesday last. Within a mile of the station were encamped about two hundred of the Hyderabad Contingent cavalry, and also artillerymen of the same army with two guns, two more being stationed at Terroda, about fourteen miles further on, where was the encampment provided for the Viceroy and Governor. Such was the celerity with which the transfer of the party from the train to the carriages was effected by the officer in charge of that movement (Captain Dobbs of the H. S. R. Police) that the Contingent's contingent had barely time to form in order due for the ceremony; but His Lordship got the benefit of the salutes, which there and at his resting-place Terroda woke up the sleepy plains of Khandeish with now unwonted echoes. At Terroda, being fairly within H. H. the Nizam's territory, the party were received with due ceremony, but in cordial manner, by His Excellency the Minister of Hyderabad. Sir Salar, as well as the Viceregal party, rested there that night; but the Minister was astir betimes in order to get to the top of the hill to receive his guests in his own camp. Unaware of these detailed arrangements, your 'special' had been to quote a local ditty of temporary fame, 'jog, jogging along' all night in a bullock bandy,—a machine in which the too confiding cit is assured he can get a comfortable night's sleep,—and having reached the foot of the ghaut, about eight o'clock, found himself and bandy unceremoniously shunted into the scrubby jungle and amongst tombs of Mussulman peers and Hindu saints which there stud the roadside. It was not for him to withstand the energetic gestures and rousing shouts of the smart ressidars and jemadars of Hyderabad police, before whom the poor bandy-driver allowed himself to be swept like chaff. Having extricated myself from the vehicle and taken my station on a hillock near by to make out what the stir meant, it was soon explained.

"Presently a sound of horses' hoofs was heard, and soon the troop came rapidly round a turn of the road. As it approached I recognized Sir Salar Jung at its head galloping along with three or four of the Hyderabad Nabobs followed closely by a company of the ressidars of the Contingent. They dashed past, taking the ghaut at a canter and leaving a cloud of dust as they disappeared towards the heights of Rozah. But after they had gone the sowars and police still kept guard at the roadside. A group of elephants a little further away stood ready with their housings under a tope of mango trees, and all around betokened something more to come. But no inquiries that I could make sufficed to elicit an explanation; so as the road was open for pedestrians, though not to the bullock bandy, I resolved to trudge upwards towards my own tent, by if good fortune one could be found. At the moment of the Minister riding past with his troop, and afterwards on looking down from the ghaut side, the scene was very picturesque. The smartly accouted horsemen; the police in 'Lincoln green,' and, barring the bows, armed as Little John might be; the elephants with their attendants and trappings; the tombs and little minarets on the roadside; the mysterious strangely carved temples seen at one's feet from the ghaut roadside; the well-timbered bit of country below; and all this lit up with the morning sun—whilst, because of the height, and shadow of the hill we felt cool and as if in a European atmosphere—all this combined to make my enforced morning walk turn out a highly satisfactory, and to me memorable, experience. However, your 'special' did find a tent at the top, and was so far comfortably housed, ere the Viceregal party in their carriages—yes, barouches, phaetons and the like—drawn by artillery horses dashed across the stony 'maidan' towards the tents of His Excellency, under the usual improvised archway with the 'Welcome' we have seen so often during the last fortnight. The battery of the camp fired its salute, and after renewed greetings from the Minister and his staff, Mr. Lyell,

Commissioner of Berar, and two or three other guests, Lord Northbrook and his friends retired to wash off the dust and settle into their new quarters. Probably also some time was now given to business and serious conversation ; for urgent affairs pursue public men into solitude ; but at breakfast all wore a holiday appearance. Already have I referred to the incidents at starting for the caves, and now I must break off again ; though it ought here to have been explained how the rough places had been made smooth so as to enable the Viceroy and party to reach the top of that remote ghaut so easily. Another day we must take up the thread."

TIMES OF INDIA, January 23, 1873.—In the early portion of last year it was brought to the notice of Government that infanticide and secret murder prevailed to a considerable extent amongst a tribe of aborigines known as Brinjaries, who reside on the borders of the Central Provinces and Nizam's State. Spreading north and south of the boundary, many of them have their homes in the Nizam's territories, and others in the Central Provinces and Central India States, but nearly three-fourths of their time is occupied in carrying grain and salt about the country. Their social characteristics are somewhat peculiar, and they seem to retain some of the most ancient form of superstitious belief. Idolatry is unknown amongst them, but each society of Brinjaries, called a *tanda*, has a high priest, who, like a Llama of Thibet, or the more ancient chief of the Babylonian hierarchy, is an object of reverence and adoration. The societies into which the tribe is thus divided travel about the country to and from the Kistna and Ganjam districts to the Nizam's territories and Central India, each priest accompanying the society of which he is the spiritual head. He leads a very reserved, contemplative, and sacred life, preserving strict celibacy. The influence exercised by him is, of course, very considerable, as he is believed to be omniscient, and any transgression of his wish is supposed to involve punishment both in this and in the world to come. Whatever ideas of a future existence and of a Supreme Being these people may possess, it does not interfere with the religious worship with which each priest is regarded. The purposes of the several groups into which the tribe is divided is not definitely understood ; but the origin of this organization is very likely the necessity or convenience of travelling in bands, and the consequent associations of common interest that, no doubt, imparted stability to the institution. Each band thus forms a small travelling community, with its head-quarters at a village which is visited once or twice a year, the members of which have a common interest in the traffic in salt, wheat, &c., which they carry on between the coasts and the interior. This represents their sole means of gain, for they are not regarded as a dishonest or turbulent tribe. The earthly wants of the sacerdotal functionary are of course but few, and these are supplied by the people. The priest in return prophesies, grants prayers, directs punishment, and professes to perform a number of other divine duties.

As it very frequently happens, however, that these prophecies and ordinations are not fulfilled, resort is always had to the excuse of counteracting evil influence, which is said to be represented in some unfortunate victim. He is not, however, sacrificed as in Drudical days, but is simply destroyed ; because he is supposed to be the incarnation of some evil power very much in the same way that the wizards and witches of the middle ages were considered obnoxious and deprived of life. On the non-fulfilment of a prophecy, the failure of a crop, the approach of pestilence, or the evidence of any misfortune, the priest is immediately resorted to. After pretended divination and meditation this potent arbiter oracularly signifies a certain individual of the tribe as being the responsible cause of the evil. The person implicated, being of course regarded as the enemy of the community, is mercilessly sentenced to death by the unanimous voice of the people, who regard the opinion of the priest as final and emphatic. The relatives of the victim are then called upon to deliver him up, and they readily do so, as any opposition would incur ghostly displeasure, which, under such circumstances, would be considered equivalent to the sacrifice of half-a-dozen other lives. If the victim happens to be a man of respectability his relatives prefer taking the execution into their own hands, and depute one of their number to either behead, strangle, or spear him to death in

presence of the assembly. If an individual of ordinary rank is surrendered, then the assembly commission a certain number to execute the sentence. These executions are carried out with the utmost secrecy, and the relatives of the deceased, as well as all members of the *tanda*, preserve the most scrupulous silence on the subject. No one dare divulge it, and those residing in the locality in which the deed is committed, if ever they chance to meet with evidence of the murder, are too ignorant and too apathetic to take any serious notice of the matter. This maintenance of secrecy, although it may have hitherto been successful, suggests that these people are not quite ignorant of the abhorrence with which such crimes are regarded by an enlightened Government. The obligation, however, seems to be growing lighter and less respected, and we trust Government will soon be able to interfere with advantage.

As regards infanticide, it is pretty generally known that these people are averse to having more than one or two female children, and that consequently this crime prevails amongst them to a considerable extent. The usual cause is assigned, that of the expense which the marriage of a girl involves. Government has called on the local authorities to take steps in the matter, and, as the *Brinjaries* are not a wild and untractable tribe, it is soon probable that we should hear of the suppression of these practices.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *February 3, 1873*.—Sir Salar Jung intends introducing the tramway system into Hyderabad, and has, as an experimental measure, sanctioned the laying down of Addis's patent single rail tramway from the city to a place called Sooroonugger, about seven miles distant. Mr. Addis is now in Hyderabad making arrangements for getting up the necessary plant and rolling-stock. The work is estimated to cost Rs. 13,000 per mile, and should this scheme prove a success it is most likely that the proposed railway to Chanda, for which surveys and all other preliminaries have already been completed, will be abandoned, and a tramway constructed instead, as the chief advantage in the use of the latter is its comparative cheapness.

TIMES OF INDIA, *January 28, 1874*.—*Hyderabad Almanac and Directory, 1874*.—The second number of the above Almanac, compiled by Mr. Soobaraya Moodelliar, has just been forwarded to us by the publishers, Messrs. Foster and Co., Madras, to whom our thanks are due for this *résumé* of information, which also embraces important particulars regarding a Native State of the first rank. The contents are arranged under the following leading heads—Berar, Secunderabad, Hyderabad Residency, Gulburgah, and Hyderabad itself, the capital of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. The province of Berar, which is viewed under two Divisions, East and West, is assigned a very considerable portion, comprehending details relating to districts, divisions, and taluks, with statistics of area and populations. Police, Forest, Postal, Public Works and other Departments are treated in different sections. The East Berar Division includes three districts, viz., Oomrawuttee, Ellichpur and Woon, each subdivided into taluks, with a total area of 9,245 square miles; the West Berar Division likewise contains three divisions, Akola, Buldana and Bassim, all the districts being subdivided into taluks. The total extent in square miles is stated to be 17,334, and the population is numbered at 2,231,565. The aggregate of revenue for 1872-73 amounted to Rs. 79,24,495, of which the receipts from land alone contributed Rs. 53,08,265. Next we have a section on the Hyderabad Contingent which is composed of a commanding officer and staff of 13 officers, military and civil, and a regiment of lancers, royal artillery, a regiment of cavalry, two European foot regiments, three companies of Sappers and Miners, and three regiments of native infantry. From pages 15 to 23 we have a polymetrical table of distances by road and rail between different stations in Deccan Hyderabad, and at bottom of page 21 will be seen a list of salutes to native sovereigns and British officers within these territories. Under the name Chudder Ghaut we have full particulars regarding the Residency and its affairs, which contain, among other things, a list of the British Residents since

1874. In the last section of the Almanac we are furnished with a sketch of the Hyderabad administration, the Nizam's force of regular troops, and other matters, this portion concluding with a list comprehending the succession of Nizam's from 1723, the year in which Nizam-ool-Mulk, Asaf Jah, the founder of the Hyderabad dynasty, declared his independence. The present Nizam being a minor, the affairs of state are committed to an agency consisting of two nawabs, of whom Sir Salar Jung is one. The executive administration consists of the Minister of State and six Secretaries, of whom there are three British names. The Nizam's private establishment is given under two departments—the English Department, which is constituted by a Private Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries, and the Persian Department, consisting of seven officers of state, European and Mahomedan. It may be added that the gradation of titles as granted to Mahomedan officers in His Highness's dominions, ranging from the lowest, that of *Khan*, to that of *Furzund Arzoomand*, the highest, is given on p. 197. Altogether the compilation before us evinces great diligence and care, and will prove a valuable addition to works of this class for the current year.

TIMES OF INDIA, *August 14, 1874*.—In a letter describing the proceedings during the young Nizam's visit to the Resident at Hyderabad a correspondent states that the little boy looked perfectly collected, and coolly walked down to the step ladder which had been raised to the side of his howdah, preparatory to his departure for the Residency. Our correspondent also observes that the distinctive title, "Our Faithful Ally," adopted by Colonel Hastings Fraser, in a well-known work, accrues to the Nizam (and retrospectively to his ancestors) in virtue of memorable and substantial services rendered to the Paramount Power. The alliance with this State has already entered its second century.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *October 3, 1874*.—*Note of the Day*.—Sir Salar Jung has just passed an order upon the Report of the Commission in the matter of the late scandal at Hyderabad. Major Rocke, the officer commanding the Nizam's regular troops, had brought certain charges of fraud against Major Proudfoot, Military Secretary to the State, and his chief witness was one Syed Habibullah, head Moonshee in the office of the latter, who, it seems, is a notorious scoundrel, who had formerly been convicted and sentenced by the High Court of Madras for forgery. It appears somewhat strange that, such being the case, he should have held the office which he occupied. The allegations have all been disproved, and the Commission arrived at the conclusion that this witness, Moonshee Habibullah, had himself been guilty of the fraud which he wished to bring home to his chief. The Acting Regent did all he could to prevent these charges proceeding for systematic investigation. He says, "Had the charges been brought under other circumstances, had Major Rocke been actuated by motives of public duty in bringing them forward, and had they not rested in a great measure on the allegations of such a man as Habibullah, I should certainly have felt fewer scruples in instituting public proceedings at once. But, knowing as I did the well-established character of his (Major Rocke's) informant as a criminal, I tried, in the first place, to dissuade Major Rocke from the action he proposed to take. I strongly advised him to leave the matter in the hands of Government, and let me deal with it in my own way, without necessitating a public exhibition of the scandal of two high officials arrayed against each other. But I did so to no purpose. Major Rocke was determined to have the matter out." Better would it have been for him had he listened to the friendly advice of Sir Salar Jung as he would no doubt in such case have retained his appointment, and so have prevented the scandal which these proceedings have given rise to. The Acting Regent concludes his remarks as follows:—"I acquit Major Proudfoot of all criminal charges preferred against him by Major Rocke, and he comes out of this trial without a stain on his character." With respect to the prosecutor, Major Rocke, His Excellency says—"I was lately constrained to suspend him from his duties, and I now altogether remove him from his command

of His Highness the Nizam's regular troops." The scoundrel Habibullah, who had been detained in custody on the recommendation of the Committee, fearing that he might endeavour to evade justice by escaping from the State, has been arraigned to take his trial for forgery, perjury, and false accusation.

TIMES OF INDIA, *October 11, 1875*.—The expected visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to Hyderabad has prompted a local firm to manufacture articles as gifts to be presented by native nobles and gentlemen to their illustrious visitor. Among these are a tonjon and a gorgeous palanquin, photographs of which have been forwarded to us with the following description by a correspondent:—"The palanquin is richly and exquisitely lined with yellow velvet, and the cushions and panels are bordered with satin of a corresponding colour. The roof of the palanquin is so lined as to have the appearance of wavelets driven by the wind, and of course is quite in keeping with the general lining of the body. The foliage on the panels outside, with the fancy crest on them, is of pure gold, thrown out conspicuously by the dark green painting of the wood, the favourite colour of Mahomedans, while the venetians, which work by springs, together with the richly plated ornaments and appurtenances, contribute to the harmonious effect of the whole. The curtains are of red and yellow silk overlapping each other, heavily fringed, with suitable appliances for looping, and presenting a very attractive appearance. The bocha, better known as tonjon, is similarly lined, with a change in the arrangement of the fold of lining; it is painted lake, and bordered with leaves of the purest gold, displaying on the panels a fancy crest similar to that of the palanquin. Both these products of local art are completed with windows on the upper side made of rich glass."

TIMES OF INDIA, *November 5, 1875*.—*Private Visit from the Hyderabad (Deccan) Nobles*.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General received a visit yesterday from the Nawab Vikar-ool-Oomra, grand-uncle of H. H. the Nizam, at Government House, Malabar Point.

Vikar-ool-Oomra Bahadoor is the youngest son of the late Shums-ool-Oomra Bahadoor, and his elder brother, the present Shums-ool-Oomra, is the present head of the great house of Shums-ool-Oomra, which was founded by one of the companions in arms of the first Nizam, Assoff Jah.

The Nawab Vikar-ool-Oomra was accompanied by his nephews, Mohotashum-ud-Dowla and Basheer-ud-Dowla, two Bahadoor; by his own sons, the Nawabs Khorsheed Jah and Akbal-ud-Dowla Bahadoor, the brothers-in law of H. H. the Nizam; and his grandson Emaum Jung Bahadoor.

TIMES OF INDIA, *December 23, 1875*.—*Accident to the Nizam*.—We hear from Hyderabad that the young Nizam, when on the way to a country-house near Hyderabad on Tuesday, met with a carriage accident which might have been serious, though happily it was attended with no injury to life or limb. He had started through the city of Hyderabad on this the second drive that he has taken since his convalescence, accompanied by his tutor, Captain Clerk, and two nobles of the city, when one of the leaders shied and stumbled in a crowded street, throwing the leading postilion. Both the leaders, being thus freed from control, bolted along the street, the postilion of the wheelers meantime doing all he could to keep the carriage free from obstacles. Eventually, as the best chance of checking the leaders, which were dragging the whole equipage after them, the wheelers' postilion purposely, and with great presence of mind, jammed the team up on a corner of the road, thus bringing the carriage to a stand-still for an instant, which was at once taken advantage of by Captain Clerk to lift His Highness out of the vehicle. The team, however, was soon all right again, and His Highness, who had not shown the least alarm throughout, insisted on continuing his drive, which was safely accomplished, to a distance of eight miles.

TIMES OF INDIA, *March* 11, 1876.—From Captain R. F. Burton, dated Hyderabad, February 19th :—

“ *A ride through Hyderabad.*—We have just returned from our first survey of the ‘Lion City,’ and, as we saw much that was unexpected, and nothing that we were entitled, after reading certain popular and newspaper accounts, to expect, I am bold enough to believe that your readers will find interest in these few lines.

“The country about Hyderabad in the Dekhan (Deccan) is very picturesque to all eyes except those of the jaundiced Anglo-Indian, whose main—if not whose only—view in life is ‘privilege leave.’ Nowhere more decided contrasts of sun-burnt granite and syenite in bristling ridges, solitary boulders, loggan-stones, weathered into likenesses of man and beast, castellated rocks piled as by the hands of art; in ruddy fallows, in little green paddy-fields, in sky-blue distances, in golden stubbles almost pulverized by burning suns and deficient showers, in glorious ‘topes’ of mangoes, tamarinds and shady wild figs, and in scattered plantations of the cocoa, the fan palm, the phoenix which bears toddy instead of dates. Almost every wave of ground swelling above the level of the rolling uplands opens a vista of pleasant fore-plain backed by the great city, and wanting nothing but a few hours’ downfall to lay the dust and to wash out the blue glaze from the distant picture. At this season, too, the nights, the early mornings, and the evenings are delicious; the air of the plateau, 1,800 feet above sea-level, is that of Damascus and of Brazilian São Paulo and, though the ‘whites,’ grumbling about the sun, are preparing for the annual flight to the hills, we find nothing oppressive in the midday, which is cooled by the brisk westerly breeze. The Dekhan proper, I need hardly tell you, begins south-west of the Nerbada river and ends on the left bank of the Krishna, only a few miles to the south.

“Early this morning ‘Sundargaj,’ one of H. E. Sir Salar Jung’s tallest and bravest elephants, in all the bravery of bells and scarlet trappings, knelt down to receive us, and, with that queer one-sided gait which makes the cabriolet handah pitch like a little boat in a short chapping sea, began to lumber over the three miles separating us from town. Hyderabad can show a goodly procession of these intelligent monsters, and a body of 900 collected within a few hours surpasses the famous exhibition of Tippu Sahib. The *point de départ* was High Gate, the quarters of Major R. Nevill, commanding Regular Troops of H. H. the Nizam, fronted by his parade-ground, the Fath Maydan, backed by the pretty gardens called after the Chadar Ghat, and showing eastward, beyond Nizam Yar Jang’s ‘compound,’ the time-blackened walls of the stout old French cannon-foundry, and eastward the ‘Black Rock,’ alias the Naubat-pahar (band-hill), a huge grey slide of newly worked granite crested by a little mosque with its tree and Hindu flag. The broad highway ‘Chadar Ghat Road,’ not unworthy of Bombay Frere Town, is lined on either side by ‘compounds’ of gorgeous shrubs and by villages which affect the classical (*e.g.*, Board of Public Works and ‘Mount Charles’), the Gothic (Church and Nizam’s gardens), and the homely thatched bungalow of no earthly order. It ends in the Afzal Ganj, the native bazar of the Regular Troops, parallel lines of shops and booths, mostly flat-roofed, sometimes tiled, one-storied, verandah’d, and clean with whitewash and red paint. This quarter leads to a substantial bridge of cut granite, the Naya Paul or Ponte Nuovo, that spans the bed of the Musi stream, here some 400 yards wide. At this season two-thirds are under cultivation, the garden of cucumber giving additional likeness to Syria, but the rains will convert the valley with its Hindu Smashan (burning-ground) into a roaring torrent dark with ‘Ragar,’ the black cotton-soil, and ruddy with ‘Chilka,’ gritty ferruginous mould, apparently half composed of termite hills. The new bridge bears the date 1860. Up stream we see the arches of the old bridge, or ‘Oliphant’s,’ whilst the windings of the bed conceal from us No. 3, called after Marrett or Kandu Lal. The river should be dammed between the two latter bridges, when a fine sheet of water would front the town.

“Here we have our first view of the city, whose crumbling towers and ramparts, abutting upon the right bank of the River Valley, contrast queerly with the prim Gothic battlements of the North-Eastern or Palace Gate; its neighbour is the Delhi

or Water Gate, where elephants are taken down to bathe. A little to the left half, hidden by the luxuriant orchards which make Hyderabad, like Poona, look more countrified than cities are wont to do, rises the Barahdari or pavilion of the Prime Minister; when public entertainments are given the building becomes a blaze of light. Further still down the left bank a flag rising from a mass of white masonry denotes the 'Residency.'

"Before entering the castellated Palace Gate we must remember that Hyderabad is not an ancient city. It owes its origin to Sultan Mahommed Kuli II., of the Kutb Shahi or Golconda dynasty, who, about A.D. 1520, built a country-palace for one of his mistresses, the lady Bhagwati (not 'Bhagamuttee'), a Hindu of no particular caste, and, after assigning to her a guard of a thousand horsemen, called the outpost Bhagnagar. The quaint Persian history tell us that, with the thought of founding a new capital, Mohammed Kuli Khan 'rode out a-hunting, and while going here and there in search of game he passed into a forest which, occupying a beautiful spot, was envied for its pleasantness and purity of air by the blue sky and the garden of heaven; there he was pleased to build a city and to order astrologers of skill and discernment to fix the auspicious movement for laying the first stone. The year when the city began is known by the words 'Ya Hafiz' (A. H. 1000), and that of its completion by 'Farkhundehbunyad' (A. H. 1006), the modern title. It throve by the black death which in 1590 wasted the Diamond City of Tavernier, then capable of sending out 40 000 sabres. Finally it became the capital of the Nizam el Mulk (Regulator of the State), the head of the Asuf Jahi house, shortly after the Emperor Aurangzib in 1687 captured Golconda and led prisoner the last Kutb Shahi King, Abd el Husayn, popularly known as Thana Shah; his unfinished sepulchre still tells the tale of his misfortunes. Why it was baptized Hyderabad—the abode of Hyder or of the lion—none can tell us, but we are reminded of its origin by the frequent tigers, terrible monsters in gamboge stripes, black beards, and red appendages, which here take the place of the king of beasts.

"We now pass into the Shah Rah, or Main Street, which, running north and south, nearly bisects the city. Our first pleasant surprise is the comparative absence of that characteristic which Coleridge attributed to Cologne. Hyderabad presently expects once more to rival Salt Lake City, when pure water, conducted by leats from the Mir Alim tank, south-west of the town, will flow in twin ribbons down the sides of the principal streets. There is no pavement except in patches of black basalt, which reminded my wife of the Salahiyyah Causeway at Damascus, and in places the original granite still outcrops in uninjured boulders: the main thoroughfares are well kept, sprinkled with water, and tamped, though a steam roller stares us in the face with small hand-stamps. There is a something of that marvellous animation and diversity distinguishing the great market of civilized and progressive Bombay, the 'Bhendi Bazar,' which politer men call the 'Kalbadavie Road.' We miss, however, the quaint mixture and jostle of Europeans in military and naval, clerical and civilian garb; of dark Portuguese and sallow Eurasians; of Parsees whose hats look like chimney-pots blown backwards by a gale of wind; of Banyans with beaked turbans red and gold; of Marathas, whose head-gear assumes the dimensions of tea tables; and of Moslems clad in costumes almost as numerous as the individuals that wear them. Here the chief foreign items are dark, wiry Arabs from Hazramaut or the Persian Gulf; sturdy Sulaymanis or Afghans, and large-limbed Zanzibarian Sidis (Wasawahili), sometimes *pur sang*, oftener mixed with Asiatic blood; the Wahhabis conceal their tenets; the Shi'ahs are numerous and the Bahis are unknown. The stranger at once observes that every respectable man is armed with gun or matchlock, pistol, sword or dagger, and that all the women show their faces, which means that they are mostly Hindus and never high-caste Moslemans. As in all 'native' cities, the Fakirs, Dervishes, Sanyasis, Jogis and religious mendicants, Hindi and Hindu, are many and noisy, but beyond the exercise of their vocation they gave us no trouble.

"A marked feature in Hyderabad is the Tak or Kaman, the plain building that here takes the place of the triumphal gate. It is a pointed arch with horizontal

coping and side windows which, towering above the lower tenements, crosses the thoroughfares, relieves the monotony, and forms a resting-place for the eye. The royal founder directed the four main bazars to be fronted by as many elevated arches, the Chahar Kaman, and, says the guide-book, 'the 40,000 other market-places (read streets and alleys) were made with streams flowing under borders of shadowy trees; and each was faced by a large edifice, besides which he planned 4,000 buildings of the genus mosques and praying-places, baths, schools, poor-houses and inns.' You may think the account exaggerated, but a ride round the official or walled city will occupy two hours of sharp canter, and the suburbs, as the graveyards show, must have extended to a distance measured by leagues.

"The next object of note is the Makkeh Musjid, also built about A.D. 1600 by Mohammed Kuli; the huge doors with their big studs of bronze, the two bulbous domes of the eastern or main entrance, the fine tank and the spacious prayer-hall, and the noble simplicity of the proportions deserve all praise; unhappily the inner walls of the latter are white-washed, after the fashion of mosques in general. The architect was, they say, a Persian, and the name, we are told, records the fact that this is a facsimile of the Haram at Meccah; if such is the case, either the latter has wholly changed its shape or, more probably, the failure to catch the likeness is as remarkable as the many European imitations of Roman Saint Peter's. The date of its completion (A. H. 1023) is known by the words 'Bayis el Atik' (the Old House, or Ka'aba). The cost was 33 lakhs, and the height above the ground 108 feet. Hyderabad may well be proud of her Jama (cathedral).

" 'Sundargaj' then rolls for a few yards up the High Street and shows us the Gulzar-hauz (garden-cistern), formerly known as the Chaharsu-ka-hauz (bazar-cistern): it is a pretty tank, holding a midway rank between the Place Lesseps at Port Said and the modern improvements effected in the old 'Bombay Green.' It forms the centre of the Chahar Kaman (four arches) before alluded to. Beyond it in the very heart of the city, denoting the intersection of the four main streets, rises the Chahar Munar, also the work of Mohammad Kuli. The gazetteers misinform us that this 'Chaur Moonar' was 'formerly used as a school of arts and sciences, but now turned into warehouses': at present it bristles with scaffolding, but when finished the four minarets will serve the Muezzin or prayers-caller, the upper rooms will be a mosque, and a cistern-cum-fountain on the shady ground-floor will be a very satisfactory place for the *flâneur*. The four fronts are broken by long lines of windows, and the minarets are not very top-heavy, the main fault of Hyderabad church-architecture in general: whilst the strangulated dome too much resembles the onion. The block to the south-west, with the upper latticed windows, is mostly occupied by the palace of His Highness; and the sepoy guard, with the quaint chimney-pot shakos whose topknot is split in two, dating from the days of the old Jack Sepoy and the French officers, removes us to the last century.

"We now approach at the Southern or Madras Gate, which was once protected by the deserted lines of the old guard. These entrances except only the Palace Gate are in true Oriental style, large doors with huge bronze knobs like the umbos of shields, and with crenelled summits instead of battlements; they are somewhat higher than the ramparts, but none are remarkable for beauty or dignity. Five of them break the northern wall. As a rule they have fanciful names like the eastern feature, Dudh-baoli, the 'well of milk,' so called after a pit which supplies sweet water. The number is not excessive for a city said to measure fourteen miles in circumference and containing 400,000 souls.

"The pleasant ride, which was protracted through the byeways as well as the highways of the city, ended with a charming breakfast at the palace of the Mukhtar-el-Mulk (Prime Minister), Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., &c., &c., whose approaching visit to England will add interest to a name already widely known and highly respected. The morning showed us not only a glimpse of the 'Lion City,' but an *aperçu* of the general errors which afflict it. Forty years ago Hyderabad may have been a turbulent city, into which Europeans could not enter without insult or injury, and where lawlessness and recklessness of life were the laws of the land. But, although a couple of generations and, let me add, the progressive measures

of an enlightened Minister have completely changed the condition of things, still popular and even official opinion, whose watch is always an age or two behind the time, refuse to admit the change. 'You come from a place where you may be murdered at any moment,' was the address of a late Viceroy to an Englishman who had taken service under His Highness the Nizam; and yet during the last thirty-five years, I am assured, not a single European has been murdered in the Moslem dominions, and the only one wounded suffered the consequences of his own fault. Nothing was done here by the enraged peasantry to the gentlemen-sportsmen who engaged on a battue of the Prince's tame deer. Such is the impression left upon us by a first visit, and a second did not alter it except for the better. 'Of course you had a large escort,' said a friend to me in Bombay on hearing my tale. We had nothing beyond a mahaut, but prejudices engendered by our interests are not easily disposed of."

TIMES OF INDIA, *March 20, 1876*.—Our Hyderabad correspondent, writing on the 17th instant, says:—"The Nawab Vicar-ul-Umrah gave a grand dinner on Wednesday night last in honour of the Officiating Resident, Sir Richard Meade. The entertainment was a great success, a lakh of lamps was said to have illuminated the scene, and the fireworks were got off on this occasion without necessitating an accompanying bulletin extraordinary of the killed and wounded. The guests were not conducted through the city mounted on elephants, as has been the custom heretofore. The passage of the city was omitted, by reason of the prevalence of cholera in its narrow streets and lanes. Persons were allowed to find their own way to the Nawab's, which they did by fetching a compass round the city walls. Sir Richard Meade does not seem quite at home yet in the official ways of the place. He must practise the form of embrace current in official circles here. On meeting your (official) friend you profess to go into ecstasies at seeing him, and make-believe to hug him to your bosom in the warmth and strength of your affection. Rushing at him you seize him in your arms and pulling him close to your shirt front you squint over first his right shoulder and then over his left shoulder, after which you gently disengage yourself and eye your friend fondly from top to toe. When adroitly carried out this form of salute has a very effective appearance, but it requires long practice to enable one to become a 'dab' at it. Our late Resident used to do it right deftly. In days of anarchy it would hardly do to follow out the custom unless you were thoroughly sure of your friend. Think of the cruel way in which Sivajee took advantage of the confiding Mussulman chief; a concealed set of tiger's claws might be used with deadly effect still, for the British Resident does not wear chain armour instead of a cotton shirt, and he is moreover generally apt to become unduly developed in the region to which the tiger's claws are applied with most telling effect. There was a great crowd of Europeans present at Vicar-ul-Umrah's festival, and they seemed immensely charmed with the guard of Amazons. A baby on one hip and a bayonet on the other is a charming *modus vivendi*. But there were several people absent whom I expected and I desired to see present. I have tried to ascertain on what principle invitations are issued for these city entertainments to the officers of the Secunderabad garrison, and my efforts have resulted in complete failure. The native swell himself knows nothing about his guests, and probably cares still less, provided the proper complement be secured. There are some people whom I invariably meet at these entertainments. I should think they have by this time contrived to lay in a store of attar of roses bottles sufficient to start them with a scent shop when they return to Europe. Why are invitations not sent regimentally? Several officers whom I happen to know have complained to me incidentally that invitations to these feasts or *fêtes* are sent only to those gentlemen who are prepared to eat unlimited humble pie prepared at the Residency. Of course, as in duty bound, I scouted the notion. We have all sorts of *shaves* flying about at present concerning the past and the present Residents. 'Mr. Saunders is to come back in six months;' 'he is not to come back at all.' He has stopped the sale of his effects, however, which looks significant, and I have

heard it asserted that unless he is permitted to return to Hyderabad he will have his case brought up in the British Parliament. Cholera continues in the city. I heard there were 12 cases yesterday."

TIMES OF INDIA, March 28, 1876.—The following letter is from Captain R. F. Burton, dated 19th instant, on board the B. I. S. N. Co.'s str. *Coconada* :—

"In my last I told you how clean we had found the city, which Murray has branded 'one of the filthiest in India ;' how we *had* escaped the 'insult and perhaps personal injury' threatened by Bevar ; and how pleasantly we had been received by 'the most disorderly, turbulent and ferocious set of ruffians within the limits of India.' It is a favourite Anglo-Indian theory that 'Native States,' Moslem and 'Gentoo,' should be left, like plague spots, by way of contrast with the clean and orderly state of society under Christian England's rule, and upon this model the theorist often trims his facts, not a little to the detriment of the facts.

"After our happy but unconscious escape from the interior of the 'Lion-City' we gathered courage to attempt the three normal trips to the environs—Raymond's grave, the tank, and the tombs of the (Golconda) kings : we will attack them severally, and we will religiously avoid repeating what the guide-books say or think.

"The road to General Raymond's little landed estate passes the handsome Residency Park—whose trees, by the by, require abundant clearing—and traverses the northern markets, containing some 30,000 souls ; the Gulbazar, where the steam-roller is at work, and the Russell gunj. You go nowhere in India without stumbling upon a Russell and a Smith, a Grey and a Brown, an Elliot and a Jones. Then it crosses the Marrett or lower bridge, bisects Champarpeth, where it is proposed to barrack the new Regulars, and takes the highway to Madras. The characteristics of the scene are booths, tombs, and the yellow-flowered glaucum weed ; on the ground-wave to the right rise the white walls of the modern jail, and to the left lies a little patch of sepulchres, 'ligale Shah ka dargah,' which the British soldier of Sikandarabad converts to 'Johnny Shaw's tomb.' At certain seasons crowds of both sexes here meet to pray and make merry at the last resting-place of the Pir or saintly man and his neighbours of the grove. The tombs are the prettiest toys in the world : the material is the wax-like Jaypur marble, famed for statuettes, and the shape is that of the Nizam's monuments in the Meccah Mosque. They look as if carved in ivory at some giant's Dieppe, ready to be placed under a glass case : the fretted and open work is an admirable lacery in stone, and the sharp shadows of the dark green trees set off their snowy whiteness.

"We must dismount to ascend the Raymond hillock, and skirt a walled orchard in which cocoas grow luxuriantly. It is by no means usual to find them flourishing at this distance from the sea, 200 direct geographical miles to the south-east, and over 300 to the west. The orient half of the hill is occupied by a Hindu 'dewal,' the rest belongs to 'Monsieur Raymond,' as he was called by the English writers of his own stirring day. He appertained to the epoch following the heroic age of Dupleix, Bussy and Lally Tollendal, when the idea of a French Empire in India had not wholly died out of the Gallic brain. He was to the Nizam what M. de Boigne was to Sindhia (Scindia), Commander-in-Chief of some 15,000 troops, *le corps François de Raymond*, officered by his compatriots, and devoted to himself. He was a red-hot revolutionist, a true believer in the Age of Reason and the Rights of Man—especially French Man—and not the less a Gaul to the backbone ; he introduced the idea of Citizenship to the native mind, till it culminated in *le Citoyen Tippoo*, and after his death, in 1798, the heir-apparent of the Nizam used to swear 'by the head of M. Raymond.' These ancient warriors are still remembered with affection, the chief reason being their pliability in conforming to 'country customs'—a good quality for serving, a very bad one for ruling, in India. The descendants of Raymond's sepoys, Moslem as well as Hindu, who fought under the stout old Frenchman at a time when the Maratha Pindaris (free lances) were making war support war, still burn incense and hold religious meetings at the tomb ; and the ignorant have sanctified the tenant under the title Shah Rahman. It reminded me of the Nikkal Sînis who took General Nicholson

as their patron, and of a celebrated Jesuit 'vert' at Jerusalem, to whom every body was saintly, even *le saint Goliath*.

"There is little to be said of the monument, a truncated, built-up obelisk of stone, inscribed J. R. on the four faces, as many slabs of black marble, apparently greased, are wholly ignorant of the epitaph, but have not yet been stolen, as the Indian fashion is, to serve for curry-grinders. It is pointed westward by a little open pavilion which commands a suggestive view northward; beyond the foreground tombs of other French officers lies the sun-burnt and now barren plain, the shore of the sea of verdure which appears to overwhelm Sikandarabad. We easily distinguish the well-known forms of the ancient square fort with its round bastions; the mud redoubts, old and new; the huge parade-ground cut up by its intrusive cemetery; the rococo heads of half a dozen 'temples,' belonging to as many different 'persuasions;' and the clock-towered St. James's Police Office, and Court-house—in these days the 'Bobby,' like the British flag, girdles the habitable globe. Sikandarabad was once equal to Lahore in dignity as the largest station in English India, but now the glory is gone from it, as we see by the long empty lines of officers' bungalows and the deserted *palazzi* standing out from the southern bazaar: the fever and the engineer have prevailed against it, and 'the spider spins her web in the halls of Afrasyab.' Fine houses will be cheap till the right species of Eucalyptus dries the soil and perfumes the air. In the far distance run long, jagged rock ridges, capped, as usual, by sparkling white walls: this is Trimalgadi (Trimulgherry) the head-quarters of the Artillery, where, unlike Karkhi (Kirkee), the guns are defended from a *coup de main*, as they always should be, by an entrenched camp. The granitic pile intercepts Bolaram, head-quarters of the Hyderabad Contingent, where strawberries grow and where Sikandarabad has gone out of town. Ichabod may now be written upon the old cantonment.

"Less suggestive but more picturesque is the prospect which opens to the south. Here the world is greener, and the face of water cools the eye. We see the broad Madras highway winding over the 'Band' (dyke) of Saru Nagar, and damming up the precious element, which all about Hyderabad is sadly wasted. The townlet, with its curtains and towers, built to keep out the Pindari, forms the centre of the Nizam's preserves, and spotted deer wander over the plain tame as sheep; pea-fowl, very good eating during the first year, and jungle cocks which make the 'griff' suspect that he has murdered a barn-door, abound; here also, it is said, the wild dog, not the Pariah, runs wild, hunts in packs and pulls down the largest game.

"A favourite place of picnic is the Mir 'Alam (not Allum) tank: these lakelets with their cool damp air and verdant borders are always pleasant to the visitor of a thirsty land subject to hot dry winds and much neglected by Jupiter Pluvius. It derives its name from that notable Minister, the firm friend of the English, who died in 1808. This maternal grandfather of Sir Salar Jung, and the first 'Diwan' of a family from Ispahan, some 72 years ago (A. H. 1221), when Mr. H. Russell was Resident (1805-6), enlarged the old pool, of unknown origin. The work, directed by Captain R. Russell, cost 23 lakhs, which sum, however, included the Diwan's Baradari (pavilion). The well-made road, not a Macadam, traverses the Begum Bazar, where the cemetery seems to have the advantage of the dwelling-house, and crosses Oliphant's or Old Bridge, which is fronted by the double-towered 'Pul ka darwazah,' open in the north-western wall. It then runs through the suburbs amidst a scatter of mosques, pagodas and tombs, Hindi and Hindu. On the right is the rocky river bed showing a chaplet of pools; to the left are paddy-fields watered by the tank, and a little further, or due south, is another cemetery, of the old French officers. It is kept in far better repair than that at Poonah; the Maltese Cross still stands, and Catholics are buried here even now.

"After a devious drive of some four miles to the south-west, we alighted at the Walad Garden, the villa, and the neat Ghat or pier of cut-stone belonging to the Mir 'Alam Tank. A few yards' walk over the crest of the new 'Band' shows us its peculiar shape. The single large arc of ashlar and waterproof cement, the latter lately applied, is divided into 32 semicircular segments, with strong buttresses supporting the several bases, as may be seen by the back view. The general effect

as that of a huge bridge laid horizontally on the water. Small square sluices can be opened near the east and the west ends, and at the latter a range of 15 rough monoliths denote the 'chadar' (sheet) or waste weir. In unusual floods the surplus overflows the whole dam, now only 2 feet 9 inches above the water level, and discharges into the lower or escape tank, which finally drains to the Musi Fiumara. Thus there is little risk of Hyderabad being visited like Sheffield, a fate often predicted for Poonah, where the Kharakwasla Reservoir, a miracle of economic architecture, admirably calculated and carried out by Mr. Joyner, C.E., has excited the absurdest alarms. The season is exceptionally dry, yet the depth now reaches 45 feet, and there is water sufficient not only for the rice fields, but also for the streets of Hyderabad.

"The Mir 'Alam Tank is fed by a canal from the river 'Usi' which falls, almost at a right angle, into the Musi below Golconda fort, thus resembling the Mutamula further north : all the great cities on this line, we may observe, occupy either the heads or the upper courses of streams that feed the Bay of Bengal. The new or northern tank is a parallelogram running roughly east and west, whilst the older part is a triangle attached to the south-western side and disposed with the apex southwards. The site of the old 'Band' is shown by a rock-islet containing the stone tomb of the patron saint (*Sayyid ka dargah*), while a submerged mosque, a pagoda and a gate denote the extension. Vast beds of water-plants, which it would be a useless expense to remove, support eels, the Marram-fish, said to be the best, and the Parram (a *Silurus*) reaching 100 lbs, and shot instead of being netted. These again feed the alligators ; and the solitary fish-hawk dives for the smaller fry. The total circumference is laid down at seven miles, or five less than the extreme circuit of the enlarged Husayn Sagar, north of Hyderabad city. Nothing can be more justifiable than lavish expenditure upon this branch of the Public Works Department. The neglect of tanks and irrigation canals has converted many tracts of the Nizam's dominions into fiery wildernesses ; and their restoration under the present enlightened rule will tend to 'avert,' as the local historian says, 'those fearful seasons of want which brought fear and death to every door.'

"We embarked upon the little steam-launch of 10 tons, superintended by M. P. de Louney : there is also a paddle-wheeler of some 50 tons upon the Mir 'Alam, whilst the rival Husayn Sagar can boast of yachtlets and regattakins. Cruising around the shores we failed to remark with Mr. Briggs ('The Nizam,' II. 249) that 'but for the Oriental character of the tombs by, and the native villages, the scene might be believed to lie in the south of Europe.' Everything here is essentially Dekhani, the rocks, the vegetation, and the sky. To westward of the old tank towers the sepulchre of another reverend man, Mir Mahbub Sahib ; it is the normal article, a whitewashed dome tall and straight based upon a parallelogram, and supported by a quadrangle of cut stone connected, they say, by a tunnel with Golconda. On the level ground to the south-west, flooded during the rains, are the tents of the engineers, and a little to the east of them a fine 'tope' denotes the source known from some 'Begum,' as the 'Bibi ka Chasmah' (Lady's Fount) : its supplies are reserved for the Nizam's palace.

"On return we drove southwards, and passed through the Dudh-baori Gate to the Kothi (palace) or Baradari (pavilion), the fine establishment of the 'Chhota Nawab Sahib,' alias 'Wikar el Umara' (Honour of the Emirs), the younger brother of the "Shams el Umara" (Sun of the Emirs), better known as the Amir el Kabir. The gardens and courts could easily lodge a small army. A band directed by an English master awaited to play 'God save the Queen.' Our host, whose gold-fringed turban denotes his connection with royalty, received us as though we had been old friends, and after a succulent breakfast showed his curiosities, especially his weapons. The most interesting were the defences carried by his grandfather, who wielded a ponderous Gurz (mace) ; the small Hyderabad turban of steel bands with bar nose-piece, and the heavy mailcoat with an ayat (verset) of the Koran worked in relief on every ring ;—the latter does not, however, equal in finish that of the Tower collection. Our visit ended with enjoying the lovely view of the Lion City from the upper windows, and H. E. presented me with his History

of the Kings of India, the 'Tarikh Rashid el Din Khani,' a lithographed folio containing detailed notices of Hyderabad. His distinguished brother the 'Bara Amir' or Co-Regent, though long an invalid, did not allow us to leave the city without carrying away the most agreeable reminiscences of his courtesy and hospitality: he is the type of the Indian *grand seigneur*, and his second nephew, the Bashir el Daulah, was equally sympathetic. The establishment known as the Jehan-numa (not Jaenuma) Palace, the 'world-exhibiting,' because built on high ground, is of goodly proportions. You pass through the barracks, surrounded by a strong wall, and enter an *enceinte* facing north, and showing through the trees glimpses of Golconda and the royal tombs. A succession of parterres, popularly called 'hanging gardens,' each with its fountain and flower plot, is separated by as many tall and airy pavilions: the vegetation is gorgeous, and the only failures are the cypresses, which, like those of Poonah, suggest huge asparagus.

"The most interesting of trips in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad remains to be described—

" 'I am going to fair Golconda,'

as the old song runs. It is, you remember, the first and the most famous of the six independent Moslem kingdoms which in A.D. 1399 rose on the extinction of the Toghlaq (Delhi) dynasty, and it survived till 1688, when Aurangzib brought all India under one sceptre. The lump of rock crowned by an empty hole, and conspicuous from almost every part of Hyderabad, adds greatly to

" 'The poetry of the distant view,'

Strangers, however, go *to*, not *into*, Golconda. It is a state prison, in which, after the ugly affair of March 5, 1815, the sons of the Nizam were confined, and as such it is entrusted to a high official, the Kiladar Mohammed Khan, who is responsible for its not being entered. Visitors are admitted only when 'Nuzur' (H. H. the Nizam) makes a royal progress to the venerable ruin. After the return of Sir Salar from England there will be a grand 'tamasha.' The boy-king will call upon his Prime Minister for the first time, and then he will promenade through Golconda in state, a little matter which will cost him a lakh or two of rupees."

TIMES OF INDIA, *March* 29, 1876.—Continuation of Captain Burton's letter:—

"Early on March 5, after elephants had been sent forward, we drove westward through the northern suburb, and found fault with Colonel Malleon ('The French in India,' London, Longmans, 1868). He describes 'Char Mahal' as 'a walled enclosure about 500 yards square in the north-west angle of the town, on the banks of the river Moussi,' for which read 'in the northern suburb, separated from the city by the Musi bed.' But even Niebuhr, the great historian, was a poor topographer; and we have read 'The French in India' with pleasure and profit. Passing the Goshah-Mahall, Puran Mal's Tank, and the proposed cotton manufactory, we came to the Hindu quarter, shown by frequent pagodas with gilt finials and strong coped walls defending shady gardens. These people (Marathas, Telingas and Canarese) number in the capital 1 to 1.5 Moslems, and throughout the country 9 to 1. To the left is the stony spine of Afzalganj, crowned with a white 'Dewal,' and sheltering Sir Salar Jung's village and pleasure-gardens in what our host, Major Nevill, calls 'The Happy Valley.' Amid the rich cool verdure I noticed a few vines, of which a fine old specimen lines a porch attached to the 'Vikar el Unpara's' palace: Dionysius, however, does not flourish in his own realms. The same is the case throughout the Brazil, because in both countries the ripening summer is also the rainy season.

"We then took the fine new road connecting the modern with the ancient capital: its predecessor, running southwards along the Musi Fiumara, was the highway to Poona, when capital of the Peshwa, the Moslem's bitterest enemy. The four white-washed gunebaz, or domes, denoting the tombs of the kings, which are visible from most parts of Hyderabad, form the main body of a straggling line, here scattered, there grouped, which begins immediately beyond the faubourgs, and

which runs up the left side of the River-Valley. On the right towers a huge syenitic boulder carved by the Hindus into the semblance of a 'gunat,' the pyramid-town covering the Holy of Holies; and south of the Musi there is also a pagoda pierced in the ruins of an incipient cave-temple. As we approach the short ruins and the long homes of the Kutb Shahi house the several features begin to define themselves. The tall 'aywan' crowning the Bala Hisar (upper or inner fort), which rises some 250 feet above the plain-level, a mere shell of building, once a throne-hall, shows one window to east and west, and five arches—here a favourite number—in the northern and southern faces. It stands sharply out from the rock, and seen against the sunrise or sunset it wears an Italian look like many a *sala* in Genoa or fair Verona. The buildings around and below it form a kind of 'Hof,' or palace, and the northern spur of the rocky hill carries down a curtain to the north-east: there is a similar line to the south-west, and thus the eastern part of the subject town is cut from the western. The lower or outer works of the city, about three miles round, are the usual curtain and bastion: the former is capped by crenelles with large stones placed upon the sky line ready for hurling; and the latter, long sections of ovals, number 84. Each 'burj' carries from one to three guns, the smaller cast and the larger built up; some of these are regular 'Mons Megs.' Major Nevill has just saved from the smelting furnace, he tells me, a specimen 29 feet long. The defences are strong towards the east and raised high to prevent being commanded, and on the south they are doubled: they were, however, successfully attacked from the site of the sepulchres. There is an attempt at a glacis, a moat and a covered way, so that the fortified camp of Golconda is still, against native assailants at least, the barrier of Hyderabad. A few white houses, reserved for the Nizam and his chief officers, rise above the grey ruins, which look as if lately bombarded by Aurangzib. The main fault of the tracery is not having taken in the tank on the north-west.

"After an hour's drive, some five miles from the Residency Gate, we pass a new house surrounded by neat gardens, and said to be famous for the 'nautch'; a few paces beyond it begin the tombs of the kings, which lie about 500 yards north of the Petta Burj (bastion). The first noticed is the unfinished pile of the unfortunate Thana Shah: the doors are only half a cup, and the groundfloor has been converted into a 'buggy-house.' Here we change the carriage for the two elephants, 'Sunder-gaj' and 'Ikbal-tikkeh,' who bear us carefully over the rough ground girthing the northern *enceinte* and affording an excellent view of the *tout ensemble*, while the *cicerone*, Mohammed Lal, of Hyderabad, supplies the necessary information. To the north-west, and separated by a bit of plain, is a separate group of sepulchres flanking the white-washed *gunebaz* (dome) and *dargah* (shrine) of a local saint, Shah Wali Sahib; here also is a fine old caravanserai, or travellers' bungalow, still used by rare wanderers. The tombs straggle far and wide about the valley, and even climb the curtaining rock ridges; the best, however, are those in and around the well-watered Government gardens: there the mixture of oasis and desert is truly Arabian; Arabian also are the pigeonholes and dovecots of the walls, while the song of the waterwheel reminds me of El Medinah. We remark the tanks of neatly cut stone, the masonry channel, and the aqueduct of flat arches, which may have supplied the Delhi Emperor during his investment of the city. We then pass on towards the Musi river, which here has shrunk to infantine size. Near the left bank rises the five-arched, double-halled mosque of Ibrahim (Bagh) Badshah, probably unfinished, as it lacks minarets; a fine ramp leads up to the vaulted and now uneven platform where worshippers were lodged; and a little village still occupies the plain. Close to the stream is the Mahalleh (palace) of the same king, approached by three distinct flights of steps; here the arches are also five. Viewed from the Sangam, or junction of the Usi and Musi, the Bala Hisar gains height and distinction: the throne-hall towers over the river-valley, and the double lines of defence show to the best advantage.

"We now dismount and inspect, not for the first time, the most interesting remains of Mohammedan splendour. I can hardly compare them, as some have done, with the 'sea of ruins' at Fathpur Sikri; and still less with the tombs of the

Mamluk kings outside the Gate of Victory, Cairo, those triumphs of mediæval Egyptian architecture, so faultless in their relation to the surrounding scenery. They hardly equal the large whitewashed piles of Baudeh-Nawaz and Shah Husayn at Gulbarga, the old capital of the Bahmani dynasty. The style of the Indian mosque has generally a something of grotesqueness, as if borrowed from the Hindu pagoda, many of which were converted to El Islam : many parts appear to be built for show, not for use, whilst a profusion of ornament, pastry-cook's work in stone and stucco, fritters away the length and breadth of the lines. The Mulah Mosque of Hyderabad, whose majestic simplicity places it far above all its neighbours, is a notable exception, but the architect was a Persian.

"The prevailing style of the Golconda tomb is a dome standing upon an oblong or a square, both of grey granite : the shape of the cupola is various from the orange, or rather the onion strangulata at the base, which is invariably arabesqued, to the segment of a circle either straight with, or bulging beyond, the drum : the finials are of silver, not of gold as in the modern city. The parallelogram, single-storied in the smaller, and doubled in the larger mausolea, is either plain above, or capped with floriated crenelles like spear-heads ; many bear balustraded balconies of the most complicated patterns. The lower portion is invariably an arcade of pointed arches resting upon a raised quadrangular terrace of cut stone, which is ascended by four flights of steps. The prevailing colour is white, in some cases picked out with green. Each large tomb has its mosque or musalla (chapel), usually a wall or a hall-porch opening eastward, with a mihrab to the west and flanked by minarets on either side. These towers are also of one general type : the cap is a bulb and neck, somewhat like the mosque dome in miniature ; the body is a shaft either circular or polygonal, with a floriated gallery, single or double ; whilst the foot is a pillar of larger dimensions than that above. The minarets are either engaged or unattached, and the general effect is top-heaviness. Many also are toy articles evidently never meant for use.

"The interiors of the sepulchres are arbitrarily laid out with intersecting arches in infinite variety ; and not a few of them deserve photographing. Flights of stairs, now rarely practicable, lead up to the unbalconied galleries above, and down to the graves contained in the arched and alcoved basements. In the midst lies the occupant under a tomb of black marble or greenstone, the fine produce of the Krishna river quarries. The shape is oblong and stepped with six or eight slabs diminishing above. The top is either *bombé* or flat, in which case it is ornamented with a mimic Mihrab (prayer arch), and the sides bear mortuary and devotional inscriptions in Naskh and Nasta'alik characters. From the four corners of the slab resting upon the base spring feet not unlike the claws of an old-fashioned sugar-pot ; and one or more of the steps bear lines of the horns which distinguish the altars of classical Greece and Rome. Many of them have suffered from the iconoclast, and Mohammed Lal declares that the offenders are *Sahib Log*—Englishmen. This may be the case, for we are a race of relic-lovers. On the other hand, the scribblings on the walls, another form of barbarism, are mainly Moslem.

"The items most worthy of notice are (1) the tomb of Sultan Abdullah, the easternmost of the repaired group, lying north of the highroad. It is the largest and the best, the lines are less broken, the corners of the parallelograms show grand monoliths, and the platform of cut stone is on the grandest scale. White-wash has here been applied even to the granite, and shabby wooden doors lead to the three-stepped tombstone of fine porphyry. Ascending the range to the garden, where a holy beggar persistently offers us bad fruit, we turn to the right or northwards and find west of Sultan Abdullah's mausoleum that of his mother, Fatimeh Sahib : No. 2 is apparently a copy of No. 1, but not so big nor so well finished : the door-jambs on the south are miserably painted with imitation Persian tiles. A few paces south-west lead to (No. 3) the noble pile of Mohammed Kuli Khan, supported by an arched basement containing the tombs of his relatives and friends. It is remarkable for its four porches, fronting, as usual, the cardinal points : for its deep bays supported by pilasters and thin monolithic pillars ; and for ceilings of flat slabs reposing upon finely cut stepped corbels. Too much stucco is the only

fault of No. 4, and, curious to say, the resting-place of the founder of Hyderabad has not been repaired. Near it is a well-whitened Idgah with a splendid tank of cut stone, vaulted over after the fashion of Syria. Further west rises (No. 4) the Chini Gumbaz (China dome) of Ibrahim Badshah, whose mosque and mahallah we have just seen. The Persian tiles, fastened by large nails, still linger on all the faces, especially the southern, where there is an inscribed frieze. Our *cicerone* again charges the *Sahib Log* with sacrilege, but he stumbles in his facts, declaring the porcelain to be true Chinese. The tiles are evidently Sind work, possibly from Tattah; and my good friend Mr. Gumpert of Bombay lately showed me a similar article taken from the excavations of Garapuri or Elephanta Island. This 'China dome' has buttress claws shaped exactly like those of the tombstones; one of the four is of brickwork evidently repaired. No. 5, the sepulchre of Kulsum Begum, is more curious than artistic; the tall double-storied basement gives it, like the Cathedral of Boulogne, the aspect of an immense pepper-caster.

"At one tomb only, a small and mean specimen of its kind, the masons were at work: the modern hand was easily distinguished by its inferiority to the ancient, but no liberties were taken—evidently restoration is here not synonymous with destruction. A gang was also dawdling about a tank of noble size partly cut in the rock, and built up with solid arches. After inspecting the ruins which have been effected by Time, by Aurangzib, and by the fixtures springing from the masonry, and which, strange to say, in a Moslem land, are not utterly neglected, we bade adieu with regret to the tombs of the kings. Their site is high and healthy, the wind is strong and cool; the place ought to become a sanitarium for sickly and etiolated children, and we only hope that the picnickers will have the grace to build, or to get built, a travellers' bungalow, and cease to desecrate poor Thana Shah's tomb.

"From grave to gay. The vulgar of Hyderabad, unlike most Moslem cities in India, are less fond of kite-flying and of pigeon-tumbling than of cock-fighting; while the latter is ignored by the higher classes. I could never understand, by the bye, why we have abolished the classical sport as barbarous, whilst we conserve our ignoble pigeon-shooting; yet such is the case, and we have been imitated by the Brazil and by Hyderabad. Here there are five or six cockpits, especially that of Kachi-Ghora, where mains are fought every Sunday. The bird is large, often weighing 5 to 5½ seers (10 to 11 lbs.), equalling, in fact, a small turkey; it is one of the best in India; the price reaches Rs. 200. You cannot depend upon your friend to send or to sell you an Asil or thoroughbred; and eggs, it is said, are generally boiled before given over to the outer world. The colours range from puri (white), here a noble colour, to chitu (spotted), khaki (earthy), and black, deep as the bhaunra's (bumble-bee's) wing: the yakut (red) and the pila (yellow) have a vast variety of sub-shades, as yala-yakut, black and red; dhunwar-pila, light yellow; abrash, yellow hackles, back and tail on the chocolate ground; and Gherwa or Haydarabad na pila, yellow with white wing feathers. The birds are trained, physicked and sweated with more care than Spaniards or Mexicans can bestow upon them, and they are so heated with Masala (spices), whose preparation is a secret, that they will fly at man or beast. Thoroughbred birds are practised with 'hods,' or leather spur sheaths, but they are fought with the natural weapon trimmed to points, as their fine condition would suggest: the hackles and tail feathers are cropped before the combat, like ours, but the combs and wattles do not require removing; all the best specimens are born without these unseemly appendages. Silver is rarely used; the favourite weapon for 'dunghills' is a short scimitar springing from a straight bar which is bound to the middle toe: thus the gladiator can spring and fly, but cannot walk. The experienced 'Murghbaz' (cock-fighter) will have dozens of these articles, showing every variety of length, weight and angle. He appears to ignore the fact that it is unfair to pit a thoroughbred against a dunghill when both have steel spurs: whilst the former is too enraged to settle down at once into thrashing 'that confounded snob,' the latter hastens to the attack before his courage oozes out of his toe-ends, and often deals a fatal blow.

"Partridges, quails, and the bulbul—a shrike, here called a nightingale—are fought by Moslems at all seasons. Perdrix is a most pugnacious 'party,' as many of us who have witnessed his duellos from the cover side, where the ring is carefully kept clear by the friends and relatives, chiefly male, of the combatants, can bear witness. They are trained and musala'd like game-cocks; they travel in double cages with a single handle, jealously covered over like a Moslemah belle, and the loud screams of the non-combatants testify the interest they take in the fray. Nothing prettier than this style of fight; the wing is strong, the short spur is sharp and well thrown out, and the bird is thoroughly game. The coturnix (bater) [quail] is trained like the partridge, and carried in long covered cages with room for four. When battle is to be given, the *teterrima causa belli* is placed in the ring, her little prison having open bars, and two males, let loose at once, begin to peck and jump and hustle for their lives. The little devils are perfect "gluttons" for fight, and they will stick to it for an hour or more. Rams (bukre) are fought, chiefly by Hindus at the venerable festival called Makar Sankranti, when the sun enters Capricorn, the winter solstice, which with us means Christmas and New Year's days. Their horns are covered for dignity with gilt paper, but they are a poor and mean lot after the noble animal of Gujrat (Guzerat), which seems to derive directly from Ovis Ammon.

"Meanwhile the nobles of the land, despising these vulgar doings, disport themselves with shooting and hawking. The favourite birds are the Shah-baz (Falco peregrinus), for which even Iceland has been ransacked to supply the Indian market; the Shakin (royal white falcon); the Basha (goshawk); the Bhairi, which is generally preferred as giving the best sport; and sundry small species, like our sparrow-hawks, especially the Lagar and the Jagar. The riding-ground about Hyderabad is not very dangerous, and I need hardly say that the 'Baz-dars' (falconers) are perfectly versed in their craft."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, April 21, 1876.—*The Pall Mall Gazette* of March 31 publishes a letter from Captain R. F. Burton, whose literary activity is prodigious, describing the city of Hyderabad. Captain Burton seems to be very anxious to act the part of a herald proclaiming to the people of England the approach of that Sun of Righteousness and Moon of Wisdom H. E. Sir Salar Jung, the famous Minister of the Nizam of the Deccan. The capital of the Nizam's dominions is described as a handsome, clean, and peaceful city, and the English nation is adjured to put full confidence in the enlightened Minister who has brought the city out of its old state of disorder and uncleanness, and to give him "the fullest liberty outside the limits of licence." But Captain Burton does not say what share the popular awe of the British force stationed at Secunderabad has had in transforming Hyderabad and making its "cut-throats" respect the lives of British subjects. He does injustice, too, to "Anglo-Indian newspapers" in saying they always speak of Hyderabad as a den of robbers and assassins. Let him turn over the files of the Bombay newspapers for October 1874, when the Railway to Hyderabad was opened, and he will find accounts of the city and its inhabitants quite as full and impartial as his own. One of the best things in Captain Burton's letter is a story he tells of Holkar. "When", he says, "we allow every native Court the fullest liberty outside the limits of licence, then probably we shall not hear of the answer given, *on dit*, by Maharajah Holkore of Indore to one who asked him what India would do in case of foreign invasion. 'Sir,' was the acute reply, 'after men are tired of sleeping upon one side they turn round upon the other.'" But there is more of licence than mere liberty, we should think, in an answer of this kind.

PIONEER, October 11, 1877.—Hyderabad has for some time past, and indeed ever since the death of the late Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, been in a state of considerable uncertainty as to the future arrangements that would be sanctioned by the Government of India for the administration of affairs during the minority of the Nizam. These doubts and speculations received their quietus last week, when it was publicly announced that the Supreme Government, as Paramount Power and Guardian of the

State during His Highness's minority, had declared its intention of abiding by the agreement formerly ratified in 1869, and in pursuance thereof had nominated the Nawab Vjkar-ul-Oomrah, now the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, to the office of co-administrator held by his late brother. At the same time it became known that the Minister, who was understood at one time to have been very averse to this arrangement, had expressed his readiness to accept the decision and the orders of the Government of India, and that nothing now remained but to give the same due effect. This was done at a special durbar held by the young Nizam on the morning of the 29th September, of which a brief account may be interesting here, it being the first occasion on which this youthful Prince has taken official part in a public ceremony since his accession to the masnad.

The durbar was fixed for the hour of 7-45 a.m., and at that time the Resident, Sir Richard Meade, accompanied by Major-General Macintire, C.B., General Wright, C.B., the whole of the Residency staff, and between forty and fifty officers belonging to the garrisons of Secunderabad and Bolarum, all in full uniform, entered the great durbar hall, which was opened for the first time for some years for this occasion, and which was filled with spectators, all the principal nobles and State officials being present, and paying marked attention to the proceedings. After the usual salutations had passed, the Resident stated to the Nizam the object with which this durbar had been summoned, and then requested His Highness's permission to have read aloud, in Persian, the notification of the appointment of the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, which has been published in the *Jaridah*, or official gazette, and of which the translation runs as follows :—"The Resident hereby notifies, for the information of His Highness's Government, that in accordance with the provisions of the arrangement for the regulation and administration of the government of Hyderabad during the minority of H. H. the Nizam, dated the 2nd March 1869, approved and confirmed by the Government of India, H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council is pleased, after a full consideration of the views of His Highness's Government on the subject of the measures deemed desirable consequent on the death of the late Nawab Shamsh-ul-Oomrah Amir-i-Kabir Bahadoor, to nominate and appoint the deceased nobleman's brother, the present Nawab Shamsh-ul-Oomrah, Amir-i-Kabir Bahadoor, to the vacant office of co-administrator in the Government of the Hyderabad State. The general conduct of affairs will, as heretofore, rest with the Minister, H. E. Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., as the executive head of the administration, the concurrence of his colleague, the co-administrator, being, however, necessary in all orders and matters of importance." This was done by the Arz Begi amid the attention of all present; and on its conclusion the Resident at once rose, and coming to the bench on which the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir was seated took him by the hand and led him before H. H. the Nizam, to whom he formally presented him as the Minister's colleague and co-administrator of the Hyderabad State, at the same time explaining to the young Prince the grounds on which his selection to this post had been approved and decided on by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.

In congratulating the Nawab on his appointment the Resident expressed his earnest hope that the expectations that had been formed of the benefit likely to accrue by his nomination to this high office would be fully justified by events; and turning at the same time to the Minister he further impressed upon both noblemen the absolute necessity of subordinating whatever personal differences might have formerly existed between them to the interests of His Highness and his people, and to the necessities of good government, which could be only ensured by cordial co-operation one with another. Both the Minister and the Amir-i-Kabir gave earnest assurances that nothing should be wanting on their part to ensure harmony and efficiency in the Government; and the Nawab having given expression to the gratitude entertained by him and his family for the honour thus conferred on him by the British Government the whole company resumed their seats.

The Resident then briefly addressed the Nizam and the general assembly. He said that he had been given to understand that reports were current to the

effect that the appointment of the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir to the office of co-administrator was but the commencement of a system of extended interference on the part of the British Government in the internal administration of the Hyderabad State. These reports, said the Resident, were quite groundless. Nothing of the sort was intended; and he was glad to take this public opportunity of stating to the Nizam and his nobles that they had no foundation whatever. The British Government was no doubt the responsible guardian of the Hyderabad State during the Nizam's minority, and everything of importance seriously affecting the interests of His Highness or the State should be carried out with its knowledge, and, if necessary, with its advice and sanction; but no interference of the nature indicated by the reports in question had ever been contemplated. The Minister would, as hitherto, remain at the head of the executive, and the administration would be carried on without change in this respect.

TIMES OF INDIA, November 17, 1877.—*Waifs and Strays of the Famine.*—From our own correspondent, Aurungabad, dated 12th:—"About the end of last August, when the famine was at its height, the suffering amongst the poor was so intense that scores of children were deserted by their parents and left to perish from starvation. Others, again, were given over to courtezans and other bad characters, who eagerly took charge of them with a view of bringing them up for their own vile purposes. This state of things was brought to the notice of His Excellency and his able coadjutor, Nawab Mukarram-ood-Dowla Bahadur, and they promptly and energetically set to work to remedy the evil. Stringent orders were forthwith issued to the proper authorities to take up all the children then made over to courtezans and others, and to nurse and feed them at Government expense. The little waifs were picked up through all the affected districts, and in a few days there were upwards of six hundred children on the hands of Government. Meanwhile the rains put an end to the famine, and with the return of better times parental love reasserted its sway. Parents from the country applied through the Talukdars for the restoration of their children, and with true liberality the Government came forward and sent the little ones to their distant homes in charge of wet nurses and attendants, the State paying all the expenses. This good work is still going on, and children are almost daily sent to their parents from Hyderabad by train, and from the districts by carts. About 400 of them have been already sent from Hyderabad, and about two hundred of them are yet in the hands of Government. I had an opportunity of seeing them the other day, at the capital, and very healthy and plump they looked, and I could only shudder when I thought of the cruel fate from which they have been rescued.

"But the generosity of Government has not been confined to the children alone. Like those mistaken sufferers who lately flocked into your city in the belief that in it lay their salvation, hundreds of people strayed into Hyderabad in the hope of finding employment there. Vaguely and hopelessly they wandered about the city, till the Government again came forward and held out a helping hand to them. When the times improved these were sent back to their homes, Government paying their railway expenses, and if their villages happened to be distant from the line the distance was calculated, and they were paid at the rate of three annas per diem for their journey. About 350 were thus sent to Raichore and Lingasogoor, and about 130 to Bellary and other places in the Madras Presidency, to which they belonged. Two members of the Central Relief Committee attend to the deportation of these immigrants, and see that they are properly cared and provided for. I must not omit to mention that for several months about 900 of these immigrants were fed at Hyderabad by Government. This good and kind act of H. E. Sir Salar Jung is well worthy of imitation by other Native States."

TIMES OF INDIA, November 19, 1877.—Sir Salar Jung has apparently had enough of lady doctors. Dr. Nancy Monelle, who was put in charge of a dispensary at Hyderabad, has now married, and gone away with her husband to Lucknow. The Nizam's Government have no intention, it is said, of appointing

a successor to her, and the dispensary in Afzul Gunj is therefore permanently closed. The *Deccan Advertiser* remarks:—"That an immense amount of good has been effected there during the last two or three years is unquestionable. Upwards of 40,000 cases were treated, and we may take it for granted that a large proportion of these would never have been submitted to a (male) doctor."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *January 9, 1878.*—*New Year's Day at Hyderabad.*—The anniversary of the assumption of Her Majesty the Queen of her imperial title, Empress of India, was celebrated in this station in a somewhat grand manner. There was a review, a durbar, and a grand ball at the Residency.

From half-past 11 o'clock, the time appointed, the reception hall at the Residency rapidly began to fill, and by 12 o'clock the place was crowded and nearly all the seats taken up. For a few minutes the assemblage was on the tiptoe of expectation, one of the Nizam's bands playing the while some sweet music, when, about a quarter past 12 o'clock, Sir Richard Meade, the British Resident, accompanied by H. E. Sir Salar Jung and the Nawab Shums-ool-Oomrah the Ameer-i-Kabeer, entered the hall, followed by a number of the principal city noblemen, the company standing up to receive them. After the procession had moved up the centre of the hall, and the Co-Regents and Sir Richard Meade taken their seats all the others sat down. Then Sir Richard Meade rose and addressed Sir Salar Jung, Nawab Shums-ool-Oomrah, Major-General Macintire, the Nawabs, Officers and all present. He said on this day and this hour last year the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India was proclaimed at Delhi by the Viceroy to the Chiefs and Princes of India then assembled, and *darbars* were held throughout India with the same object. It was to celebrate this anniversary that the *darbar* assembled to-day, and he thanked everybody present for so kindly responding to his invitation. At the proclamation, he went on to say, the Viceroy explained the real aim and object of the assumption of the title, and several of those who were present on the occasion were at Delhi, and had heard what these were from the Viceroy's lips, and many of the others who had attended the *darbar* held by Major Smith last year, during his absence at Delhi, had heard the same from that officer. It would, therefore, be unnecessary for him to make any lengthened remarks, and so he would confine himself to one extract from the proclamation, and that was the avowal that the sole object of Her Majesty's assumption of the title was the welfare of the princes and peoples of India, whose affections were sought for. During the past year, he said, there were two great calamities to which he would direct attention. One was the famine, which devastated a great portion of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and by which large numbers of the people suffered from the want of rain. The suffering was very great in all the afflicted districts, and had not the Government of India grappled with the evil it would have been much greater. The efforts of the Government, however, mitigated the distress, and many millions of lives were saved. To effect this, he observed, a vast expenditure was incurred, no less than 10 crores of rupees, but he was sure that the action of the Government in the matter was highly praiseworthy, and that the personal sacrifices and difficulties of every one employed in the afflicted districts were well known and appreciated. The Nizam's Government, he went on to remark, had to bear its full share of the burden, and it deserved great credit for the effectual means it had taken to meet the distress, circumscribed though it was, by which many lives had been saved. He pointed out how much England had contributed towards the relief of the people, amounting to 50 lacs of rupees, and he felt certain that double that amount would have been given had there been any need for it, so liberally disposed towards the people of India were all classes of the English nation, from the Queen downwards. This, he added, was a convincing proof, to the princes and people, how deep an interest the English took in their welfare. He hoped that all famine had ceased, and that the year just commenced would not be visited by such sad occurrences. The other event to which Sir Richard alluded was the war now raging between Russia and Turkey. It was impossible to predict how it would

terminate ; but he mentioned that England had been called upon by Turkey to mediate, and that England had undertaken this serious and responsible task. He was certain that all present sympathized with Turkey and wished her success. Sir Richard then turned to the two Co-Regents, complimented them on the state of the country, and congratulated them on the improvement in the health of the young Nizam ever since his visit to Delhi, and remarked how much was due to the attention of Captain Clerk and kind care of Dr. Wyndowe. It was impossible, he observed, to estimate the importance of the manner in which His Highness was being carefully brought up, and he earnestly hoped that his teaching will be eminently successful and fit him for the high and responsible position he will be called upon to fill. In conclusion, Sir Richard Meade again thanked all present for their attendance, offered them his wishes for their happiness, and sat down amidst loud and prolonged cheering. Garlands of flowers were afterwards brought in, placed around the necks of the Nawabs and native gentlemen, and the durbar was closed.—*Deccan Times*.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, January 24, 1878.—The “*Lungur*” ceremony at Hyderabad.—From our own correspondent :—

“The *lungur* has this year been celebrated under the most favourable auspices. It usually attracts a large crowd of spectators, the natives thronging by thousands and the Europeans by hundreds to see the strange and picturesque sight afforded them once a year ; but last week the presence of distinguished visitors invested the *lungur* with additional interest, and caused it to pass off with more than the usual *éclat*. Sir Richard and Lady Meade with the Residency staff and a number of officers from the cantonments of Secunderabad, as usual, attended as the guests of His Excellency Sir Salar Jung, and there were, besides, the three Italian noblemen who arrived at Bombay a short time ago on a shooting excursion in India, and who for some weeks, in company with Lieut.-Col. Fraser, Military Secretary to the Resident, have been enjoying good sport in the Nizam’s dominions. But the notable visitor, and one whose presence gave rise to some comments of a peculiar significance, was Sir Neville Chamberlain, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Presidency. For some days previous to the *lungur* it was rumoured that His Excellency had expressed a strong desire to witness this strange spectacle, which could not perhaps be seen in any other city of India but Hyderabad, and that he had expressly arranged to arrive at this place in time for the festival. It cannot therefore be wondered at that peculiar rumours were afloat on the subject of His Excellency’s visit among the natives, it being commonly believed that, at the suggestion of the Government of India, he had been induced to time his arrival at Hyderabad so as to be present on an occasion when he would not only be in a position to ascertain the number and condition of the troops, regular and irregular, of His Highness the Nizam, but also have an opportunity of forming some idea in respect to the horde of Arabs, Seedees, Sikhs, and Rohillas with which Hyderabad abounds. Whether any significance really attached to the visit of the Commander-in-Chief of Madras at this juncture it is impossible to say ; his presence at the *lungur* invested it, at any rate, with more than its usual interest, and stirred up the officers in charge of the procession to guard against anything occurring that might disturb the harmony of the event. The *lungur* is a festival peculiar to Hyderabad, and though it is usually celebrated in the month of Mohurrun it is no way connected with it. A short account of its origin may not perhaps be uninteresting. About three hundred years ago the young Sultan Abdoola Kutub Shah was out for an evening ride on an elephant which was newly caught and not quite trained for use. Suddenly the elephant disappeared, to the consternation of the Sultan’s attendants, and, as was afterwards discovered, took the nearest road to the jungles. The mother of Abdoola, distracted by grief and the dread that something evil might befall him, made a vow that should the elephant safely bring back her son she would cause a golden *lungur* or chain to be made which she would place on the elephant’s neck and take him in procession to the *Hoosein-i-Alum*, the grave of a noted Mahomedan saint. It is said

after a month and three days, and during the month of *Mohurram*, the elephant returned and restored the young prince to the arms of his sorrowing mother. This lady, in fulfilment of her vow, ordered a chain of gold 384 oz. in weight to be made, which was put round the elephant's neck, and a grand procession being formed took its way towards the *Hoosein-i-Alum*, where the chain was broken into pieces and distributed among the poor. Such is the incident which gave rise to this festive procession, and which is celebrated annually, and has this year been attended with unusual pomp and splendour. All the chiefs and nobles of Hyderabad, with their numerous attendants and retainers, took a part in it, and some idea will be formed as to its length when it is said that it is usually five hours passing at any particular place. At about one o'clock the Minister, with his distinguished guests, took his seat in the pavilion especially erected for them in the main street leading from the palace; and on a given signal, the firing of a couple of rockets, the procession started and was seen slowly wending its way up the street. The first to appear was the city executioner, who strangely headed the procession, and then followed a strong body of the police force, city and suburban, about 1,200 in number. They were neatly dressed in a green uniform, and made a good show, though the suburban police did not appear to be in as good a state of discipline as their brethren of the city. But what struck one as rather strange, and certainly showing an indifference to the safety of the people, was the fact that the whole body of the police force had been taken away to form the procession, and it would have been difficult for any person passing through the city to meet half-a-dozen policemen on the road, though the crowd numbered by thousands. As a matter of course not only did free fights frequently take place, but the crowd so blocked the way that the procession had often to stop three and four minutes at a time, and it was observed those taking a part in it freely used a cuff here and kick there to clear a way. The police had no sooner gone by than appeared on the scene what it would be impossible to describe. Of all the cities of India, Hyderabad is the most conservative, and still retains many of the customs and habits of barbarous times. Every individual, from the highest to the lowest, is armed here, not with one weapon, but with a number, and that, again, of various kinds. Another habit, which is gradually disappearing in British India, is here to be met within all its intense disagreeableness. An ordinary moonshee going to his work may be seen conveyed in a palanquin with at least a couple of men following him, one carrying perhaps a *hooka*, and the other a *pan-dan*; while a *munsabdar*, or an ordinary *jaghirdar*, will have at least a dozen Rohillas armed to the teeth running behind his horse, or whatever *sowaree* he might happen to be in. As to the nobles and petty chiefs which abound in Hyderabad, their dignity is never satisfied unless they keep a little army at home, the number of which marks as it were their rank and station in the eyes of the people. But besides these there are certain chiefs, such as Buruk Jung, Mokuddum Jung, Ghalib Jung, &c., which keep up each a body of three or four thousand men consisting of Arabs, Seedeas, Rohillas, &c., who are paid by the Nizam's Government, and whose services can at any time be called for on behalf of the State. These chiefs hold a position somewhat similar to the great barons in the feudal ages. Though in no way independent, they are far too powerful to give implicit obedience to the State, with which they frequently come into collision. They have each large jaghirs, from the revenues of which they keep up their little armies. On the *lungur* day all the chiefs and nobles, high and low, took a part in the procession—some riding richly caparisoned horses glittering with jewels and gems, others on stately elephants with splendid and gorgeous howdas. The chiefs in themselves presented quite a gay and pleasing sight, but it was their ragged followers and retainers who made the scene quite grotesque, and involuntarily gave rise to the thought that in no country laying any claim to civilization would a spectacle of this kind be seen. For three hours there was visible simply a confused mass of heads—men, horses, elephants, camels, mock tigers—all mixed together; here a body of infantry shuffled past in a most disorderly manner wearing the cast-off uniform of almost every British regiment, and led perhaps by an officer riding a little tat, with a tattered umbrella over his head; then came on the scene a body of variously attired sowars, with their girdles stuffed with

every imaginable kind of weapon, and riding past recklessly—one, two, or three in a line, as suited their pleasure; and now a hideous unearthly noise attracted the attention of the sight-seer, and what should it be but a band of Arabs coming leisurely along chanting their monotonous war-song, to be outdone only by a gang of ferocious-looking Seedees, the sweat running down their faces, who came tearing along madly, dancing to the music of their own voices. And if to the noise and din thus created be interspersed here and there the music proceeding from almost every kind of instrument—European, Asiatic, or African—it will perhaps give some idea of the confusion which reigned supreme. The scene was laughable and grottesque in the extreme; a great pity it should have been so, for the procession cut short by half, and stripped of the unnecessarily large number of Arabs, Seedees, and Rohillas who took part in it, afforded all the constituents for forming a picturesque and imposing spectacle. And here it might be remarked that the greater portion of the men composing the procession are said to be in the pay of the Nizam's Government. It is well known that the finances of the State of Hyderabad are in anything but a flourishing condition, and but for the surplus revenue of the Berars would scarcely be able to meet the demands on the treasury. Extensive retrenchments are being made on all sides; it would surely be a move in the right direction to get rid of this turbulent rabble, which is undoubtedly one of the chief evils of Hyderabad. Not only would the State be saved unnecessary expense, but the safety of life and property would be secured thereby. It is notorious that many of the murders and outrages committed in this city may be traced to these wild and turbulent Arabs, who in many instances are protected by their chiefs, and thus able to evade the punishment which they deserve. That such is the state of Hyderabad is no reproach to Sir Salar Jung. Before His Excellency became Prime Minister no European could dare enter the city without an escort; it need hardly be said matters are very different now, though there is still room for improvement. The Minister some time ago confiscated a portion of the jaghirs of some of the Arab chiefs, and he would no doubt curtail their incomes still further, but that he might probably meet with a strong opposition, the foreign recruits having become quite an institution of Hyderabad. But there is yet an important element of the procession to be described. About 4 p.m. the sweet music discoursed by the band of the African Body-Guards heralded the approach of the Reformed Troops, at the head of whom rode Major Nevill, the commander, accompanied by his staff, all dressed in a gorgeous uniform. One by one the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, numbering in all about 5,000, marched past, and made a good show indeed. They were, it is said, some time ago in a better state of discipline, but for all that their appearance was certainly a redeeming point in the doings of the day. About 5 p.m. the last of the procession having been seen, the Minister with his guests returned to the palace, where at that late hour the party sat down to a luncheon, it being past 7 o'clock before the visitors started for their respective homes."

TIMES OF INDIA, *May* 31, 1878.—Muhummud Shahab-ud-Deen, Khan Bahadur, son of the Nawab Jani Jahan, Khan Bahadur, of the Carnatic family, died at Oomrawuttee on Saturday last (25th). He was appointed an attaché to the Resident, Hyderabad, on 13th June 1873, on the recommendations of the late Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, and the late Hon. R. S. Ellis. Having passed successfully the prescribed examinations, Shahab-ud-Deen was advanced last year to the position of Assistant Commissioner by the Viceroy. The deceased was an intelligent Mahomedan gentleman, of excellent manners, and a great favourite with all the officers in the Berars. He returned last week seriously ill from Hyderabad, where he had proceeded to be present at the marriage festivities of his sister, an account of which we gave in our issue of Monday (27th). Shahab-ud-Deen was a guest of Colonel Sir Richard Meade at the Delhi Assemblage last year, and both that officer and Lord Lytton will, we are sure, regret the premature decease of a nobleman whose appointment to the Berar Commission, although sanctioned as an experimental measure, proved so successful as to induce the Government to open the superior ranks of the Commission to gentle men of our native aristocracy.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *January 22, 1879.*—The following is from a correspondent, dated Hyderabad, Deccan, 15th instant :—

"The many improvements perceptible in this great Mahomedan city of Hyderabad, and the adjacent suburban stations of Chadarghat and Saifabad surprise every one revisiting this portion of India after an absence of a few years. The broad thoroughfares through the city proper are specially noticeable, as compared with the former narrow filthy streets through which the explorer had to pick his way, even while proceeding to the palaces of H. H. the Nizam or of his many subordinate princes, and when it was dangerous for a pedestrian to seek his way alone with anything of value in his possession. Though there is much remaining to be done in the matter of enlarged streets and the introduction of sanitary reforms, the roads now leading to the chief public offices and palaces of the city are worthy of its size and wealth. Saifabad is a new military cantonment which has come into existence within the last five years ; this station is occupied by the officers of the Nizam's Reformed Troops, and is situated about five miles south of the city, among the hills, on the highlands overlooking the magnificent lake of Hussain Sagar, whose length of over six miles touches Saifabad on the west and the strong British cantonment of Secunderabad on the north-east. The Reformed Troops of His Highness, including all arms, number some seven thousand men, who are well officered by European and Eurasian gentlemen of good families, the chief command resting with Major Nevill, an ex-officer of the Hungarian army, and under his vigorous control the Nizam's troops, originally a Palstaffian corps, have advanced to a very creditable proficiency in military discipline, drill, &c. Those political croakers, however, who look upon such bodies of armed men maintained by Indian feudatories with an eye of distrust, as likely to become some day a cause of uneasiness to the ruling power, may banish such forebodings, for this reason, that, trained though such troops are to arms and to some degree of martial education, the contrast between them and the Imperial troops is painfully striking, and one can see at a glance that the moral and physical superiority of the one over the other is so great that, in the almost impossible eventuality of a trial of strength, odds of one to ten would not be too much to allow to the inferior party. The liberality with which the Nizam's European employes are paid and generally treated well deserves commendation, and the handsome provision that this Native Government makes for the widows and orphans of its officers is beyond all praise.

"There is a good Civil Engineering College here, and the course laid down for the students is the same as that prescribed at the Roorkee School ; there is always an average of a dozen or fifteen students in the College, and the quality of the Engineers turned out is fully attested by the excellent quality of the new roads and public buildings constructed in the Nizam's territory. The Medical School is another institution of importance that deserves a line of notice ; the students here go through a careful and practical course of study under competent professionals, and are then sent out, as they are required, into the country, as *hakims*, on varying salaries. These are a few out of many of the pleasing features of H. H. the Nizam's Government, and it is well to give them the publicity and commendation they merit. On the other hand, there are many dark and unpleasant features, too prominent to escape attention, which are the inseparable concomitants of a weak and apathetic Oriental rule that still delights in the prejudices, manners, luxury, and despotic régime that prevailed a hundred years ago, though continually kept in check by the efforts of one of the most enlightened of Indian Dewans, far in advance of the civilization of the dominion he is appointed to rule."

TIMES OF INDIA, *July 16, 1879.*—*The Great Hyderabad Case.*—The following is from our special correspondent, dated Hyderabad, 10th instant :—

"For the last few weeks the inhabitants of Hyderabad (Deccan) have been greatly perturbed at the alleged doings or misdoings of one of their two great state officials. Any expression of popular feeling of this kind is now, fortunately, unusual. For in spite of the motley troops of Arabs, Rohillas, Pathans, and other

swaggering gangs of armed and ragged horsemen who enliven the narrow streets of the walled capital of the greatest Mahomedan State in India, in spite of caparisoned elephants and long files of laden camels, of mosques and minarets and triumphal arches, of blank zenana walls, of veiled women, of negro dependants and eunuchs, the Nizam's capital is generally as quiet and staid as any other large centre in all India. It is true that there are tall stone walls on their four sides of it, with narrow gates in them closed at eleven every evening, and that all the chief houses within these walls are protected like fortresses. It is interesting, too, within a not very long day's journey of Bombay, to see half the men you meet wearing as many weapons of sorts stuck around their burly persons as might have decorated the lower mast of a pirate schooner eighty years ago, and to note that no one apparently goes out even for a stroll without a sheathed sword in his hand. And thus the English visitor to Hyderabad is easily induced to believe in the hints thrown out in the guide books and gazetteers, that unless he enter the city walls protected with an order formally signed by the representative of British authority he is not unlikely to come out again riddled with bullets or hacked with sword-cuts. If, however, the English traveller only take the trouble to stay among the permanent European residents at Chudderghat long enough to learn something about the ways and manners of Hyderabad, he soon finds that he may enter the city gates whenever they are opened, and stay till they are closed, or beyond it, without let or insult. The city, to speak the unromantic truth, in spite of its chivalresque appearance, its flashing sabres, its rusty matchlocks, and its dozen nationalities, is now almost as dull and peaceful as any unwalled town in British India. Like other places more directly under the eye of the Supreme Government, something of local interest is necessary to awaken Hyderabad from its state of normal lethargy. But as I said at the beginning of my letter, it is thoroughly aroused at last. The Government of Simla may have probably heard something of the disturbing cause that has ruffled the political current. We, at all events, gathered enough from the rumours that reached us in Bombay to bring me up here to deliberately investigate the story from first to last. The matter in question has hitherto been successfully hushed up from the public, and as it is still *sub judice* I will confine myself to the facts gathered from the documentary evidence put forward, without presuming to offer any personal opinion upon events which may have results quite outside the present trial, and when I touch upon political matters at all it will only be to incidentally introduce an interesting and hitherto unwritten and ignored chapter of Hyderabad history.

"The parties concerned in the dispute are, we are officially told, 'second only in rank to the family of the Nizam,' into which their forefathers had repeatedly married. They correspond, in fact, to those great nobles in England who take an hereditary lead in politics. The charge is brought against no less a personage than the Co-Regent, and by his own nephews. The latter declare that he has, by active force as well as political pressure, despoiled them in the short space of eighteen months of certain landed estates worth no less a sum than seven lakhs of rupees, or seventy thousand pounds, per annum. Their whole annual rental consisted two years since of the immense sum of fourteen lakhs. But dating from the time when their uncle, the present Co-Regent, was appointed to this office in the State, second only in importance to that held by Sir Salar Jung, they have been gradually stripped of one-half of it; and they never, they allege, ventured to take legal action against so important a political personage as their uncle until the employment of armed levies to seize their outlying possessions seemed to show that their whole property was in actual danger. These are the allegations. Whether they will eventually be affirmed or rebutted it is not, of course, for me to say.

"His Excellency Rusheed-ood-Deen, Khan Bahadur, Shums-ool-Oomrah, Ameer-i-Kabeer, against whom the present action is being brought, was, it may be remembered, appointed Co-Regent some two years ago. The appointment created considerable sensation throughout India at the time, as it was understood to be an unpleasant intimation to H. E. Sir Salar Jung, the Regent and Minister of the Nizam's Government, that the Government of India were displeased with

his action in the matter of the Berars. Shums-ool-Oomrah, to give the present Co-Regent the short title by which he is generally known, had, at all events, been generally regarded as Sir Salar's bitterest enemy. It may be a matter of notoriety rather than of proof that Sir Salar vigorously protested against the appointment, and even threatened to resign on account of it. But Shums-ool-Oomrah had, at all events, given sufficient cause of suspicion, in his continuous efforts to supplant Sir Salar in his high position of Minister, to render a protest of some kind not only likely, but almost inevitable. In these efforts and his other intrigues he had assuredly attracted not only the natural antagonism of Sir Salar Jung himself, but the grave displeasure of the Supreme Government. No end of rumours on this subject are current in the bazaars of Hyderabad, where the system of intrigue and espionage is peculiarly favourable to the dissemination of rumours on every subject under the sun. But I will only quote what Mr. Val Prinsep, the latest English traveller who has written on Hyderabad, has to say on the subject. I can, however, only quote from memory, but the words are, I think, almost *verbatim*:—'During the lifetime of the late Nizam, who disliked Sir Salar, the late Colonel Davidson was Resident. The Nizam wished for the support of the Resident in ousting the Minister. One day a lady, calling herself Mrs. Davidson, communicated with the Nizam through the present Shums-ool-Oomrah, and promised to employ on his behalf all the feminine influence she possessed. She was asked to call personally, and, doing so, left with a carriage full of rupees. But, to the horror of the conspirators, it was discovered that this lady was only the wife of a local chemist, who had dressed up as the Resident's wife, and so walked off with the rupees.' Mr. Prinsep has, according to the local story, not told the whole truth here, but it is near enough for our purpose; and he adds: 'This happened many years ago, but this story was always one of the reasons given for not employing Shums-ool-Oomrah.' In the Administration Report for 1869-70, written by Mr. Saunders, one of Colonel Davidson's successors, we also find that the present Shums-ool-Oomrah 'having been pronounced guilty some eight years ago of lending himself to an intrigue, the object of which, it was believed, was to procure for him the office of Minister, had been prohibited, under the orders of the Supreme Government, from appearing on any public occasion, the Nizam's own durbār not excepted, when the British representative was present. This sentence, of course, amounted to one of complete political extinction.'

"On the 26th February 1869 the last Nizam expired. He was suffering at the time from a disease that might have been cured by a slight operation. But his secluded life had not inspired him with either confidence or courage; and, to convince him of the ease with which the cure might be performed, all the poor people in the city who were afflicted with the same disease are said to have been brought before him and operated on in his presence. Still the Nizam could not nerve himself for the operation. Mortification set in, and he died miserably. A few days after the Nizam's death the present Shums-ool-Oomrah was restored to his former privileges, as an act of grace on the succession of a new Nizam, but still he was not, adds Mr. Saunders in detailing the event, 'officially connected with the Government.' At the end of 1877, however, the Government of India, for reasons connected with Sir Salar Jung and the Berars and the banishment of Mr. Oliphant, at which I have hinted above, thought it advisable to counterbalance the immense influence of the Minister by appointing to the office of Co-Regent the one native gentleman who was thought to be directly antagonistic to him; and thus Shums-ool-Oomrah obtained the high position which, according to his nephews, was immediately utilized for the purpose of depriving them of one-half of their large estates. This, then, is the man who would be properly described as defendant in the present action, but that everything is inverted in Hyderabad.

"I have discussed Shums-ool-Oomrah's political career at some length. But this will serve to explain the neutral position taken up by Sir Salar Jung in the whole dispute. The Government of India have, as it is at all events popularly believed, forced the present Co-Regent upon him, and Sir Salar is probably, and not unnaturally, unwilling to allow them to suppose that he is anxious to embrace

the very first opportunity of weakening the influence of their nominee. The Minister's mind might well be supposed to have a bias in the matter, and thus his hands are politically tied.

"After the uncle, who is alleged to be the aggressor, I come naturally to the nephews, who say they are the sufferers. The founder of the important family of which they are all members came originally with the Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Nizamate, from Delhi, in the early part of the last century, and was rewarded with the title of 'premier noble' of Hyderabad, and with gifts or grants that made him by far the wealthiest nobleman in the State. These grants were generally bestowed in the shape of military jagheers, or landed estates, for which military service was performed, and the jagheers allotted to the first Shums-ool-Oomrah are said to have been worth the enormous sum of fifty-four lakhs of rupees, or more than half a million sterling, per annum. The system in Hyderabad is very similar to the feudal system introduced by William the Conqueror into England, to reward the nobles who had assisted him, and to guarantee the permanency of his conquest. By the law and custom of Hyderabad, these military jagheers are hereditary, and only revert to the Crown upon distinct withdrawal of title as a punishment, or upon failure of heirs. They are, however, not only hereditary, but can also be given by the jagheerdar to any member of his own family, subject always to the same condition of military service. From the first Shums-ool-Oomrah, who lived to a ripe old age, something like half these jagheers descended to his eldest son, the second Shums-ool-Oomrah, who during the time of the Mutiny 'lent,' we are told, 'all his influence to thwarting the plots of the seditious.' He had three sons, with whom we are now concerned. Firstly, the third Shums-ool-Oomrah, one of the most celebrated and most honest statesmen Hyderabad has ever produced. Secondly, Sultan-ood-Deen, who died early, leaving two sons, the Nawab Mohthashim-ood-Dowlah Bahadur and the Nawab Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadur, the nephews and aggrieved parties in the case before us. Thirdly, by another wife, or mistress, the fourth, or present, Shums-ool-Oomrah, the Co-Regent, whom Colonel Hastings Fraser in his work on 'Our Faithful Ally the Nizam,' for some reason or other, calls 'illegitimate.' There seems to have been no affection lost between the third Shums-ool-Oomrah and the present one. The former, 'as the acknowledged head of the party in Hyderabad affairs' which may be said to present the Nizam's own personal views and interests, formed,' according to Mr. Saunders, 'a tower of strength to the new administration as soon as he consented to hold a place in it;' and he was consequently, on the death of the late Nizam, appointed Co-Regent with Sir Salar Jung. The latter, as I have shown, was perpetually in disgrace during his brother's lifetime for plotting and intriguing. And the latter, too, bore no good-will to his nephews, whom the third Shums-ool-Oomrah had, as head of the family and as he was childless, taken into his own house and treated with all the affection of a father. During his lifetime the second Shums-ool-Oomrah had made a division of his property, which had then considerably decreased in value, between his sons; and the present Shums-ool-Oomrah had at that time come into his share of the family jagheers. To secure the succession of his nephews to his property, and to thwart the well-known intriguing ambition of their other uncle, his brother, the third Shums-ool-Oomrah adopted much the same plan, and by a deed of gift, as well as by a subsequent will, disposed of his whole property in favour of these nephews, after provision had been made for the ladies of his zenana. In this will he also expressed a loyal desire that one of his nephews, Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadur, might be allowed to succeed him as Co-Regent, and that the other nephew might be permitted to succeed him in the title. These requests were left to the consideration of the Nizam's Government; and Sir Salar Jung, the Nizam's Minister, was appointed executor of the will. It may also be important to remember that this will was witnessed by one Mahomed Shacore, the head manager of all his property and affairs. It may, however, be well to quote the body of this important document. After the customary praises to God and the Prophet, the will runs:—

"According to the texts of the 'Koran,' every one will have to taste death,

and everything is mortal, and when death comes it will come at the appointed hour, i.e., that hour will neither be prolonged nor diminished. Therefore, owing to the prospect of eventual death, I have by a separate "Hiba Namah" given and presented to my own relations the property which I hold and possess. Although all possessions by way of jagheer or in return for services rendered are gifts of the king ("athayaaaj sultanee") and for the profit of nobles, &c., yet it has always been customary in this State that after the death of the possessor of such jagheers, &c., his gift of them to his relations is held a valid and lawful act. Therefore, in the full and perfect possession of health and my senses I have divided and apportioned the jagheers and appointments held by me in such manner as I have deemed fit and proper. I appoint Mookbthar-ool-Moolk Bahadoor, Mohthashim-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor, and Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor, my executors, so that after my death the property enumerated below may be held and enjoyed by my relations below noted, and whatever transfer of property was required to be done under "sunnuds" (deeds) has been done so by me, so that reliance may be placed thereon. And I have full hope that His Highness, by way of favour on and cherishing of ancient houses, may be pleased to give validity to, and cause a continuance of, what I have done. I have, therefore, by way of a will, written these few lines, so that hereafter no one may have cause to dispute the arrangements made by the "Sircar" (Government). My personal jagheers have been disposed as per list in a separate paper hereto attached and signed by me. The "mahals" for payment of the soldiery under me have been divided as per a separate list signed by me. The greatness and representative power of the "pagah" is made over to Mohthashim-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor. Although the office of Co-Regent is not one regarding which any arrangement at all can now be made, yet, as at the time of conferring the office of Sudhur-ool-Moham on Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor, as is well-known to His Highness's Government, my sanction was not, according to ancient custom, necessary. Without having regard to this ancient custom, and without giving it consideration, it is my earnest desire, in view of the fact that he will be competent to hold the office, that it may be conferred on Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor. (Sd.) "SHUMS-OOL-OOMRAH,
 "Dated 11th Zuhij, 1288 H. "Ameer-i-Kubeer."

"The Nizam himself has the right of withdrawing as of bestowing these jagheers. But in the present case the Nizam was an infant, and his government in commission. So the Minister and the Co-Regent, who held the reins of government in his stead, did what they could. The one drew up the will and the other executed it.

"On the 5th April 1877 the third Shums-ool-Oomrah died, and the two nephews, Mohthashim-ood-Dowlah and Busheer-ood-Dowlah, came into undisputed possession of all their uncle's estates, which were found to be worth some fourteen lakhs a year. The various jagheers and other properties, with one exception, had been fairly apportioned by name between the two nephews; and this exception, the Jehan-numah Gardens, literally the 'World's Show,' and indeed the great show place of Hyderabad, had been left to the nephews conjointly to be kept up by them as a family seat, and they were instructed 'to look after it as after ancestral family property.' But they both still left the management of all their property wholly in the hands of Mahomed Shacore, their deceased uncle's jemadar.

"Only one of these two nephews, Busheer-ood-Dowlah, had come prominently before the public. He was, and through a strange irony of fate still is, Minister of Justice; and he had served as Minister in Sir Salar Jung's absence in a way that, according to the Resident, was deserving of all praise. Mohthashim-ood-Dowlah, the other nephew, had once been exiled to Golcondah for three years. He had ordered a servant to be flogged. The servant died from the treatment, and the master was held responsible. He had, however, long been rehabilitated in the favour of the Court; and as undisputed successors to the wealth and prestige of the third Shums-ool-Oomrah both the nephews had now a magnificent and apparently easy prospect before them.

"It is at this point that the interest of the existing dispute really begins. In the next few months we shall find that the present Shums-ool-Oomrah has succeeded in obtaining the hereditary title ; has, for various political reasons, been appointed to the post of Co-Regent ; and, armed with this authority, has, as it is alleged, succeeded in obtaining one-half of his nephews' large estates, and was, they say, only finally restrained in his further ambitious attempts by the employment of armed retainers to resist the armed levies he himself brought into the field."

JULY 11.—"Shortly after the death of the third Shums-ool-Oomrah, that is, about the middle of 1877, the Supreme Government are supposed to have had a strong feeling about some alleged attempt of Sir Salar Jung to reopen the Berars question. They suddenly deprived him of the services of his secretary, Mr. Oliphant, and, according to popular belief, ceased to treat him with all that friendly regard and consideration which previous Governments had bestowed on him for his prolonged political services. At all events, the times seem to have been peculiarly ripe for intrigue. His brother, who is now known as Shums-ool-Oomrah, at once took advantage of the situation. He began quietly enough by laying claim to the proud title of Shums-ool-Oomrah, 'the Sun of Amcers,' the 'premier nobleman' of Hyderabad. To this claim his nephews reluctantly assented, upon, I hear from what I think good authority, the formal assurances of not their uncle only, but of the Resident at Hyderabad and of the Supreme Government, that he wanted nothing more than the title, and would not lay claim to any of the property that had been received by them from their uncle, his brother.

"Being once possessed of the title, he was ready to hand, as bearing a time-honoured name, when the Government of India determined to take a new departure in their treatment of Sir Salar Jung. I have referred at some length already to the reasons that are said to have prompted this determination, and I have now only to chronicle the fact that on or about the 9th October 1877 Shums-ool-Oomrah was formally appointed Co-Regent of Hyderabad during the minority of H. H. the Nizam, together with Sir Salar Jung, against whose position as Minister he had long and notoriously intrigued. Shums-ool-Oomrah was at last one of the two men who ruled the State, and he was the nominee of a Resident and a Governor-General with whom his colleague was supposed to be in some kind of official disgrace. He had now all the power of the State in his hands, and, as his nephews allege, he now began to use it.

"He at once appealed to his nephews to give him five lakhs of rupees to free him from monetary entanglements which did not befit the recognized head of a great Mahomedan house. As the head of their family, too, he begged them to hand over the ancestral palace of the Jehan-numah Gardens. And as his elder son was already properly provided from the ancestral estates with jagheers bringing in two and a half lakhs of rupees per annum, he requested them, as wealthy members of the family, to endow his younger son with immovable property of a similar yearly value. To these requests the nephews sent a flat refusal. The requests were, however, renewed from time to time, until at length, without the pretence of any legal claim, they assumed the form of positive demands. These were only changed in one respect. He now demanded the Jehan-numah Gardens for the use of his younger son instead of his own use, on the plea that his elder son already possessed a handsome garden and pleasure-house. The nephews still firmly refused. They were then threatened with the displeasure of the Nizam's Government ; and the threat, coming from the Co-Regent, soon bore fruit. They were debarred from attending the Nizam's durbars, and they were altogether treated in exactly the same way by their uncle as he had himself been treated for nine or ten years by order of the Government of India. Under this heavy pressure the Nawabs Molthashim-ood-Dowlah and Busheer-ood-Dowlah, whom, as they always act together and have rather unmanageable names, I have hitherto called the nephews, began to think it would be desirable to purchase peace at a price. They offered to absolutely assign to their uncle certain jagheers yielding Rs. 2,54,000 per annum, and to pay five lakhs in ready cash, on condition that he would formally agree to abstain from all further demands in the future.

Shums-ool-Oomrah agreed to accept this offer, but still insisted that the Jehan-numah Gardens should be assigned in addition to his younger son. To this additional request the nephews again refused to accede, and matters remained at this dead-block until the 9th April 1878, when, through the friendly offices of Major Euan Smith, the Assistant Resident, it was agreed, by the agents of both parties, that in addition to immoveable property of the annual rental of Rs. 2,54,000 and five lakhs of rupees in ready cash the Jehan-numah Gardens should be given to Shum's-ool-Oomrah as 'an appanage of the title.' The jagheers were handed over, and the titles and transfer deeds were sent in. The five lakhs were accepted. Shums-ool-Oomrah waited on the Resident to relate the happy termination of the affair, and Sir Richard Meade and Major Euan Smith are both said to have exclaimed, as well they might, *Allah-il-illillah* !

"Four days were enough to dissipate their pious wishes. On the 13th April Shums-ool-Oomrah, while retaining all he had actually got, returned the letter relating to the Jehan-numah Gardens, declaring he would never accept the latter except upon unconditional terms. The nephews again refused to alienate this estate from the family glory. So far the Co-Regent, with his two and a half lakhs of annual rental and his five lakhs of rupees in hard cash added to his resources, had decidedly scored. And nothing more was heard of the matter in Hyderabad for the next eight months.

"With the new year, however, a new campaign was commenced, and in a new direction. It will be remembered that all the jagheers, taluqs, monies, and private affairs of the two nephews were in the hands of one Mahomed Shacore, who had signed the will. On the 10th January 1879 they were startled to learn that, without giving one word of notice or accounting for the properties he held, this Mahomed Shacore had gone bodily over to Shums-ool-Oomrah and taken service under him. They at once felt the gravity of the situation. On the very same day they applied officially to the Nizam's Government for advice. They were advised to do nothing against their uncle. But on the evening of the same day they learned that Mahomed Shacore was already raising armed levies of Arabs and Rohillas with a view of seizing possession of two important jagheers, Hussonabad and Narroyenkhedah, which were at that time in actual charge of his son, whose fidelity they had now every reason to suspect. On the 11th January they raised a relief party of their own retainers to defend these jagheers, and sent a trusted servant to supersede Mahomed Shacore's son. At the same time they wrote again to the Nizam's Government. They were strenuously advised to see their uncle, the Co-Regent, personally before taking any steps. They accordingly halted their reliefs, and on the 12th January had an interview with Shums-ool-Oomrah. They were informed by him that Mahomed Shacore had personally requested to be taken into his employment, and that his request had only been granted because their own conduct had been suspicious in despatching an envoy to an old family friend of influence, Colonel Tweedie, the Resident of Gwalior. Shums-ool-Oomrah assured them, however, so they say, that he had at the same time no intention of interfering with their possession of the two jagheers in question, and that he desired nothing more than to be treated with the respect due to the head of the family. On the same evening, nevertheless, a proclamation was drawn up, under the seal of Shums-ool-Oomrah, and addressed to the local authorities of Hussonabad and Narroyenkhedah, warning them that these jagheers were henceforward to be considered in his possession, and that the son of Mahomed Shacore was now in his employ, and would collect the revenue on his account. Without knowing anything of the existence of this proclamation, the nephews still distrusted their uncle's assurances, and for the first time they now requested the interference of Sir Richard Meade, the English Resident at Hyderabad. They were told that the matter could only be dealt with by the Nizam's Government itself, or be officially brought by it under the Resident's notice. The Nizam's Government, however, only told them to listen to their uncle, and their uncle only proposed to open up fresh negotiations for the unconditional surrender of the Jehan-numah Gardens. As before, the nephews declined to accept any

overtures on such a basis, and on the 23rd January 1879 Shums-ool-Oomrah's armed levies, under the command of Mahomed Shacore, swept down into the two jagheers, and his son, who was in charge of them at the time, threw in his fortunes henceforward with the successful party. In this way, it is alleged, the Co-Regent possessed himself of further landed estates worth more than four lakhs of rupees per annum.

This may at least be granted: the properties had been in undisturbed possession of the nephews for nearly two years; no legal claim had been established or even brought forward against their title; the estates have been seized by an armed force after they had been persuaded to halt or recall their own reliefs. The jagheers were held, the one by one nephew and the other by the other, though to make common cause against the enemy they determined to fight together; and copies of the sunnuds by which the property had come to their uncle had been deposited for reference in the archives of the Nizam's Government.

Before describing the futile steps taken by the nephews for their relief, I may as well follow the fortunes of the villagers who have been so unceremoniously brought under the rule of a new landlord—the Co-Regent of Hyderabad. On the 24th February 1879 a number of villagers from the jagheers of Hussonabad and Narroyenkhedah, came up to Hyderabad, to see the Resident, and presented the following extraordinary petition, which is worth quoting in its entirety:—

“The humble petition of Shais Rao Deshmook, Goondabee, widow of Rajenda Rao Desh, and Boopoo Rao, Zemeendars, and about 200 other inhabitants of Husunabad and Narrain Khare, humbly sheweth—We the undersigned inhabitants of Hussunabad and Narain Khare most humbly beg to represent that we and our family are most shamefully and unmercifully being treated by Mahomed Jamalooddeen, son of Mahomed Shookoor, Talookdar, and his sepoy the Rohillas and Sowars. Having no other protection we come to seek patronage and protection under your Lordship's most aspisons canopy. We are already ruined from the last two years' famine, and now by Mahomed Jamalooddeen and his Rohilla sepoy we and our family are treated in most shameful and unspeakable manner. We therefore humbly beg to crave that your Lordship will take such prompt measures to relieve and save us and our family and property from ruination. At present one or two females are in a dying state from the harshness committed on their persons by the Rohillahs. Our deplorable circumstances are as follows:—that Mahomed Jamalooddeen with a force of about 600 newly employed Rohillas and Ratoors, &c., and 100 Rohillas and 100 sowars from Lohara, Chincholie, and Purtabpoor, belonging to Ameer-o-Kabeer (Shums-ool-Oomrah), came to the Talooka and summoned all the Zumeendars, M. Patels, &c., and showed Hakam and informed in shape of notice that the Right and Title of the Talooka is given up by their Excellencies the Nawab Mothashim-ud-Dowlah and Basheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadurs to the Ameer-o-Kubeer, consequently they must be very careful with the “Gudee” and be strict with the “Naka bundees” of the talooka that no new attempt of any sort may occur; upon which we answered that without testified proof of proper authority it is impossible for us to be satisfied with such notice, consequently we are unable to obey his orders. Mahomed Jumalooddeen was quite displeased with our reply, and commenced to force us to sign a newly prepared Jummiabundee statement with an increase of 2 annas per Rupee and pay the Revenue in the name of Ameer-o-Kabeer (Shums-ool-Oomra); we refused and said that until we do not see the “Goozasht” of Nawabs Mohtashim-ood-Dowlah and Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadoors we cannot pay the revenue. Mahomed Jamalooddeen also ordered the large buildings of the Zumeendars to be unlocked and ordered his sepoy to remain in them with holes dug in the walls; the Rohillas and sepoy are pulling down the houses and are using the materials as firewood, and the ready crops for harvest—sugar cane, &c.—being devoured by them and their horses, and adultery committed on females most shamefully and without notice of respectable and irrespectable women. We therefore humbly beg to crave that your Lordship will kindly address Nawab Mohtashim-ood-Dowlah and Busheer-ood-Dowlah

Bahadoors to remove Mahomed Jamalooddeen, son of Mahomed Shoocoor, Talookdar, from his post and place a new Talookdar and to recall the force of Ameer-o-Kabeer (Shums-ool-Oomrah.)'

"I only quote this petition for what it is worth—and I quote it *verbatim et literatim*—as throwing some light upon the manner in which the jagheers were seized. So far as I can find from inquiry, it was drafted for the petitioner by a Parsee who could have scarcely completed his English education, and I would not attach too much importance to the alleged 'atrocities,' which have a curious flavour of Bulgaria and the Rhodope Mountains about them. At the same time, when a great noble takes the law into his own hands, it is difficult to restrain large gangs of Arab and Rohilla mercenaries who have only been temporarily engaged. The petitioners, who came direct from the jagheers, waited round the Residency for five days, and were then informed that they could 'make their representation of their case to His Highness's Government, or the several Nawabs named by them. The Resident cannot interfere, as he has no knowledge of the facts.' This may be all right and proper according to official instructions, but on the first blush it reminds me of a remark incautiously made by General Fraser, a former Resident, at a dinner party given at the Residency: 'For the use he had been for the fourteen years he was at the Residency he need not have been sent there at all.'"

TIMES OF INDIA, *July 19, 1879*.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 12th instant:—

"While the struggle between the Co-Regent and his nephews is raging at its fiercest I can scarcely better show the importance of the personages engaged than by taking the reader with me to the Jehan-numah Gardens, about which the conflict is supposed to have arisen, and through those large districts of the city that are at present owned by both sides of the family. To inspect this 'Nawab's Vineyard,' as it is now jocosely styled in Hyderabad, the visitor starts from the pleasant English suburb of Chudderghaut, where the Europeans in civil and military employ of the Nizam's Government form a community almost unique in India. The families of many, perhaps of most, have been here for generations. They are born here, live here, and die here, just as in some secluded village among the Cumberland fells; and, just as in the dales of Cumberland, they marry 'in and in.' They succeed to places of emolument and importance almost as a matter of course. The names of some of them, the Palmers *par excellence*, have become historical in connection with Hyderabad. These Palmers can still show you the portrait that Warren Hastings gave to his military secretary, General Palmer, their ancestor who married the famous Begum of Delhi. It has been here ever since, and the family around it. Still the English descendants here keep pace with the great world outside. They have their church and chapel and a masonic lodge; their snug little club with its two-and-twenty members, its dinners that are weekly, and its billiard-table that dates only from the recent visit of Cooke and Roberts. They have their public gardens, famous for calladiums and roses, where the band plays twice a week, and where European residents and wealthy Nawabs meet socially together. These gardens, designed by Mr. Wilkinson, chief of the local Public Works Department, are beautifully laid out, though they were only rescued from the jungle seven or eight years ago. There are little lakes here, and broad deer parks, and a few wild beasts; and a week or two back a stampede, that ended disastrously, occurred among the ladies at seeing a bear who had escaped from his cage standing harmlessly on his hind legs in a corner to smell the roses. Beyond the gardens and the new military lines for the officers of the 'Reformed Troops,' the broad lake, quite as large as Derwentwater, but with only the Black Rock for its Skiddaw, stretches away in the distance almost as far as Secunderabad, and offers a pleasant surface for the boats belonging to the club at Chudderghaut, and the officers' messes at Bolarum and Secunderabad.

"Looking away from the city, the long undulating green plain is only broken

by the stunted white houses with their odd little Grecian porticos, by the smooth roads, prettily picked out with *neem* and *peepul* trees, that cut the whole country up into small squares like a chess-board, and by the prevailing feature of the scenery all round about, those strange blocks and boulders of grey granite which, according to the local legend, are the remnants of the waste material God cast aside here after He had made the world. To reach the city we have to pass the Residency Gardens, which stood a day's siege in the Mutiny. If we drive through them we see the Residency, costly enough, inside and out, to house a Viceroy. We see the English Post Office, the Telegraph Office, the Bank of Bengal and other public offices, and the ruined walls of that unofficial building the English Zenana, erected by one of the Residents who affected native manners, to shelter a Mahomedan girl who had been sent by a wily mother for political purposes to woo him by night as he lay on his verandah. Over the Residency Gate by which we leave, a Sphinx looks down, calm, mysterious, implacable as the distant Power of which she is here the emblem. A little bridge leads us across the shallow Moosee river, that washes the city walls on this side. The scene from the bridge is picturesque enough. Among the Hindoo men and women bathing in the river, elephants, horses, and camels are crossing and recrossing to the little suttee mound, from which for three hundred years Hindoo ladies thought to spring through flame and fire to meet their masters. On this side the grey stone wall of the city rises bluffly up with its lotus-shaped and loopholed battlements. We pass through the Delhi Gate, a tall new Norman gateway with square battlements, picturesque enough, but out of keeping with the walls, and find ourselves in a native capital of 300,000 inhabitants, which the English have never entered as conquerors.

"A huge English placard to the left of 'Simpson and Co.'s Ice Factory' might partially destroy the illusion but for the curious scene beyond, which forces us to recognize that we are among a strange garrison to which every country, every district, from Zanzibar and Arabia to Afghanistan, has contributed adventurous mercenaries. A recent French traveller may not have been quite accurate in declaring that every beggar and every schoolboy here goes armed to the teeth, and that every itinerant vendor of vegetables carries a sabre under his arm; but a stranger is at once struck by the way in which weapons are almost universally borne, and with the civility and good behaviour of each to each that results therefrom. We have entered by the Delhi Gate. To the right we pass the market-place, where fish, fruit, and vegetables are very peacefully sold; to the left the Minister's Palace, which contains most of the Government offices, with the Square of the Four Ministers directly behind it. As we see the fag-end of Sir Salar Jung's *cortège* disappearing through his gateway we recognize the fact that we have, happily, come on a gala day. The streets are unusually crowded. All good Mahomedans are going in state to assist at the marriage of Burra Jung's daughter to the son of the Sultan of Shaer, one of our Aden chiefs. Burra Jung is the recognized head of the Hyderabad Arabs. His family have been here ever since the fight of Nagpore. After the Nizam, what with house-owning and money-lending, he is probably the wealthiest man in Hyderabad.

"We come across a long procession of men bearing golden flowers aloft as we pass Burra Jung's palace. To this palace, indeed, processions are converging from every street. The importance of each procession is noted by the number of richly equipped led-horses that prance and caracole in front. These horses must be taking vicarious exercise for their owners, for there is something indescribably supercilious in the languid indifference of every chieftain. Their attendant horsemen, Arabs, Rohillas, Afghans, Seedie Boys, and what not, are brightly dressed to-day and fantastically armed. The crowd cautiously opens way now and then to admit a ponderous elephant, harnessed for the greater part with a gay saddle-cloth instead of a howdah, on which the riders sit as on the two sides of an Irish jaunting-car. Long files of laden camels are waiting for a chance of proceeding. Water carriers are thrusting their way through the crowd, careless of reproof. Bullock drivers are shouting vainly for a clearer road. From the little tents

constructed on these bullock carts the black eyes of Mahomedan dancing-girls are curiously peering. The entrance of every narrow lane is blocked by the palanquins of busy merchants or languid officials waiting for a chance of exit. The crowd is, I confess, more interesting than the bazaar. The street is sufficiently broad, but the shops are horribly uniform and are only five years old. They are all two stories high, with little terraces on the top. We leave the High Court and the Post Office on the right, the Criminal Court on the left—for this, it must be remembered, is the Shah Rah, the main street of the city.

"The plan of the city is simple enough. Lay a pencil at right angles across two parallel pencils, and you have the skeleton, and can imagine all the minor streets jutting off these. The first junction is called the Four Arches, the second, 300 yards distant, the Four Minarets, and each forms what would be termed a *place* in any French town. Passing under the great Fish Arch, from which during the Mohurram an illuminated fish made in wicker work covered with scarlet cloth is suspended, we reach the bazaar for English goods, and from this we enter the grand circle of the Four Arches, the Chahar Kaman. There are arches, however, only on three sides now out of the four. Continuing our drive we leave the *place* by the Punjah Arch, which during the Mohurram is hung with huge green hands four feet long. Just beyond it is the Tungsul or Mint, where jewels old and new are always on sale. The actual minting of the Sicca rupees and those curious lumps of copper that pass current as coins is executed in some mysterious recess behind the Minister's Palace. We now enter the Circle or Place of the Four Minarets, the Chahar Monar. Here the two main streets cross at right angles, and one begins to recognize that Hyderabad is as regularly built as New York or Rangoon. A domed arch of some architectural pretensions rises in the centre. From the four sides of the dome rise four tall minarets, the first signs of Hyderabad the stranger notes from the railway. The building is two hundred years old, but, recently repaired by Sir Salar Jung, looks spick and span as any English railway station, without losing the wonderful purity and grace of Mahomedan architecture. The space under the dome was, I am told, once used as a college. I doubt it. At present it is merely an architectural decoration, where loafers congregate to discuss the politics of Hyderabad. Standing under the dome we see sheer through the city, but only through three streets. The fourth is slightly curved. If we took the first road to the right we would come to the quarter owned by the nephews of Shums-ool-Oomrah and by himself, but proceeding straight on, in continuation of the main street through which we came, we have the Nizam's Palace for more than a quarter of a mile to our right. A gateway leads right into the Mecca Mosque, the finest in the city, which juts into the compound of the Nizam's Palace. The mosque stands on a raised platform, to which the unfaithful are not allowed to mount with their shoes on. It is a broad open building under two domes, elegant, airy, and over-whitewashed, and said to be modelled on the Haram at Mecca. To the left, in an open court, lie the tombs of all the departed Nizams—low slabs of polished stone, surrounded by walls of fine stone trellis work, that stands out like lace. To return to the main street: the zenana wall, through the windows of which the 1,500 ladies of the late Nizam used to chaff the passers-by, is now almost blank and dead. Some of the latticed windows and doors still remain, but the women are no longer allowed to peer out into the street below, and to make precaution doubly sure, now that the lord and master of all these beauties, white, brown or tawny, is only eleven years old, sentries pace to and fro during the evening hours.

"The street becomes less crowded, the houses meaner in appearance, and for the first time gaily dressed women are sitting at their windows in the main street like the painted Jezebels of old. We stop, however, to look at the handsome tomb erected to the memory of the Nizam's Persian tutor who was stabbed by a Pathan three years ago, and at the acres of common tombs beyond. Henceforth the journey has little interest. Two young Nawabs, however, seven or eight years old at most, are good enough to enliven the monotony. They deliberately stand up in their carriage, and with wonderful gravity turn round, lean over the back of it, and defiantly grimace at us, as they pass; and they contrive to pass twice. This

is nothing more than the teaching of the zenana, for the score or so of armed horsemen escorting these precious children are all laughing good-naturedly. A band of armed and half-drunken ruffians crowded into a bullock gharry annoy us more. They try first to race us, and then to 'take our wall,' in a manner that is evidently meant to be insulting. We have eventually to hand them over to the city police, who hastened to our assistance, and I trust they had to pay a heavy *backshish* before they were allowed to proceed on their journey. I give this latter instance only to show how well order is preserved by the authorities, and how prompt the police, and indeed the population, are to protect any strangers.

"We are now close to the Allahabad Gate of the city, and in five minutes more we have entered the famous Jehan-numah Gardens. The chief house within the walls was built by a Frenchman at a time when the French had great influence at Hyderabad, and it may perhaps be interesting to note incidentally that the last member of the old French colony has only just died. The gardens, however, are better worth seeing than the houses. The prettiest garden, laid out in the Italian fashion, lies in the form of a terrace on the roof of a large low building. On the panelling of the room below there are some curious and indifferently decent pictures by an old Chinese artist. There is a labyrinth in one corner of the grounds; in another a deer park; in others ponds for aquatic birds; in front of the terrace an elaborate series of fountains, which, like the house itself, recalls a Versailles *en petto*. Indeed, all the space contained in the outer fortified walls reminds one of a labyrinth. Each garden, each walled enclosure, leads into another, but only through stout doors and narrow passages carefully locked and guarded. Here, out in the open air, with chunam steps that glitter like marble as they lead in stately stairs down from the thick groves above, lies a swimming-bath sixty feet long, the very place for moonlight revels on a sultry evening. Hard by is the entrance to the zenana, which used to be guarded by a troop of Amazons dressed in tunics and armed with muskets. This famous troop has not quite died out, but it now, I hear, consists only of some half-a-dozen Telinga girls, tricked out on state occasions in muslins and brocades, but without either swords or muskets. On the other side the bath stands a kind of hunting lodge, where the lords of the palace, the two nephews whose affairs I am discussing, generally live in retirement. The carpets are magnificent, but there is little furniture. The chief ornaments are supplied by trophies of the chase, the skins of tigers and panthers shot by the Nawabs themselves, and carefully preserved in Regent Street. In one of the rooms lie the skins of no less than five tigers, all shot by one of the Nawabs in the same morning's spot. The simplicity of the hunting lodge contrasts strangely with the motley grandeur of the reception room in the big bungalow, filled as it is with the heaviest European furniture and decorated below the gallery with coloured pictures, which apparently once served as fashion plates. This building, the chief room in which is sixty feet long, was primarily intended for the entertainment of Europeans. I have, however, neither time nor space to describe the house decorations nor a tithe of the wonders of the 'World's Show,' its gardens prim and bright as a mayonnaise salad, its deer parks, its alleys, its lakes, summer houses, and mysterious posterns. The gardens are only ten minutes' walk from Hyderabad, but could not be quieter, or more secluded if they were ten miles away. We are followed, as we leave, by flocks of tame and inquisitive storks and herons, and two caged panthers growl at us from either side the gate as we pass into the outer world.

"I was now, at all events, able to understand why the third Shums-ool-Oomrah had solemnly enjoined his nephews by will to preserve these Jehan-numah Gardens, in which the luxury of the East and the comfort of the West are so oddly blended, with all the pious care due to a family mansion. I could also understand why the nephews, however they might feel compelled by force of circumstances to yield their ancestral home to the recognized head of their family, insisted on handing it over only as an 'appanage to the title,' and not as a gift to his younger son.

"We re-enter the town, after skirting the city walls, now rather tumbled and broken, for more than half a mile, by the Victory Gate, and find ourselves almost immediately in the Shums-ool-Oomrah quarter. To the left lies the palace of the

present Shums-ool-Oomrah, with the high walls, broad gateways, and appearance of general neglect peculiar to the palaces of all the Hyderabad nobles. Passing under the Shums-ool-Oomrah arch, not a very imposing edifice it is true, we find ourselves in the regular Shums-ool-Oomrah bazaar. To the left stands the Shums-ool-Oomrah Musjid, and to the left beyond it the city property of the Co-Regent. But to the right everything for nearly a mile ahead belongs to the nephews. Each of the nephews has here two palaces, and all four are intimately connected. The first we pass belongs to Busheer-ood-Dowlah, but it is in exactly the same condition now as when its late occupant, the third Shums-ool-Oomrah, died, and it is still as good a specimen as may be found of the ancient Hyderabad mansions. Two or three sentries, armed with the old Brown Bess, are longing about the gateway that leads into the first courtyard. All these palaces are built in courtyards, leading one into the other, and the opposite sides of each quadrangle are, by the architectural etiquette of the place, required to be alike. This first courtyard consists mainly of low open sheds, in one of which we see the two cannons presented to the former owner for his loyal services in the Mutiny. Over the gateway the Hyderabad drums, half-globes covered with ox-hides, testify to the importance of the house. They are beaten every three hours to mark the watches, but the ownership of them is now confined to some score of old families in the city. It is raining slightly, and the garrison—retainers, servants, parasites, and what not—are all in the sheds. Here a band of soldiers squatting on their hams, polishing their weapons, or stitching their garments. There a group of little boys sitting round a teacher, and droning Persian verbs in chorus. In one corner two or three old gossips, women whose venerable and ugly countenances are veil enough for even Mahomedan etiquette. The whole scene is homelike and domestic. Through another gateway, guarded by another sentry, we enter another and smaller courtyard. The sheds around are now closed in, and are occupied by a higher grade, the officials of the family. They are taking their siesta, pulling at their hookas, philandering with long slips of accounts, or rebuking the extortionate desires of some unfortunate creditor. Again, through another guarded gateway we enter a smaller courtyard still, chiefly occupied by a large fountain, flowers and shrubs. There are reception rooms all round about, shallow in depth, but sumptuously furnished. A fourth gateway leads into the fourth courtyard, about as large as an Islington drawing-room. Three sides of it have merely a projecting roof, after the manner of a verandah, but are lined with looking-glasses. The centre is filled with trees and flowers and the inevitable fountain. The fourth side contains two little rooms. One is half filled with clocks, mechanical instruments and mechanical toys, for the late Shums-ool-Oomrah was as great a mathematician as the present sage astronomer of Benares. The other, a little bed-chamber, some ten feet by sixteen, was the room in which the late occupant really lived. His acres of palace, with its fortified walls and guarded gate, were for show and his retinue, but he lived and died in a kind of secluded cupboard behind it all.

"The next two palaces are on the same plan, but smaller, and except for want of finish and artistic work the Hyderabad palaces and the old Roman villas must have been much alike in general plan. Both were primarily intended for life in the open air, and the garden or courtyard round which little rooms are grouped is the prevailing feature of each. The only thing that struck me in these last two palaces was a side room decorated, or rather panelled, with the cheap coloured prints of Catholic martyrdom one sees at Goa, and testifying to the tolerance or indifference of the Mahomedan owners.

"The fourth palace, belonging to Busheer-ood-Dowlah, was entirely different. It was brand-new, and the courtyard was still strewn with loose timbers and heaps of masonry. The whole thing formed a pukka house, though the three rooms led one into the other, like the three courtyards, while the fourth private courtyard was here nothing but a little bedroom. The laws of Hyderabad architecture are too strong to be broken. But though the plan was preserved everything else was novel. The rooms were most luxuriously fitted with English carpets and with Deschamps' heaviest furniture from Madras. There was a red room, a blue room,

and a gold room, and in each the carpets, furniture, ceilings and decorations had their key-note in the prevailing colour. I don't know what Mr. Whistler would have said to them, but the general effect was extremely picturesque, conveying at least an idea of barbaric wealth and incongruity. There was order even in the crowded pictures on the walls. In the first room the relatives of the house, photographs, or enlarged photographs coloured in oils; in the second, native acquaintances; in the third, political celebrities, local and foreign. But in all Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and H. R. H. the Prince of Wales found place, while in the third room there was a curious old oil-painting of an English landscape. One could see at once that everything was most extravagantly done, though the music-boxes, moving figures, toys and cheap jinn-cracks from Europe littering the side-tables jarred on a European taste. But probably the natives of India, when they visit England, have in their turn something to say about the Oriental rubbish that finds a place in our houses.

"The courtyard of this new palace owns a common wall with the Nizam's palace, but we have to go a long round before we reach the Place of the Four Minarets. Leaving the Shums-ool-Oomrah district, we pass a battered old wall, which, after it is free of the sunlight at three o'clock in the afternoon, is used as the chief bazaar for the sale of weapons. They are, however, like the old clothes in a Jew's shop in Houndsditch—for use, not show. There is nothing here but rusty old matchlocks, blunderbusses with bellmouths wide as a bucket, battered swords, and daggers that are old enough to have committed murder any time this eighty years. After the picturesqueness of the street crowd the utter absence of anything worth buying in the shops is the most astonishing feature of Hyderabad. To this city of 300,000 souls the whole of the Nizam's dominions hastens to contribute. In the morning, for miles around, the country roads are crowded with bullocks bearing grain in panniers, with carts laden with vegetables, with flocks of lean sheep and goats, and with women who carry the fresh-drawn toddy in big jars on their heads, and who run in stages as rapidly and as regularly relieved as the post. The toddy, as Sir Wilfred Lawson might be glad to hear, has all to be vended outside the gates, and if it enters at all it is smuggled. But in spite of these converging forces the city yields nothing in return. The bazaars are beneath the level of the Breach Candy Road. There are literally no manufactures. Hyderabad, in a word, produces nothing but hilts for swords and daggers—for the blades come from Persia or Birmingham—and a curious wine distilled from quails and partridges. The station master tells me that twenty-nine waggons, at least, out of every thirty that come here laden go empty away.

"After leaving the Arms Bazaar we pass the Cloth Market, the contents of which, in their foreign nature, only emphasize what I have been saying. But there is a trim little public garden on the other side of the road, as prettily laid out and as neatly kept as any Sir Joseph Paxton could desire. In five minutes more we are in the Place of the Four Minarets, or should have been if we had not prospected to the left and lost ourselves for half an hour in slums with uneasy levels, through which a pony carriage had never been before, and will scarcely again have the good fortune to come out with unbroken springs. This, however, gave me an opportunity of seeing Hyderabad at home, and of noticing that the people who live in these back streets do not carry arms when in *déshabille*. They were all civil and courteous, and as vexed as we were that the streets were too narrow to turn a pony chaise in. However, we did come out at the Four Minarets eventually, and completed without further misadventure the cross we had planned to draw through this great Mahomedan city. But the road by which we left, though broad and straight, was not interesting. Still I have perhaps shown you as much of Hyderabad as most casual visitors see.

"When, however, in justice to a city half as big as Bombay, I say that there are twelve gates in all, and that we have only passed through four of them, I prove how little we have really seen. The number of the population gives perhaps as good an idea as can be had of the size and importance of Hyderabad. There are some 300,000 of people inside the walls, and another 100,000 in the suburbs. 'The wall,' we are told in the 'Administration Report' I have had occasion to quote in

my previous letter, 'though built of stone, is weak and ruinous. The ground-plan enclosed by it is a trapezoid, the longest or north-western side of which, extending along the right bank of the Moosee, is nearly three miles in length; the south-eastern two miles; the southern one mile; the south-western one and three-quarters . . . only a certain portion of a space within the walls is inhabited. The remaining space consists of gardens or orchards surrounding tombs and mosques, and of ruined habitations. Some of the mosques are fine specimens of Asiatic architecture, more especially the great one called the Mecca Musjid, in the enclosure of which the Nizams are interred. The Nizam's palaces, though elegantly furnished and spacious inside, have little to distinguish them externally from the surrounding bazaars. The same remark applies to the residences of the Ministers and most of the nobles.' The city, however, has been considerably improved since these remarks were written in 1870, the main street, indeed, having been entirely rebuilt. But, after all, the visitor is struck more by the surging crowds in the bazaars than by the mean little two-storied houses that hem them in, or even by the frequent mosques and arches. From the various races from whom the inhabitants spring, Hyderabad is a perfect Babel. Telugu, Mahratti, Canarese, the native languages of the country districts, are of course heard, side by side with the Persian of the courtiers, the Urdu of the born Hyderabadies, the Arabic, Swahilie and Pushtoo of the mercenary adventurers. The races are even more remarkable than their languages, for, with something like a score of combinations to work upon, it is almost impossible to tell the infinite varieties of half-castes. Physiognomy, race and language are here oddly combined and distorted, but the same toleration everywhere prevails that prompts the Nizam's Government to offer its chief offices of state to Moslem and Hindoo alike."

TIMES OF INDIA, July 30, 1879.—*The Great Hyderabad case.*—From our special correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 14th instant:—

"Resuming my narrative from the 23rd January 1879, when the two jagheers of Hussonabad and Narroyenkhedah, worth more than four lakhs of rupees annually, had been seized by levies raised by the Co-Regent, Shums-ool-Oomrah, I have now to follow the steps taken by his nephews to protest against this extraordinary proceeding. The Nizam's Government were at once informed of the matter, and requested to order the removal of Shums-ool-Oomrah's levies. A reply was verbally conveyed, or at least is said to have been received stating that if the Jehan-numah Gardens were handed over as required, together with certain other immoveable properties, the two jagheers would be restored. The nephews replied that as the jagheers had been illegally seized the proposal could only be regarded as a new attempt to coerce them into yielding to Shums-ool-Oomrah's demands. Upon this the Government, through the Minister, disclaimed any further responsibility in the message other than a desire to sound the Nawab's wishes.

"On the 4th March the Nizam's Government were requested to forward a letter to the British Resident praying him to give the complainants the redress they had hitherto failed to obtain from the Government of the Nizam. The Nizam's Government declined to forward this letter, on the ground that the matter was one to be dealt with by themselves. The request was renewed three times in succession, but met each time with no better success.

"On the 5th March the nephews learned that Shums-ool-Oomrah's agent, Mahomed Shacore, was despatching further levies of hired Arabs and Rohillas to seize two more of their villages, named Sumshabad and Farreedabad. They were prompter this time than last. They at once garrisoned these villages with their own retainers, and succeeded in defeating an armed attack on one of their powder magazines. After this little triumph they informed the Nizam's Government of what they had been compelled to do. They were informed in reply that if their troops were not immediately withdrawn their villages would be occupied by the Nizam's police. The nephews said they had no possible objection to the

despatch of police for the protection of their two villages. The Nizam's police accordingly came ; but not satisfied with encamping in the two villages mentioned above they likewise invested two other villages about which no dispute existed and no complaints had been raised. It was now proposed by the Nizam's Government to allow Shums-ool-Oomrah, or rather his agent, Mahomed Shacore, to collect the revenues of these villages, and hand them over to the police in charge, until such time as a settlement could be arrived at. To this the nephews replied that the Nizam's Government had different weights and measures for the Co-Regent and themselves, and that as the Co-Regent was permitted to enjoy the possession he had usurped of Hussonabad and Narroyenkhedah, without any interference from the police, or disapprobation from the Government, of which he was a most important member, they could not consent to allow the police to keep back their revenues elsewhere. They also prayed that all the villages and jagheers might be put on the same footing, that is, that the two jagheers first successfully seized by Shums-ool-Oomrah's levies should now be occupied by the police.

"As no reply was received during the next fortnight the nephews went further. They declared that unless Shums-ool-Oomrah's levies were removed from Hussonabad and Narroyenkhedah by the 3rd May they would be compelled to assume that the Nizam's Government were unable or unwilling to give them the relief they sought, and that they would themselves take such steps as they might be advised. This vague threat, pointing towards legal action and such an appeal to the British Resident as could not be ignored, was sent in on the 30th April, and henceforth the case enters upon a new development.

"This was their ultimatum. But before the ultimatum was sent in legal advice had been taken in Bombay, legal opinions obtained, and the services of a well-known Bombay barrister had been secured to conduct the coming struggle in Hyderabad itself.

"On the 1st May, the day after the nephews had declared their intention of fighting the question *à outrance*, the Nizam's Government for the first time said that they were informed that Shums-ool-Oomrah's claim was based on legal grounds, and they forwarded what professed to be a copy of an entry said to have been made in a diary kept by order of the late Nizam, which stated that after the late Shums-ool-Oomrah the present Shums-ool-Oomrah was to be the owner of the jagheers. This was not only the first time that a proof of claim had been produced, but the first time that any claim had been made. The nephews replied that this did not touch the point at issue, viz., the illegal seizure of their jagheers and the illegal attack upon their villages ; and that if the Co-Regent, Shums-ool-Oomrah, desired to advance any claim to these jagheers, he should do so in a legal manner, and not presume upon his official position as Co-Regent to take the law into his own hands. When the proper time arrived, the nephews were, they said, prepared to show that this claim was false.

"On the 3rd May the English barrister engaged in the case applied to the Nizam's Government for leave to personally present a petition on behalf of his clients, the nephews. His request was refused ; and, a few days after, the complainants, who knew they had been stripped of some seven lakhs of rupees per annum,—half their worldly possessions, that is,—and who thought they were the injured parties, were given to understand by the Nizam's Government that they would now be regarded as the aggressors ; and they were actually informed that if they did not disprove within a day or two the claim advanced by the mere production of a copy of an entry in a document hitherto unknown, and referring only to what had been done elsewhere, it would be assumed that they were totally unable to do so. To use the common saying, possession is nine points of the law. But here the burden of proof, which ought to lie upon the party advancing the claim, is suddenly shifted upon the shoulders of the dispossessed party. Here, then, an important property in the undisputed possession of the nephews under a recognized title derived from the late Shums-ool-Oomrah, their uncle, with the full knowledge and approval of the Nizam's Government, and strengthened by a will of which the Minister was one of the executors, is suddenly and forcibly seized

without any claim being advanced, and then the parties ousted are unexpectedly required to disprove within a day or two a claim subsequently sprung upon them. The only way of taking legal action in Hyderabad against so important a personage as the co-Regent was by such a petition as could be brought directly or indirectly under the notice of a Resident, and could be finally sent to the Governor-General at Simla, or to the Privy Council at home. A private court of inquiry was held for a fortnight, at which witnesses were examined and depositions taken; and on the 16th May a formidable petition was sealed, signed, and delivered through the proper channel. A printed copy was, for fear of accidents, also sent direct to the English Resident. This extraordinary procedure resulted satisfactorily. The Minister at last directed an inquiry, but instead of re-establishing the nephews' possession, and leaving the question of title to be fairly discussed, the whole case was turned topsy-turvy; the alleged entry in an alleged diary of an alleged grant was treated as proved, and the whole burden of disproof was thrown upon the nephews. The Resident, however, was to take some part, if an indirect one, in the inquiry. According to the order the 'daily proceedings and records will, after inspection by the Madhar-ool-Moham, be sent on for the perusal of the Resident. When the inquiry is concluded a decision will be given in concurrence with the opinion of the Resident.'

"The English barrister was not allowed to be present at the inquiry, but the Resident insisted that they should be represented by a native agent. 'They should understand,' wrote Sir Richard Meade to Sir Salar Jung, 'that it is at present a *mere* inquiry, in view to obtaining the fullest information in the case for your own satisfaction, and to enable you to judge what course you should take in any communication you may think proper to make to me in reference to this dispute, as well as to assist you in deciding how you should act in regard to the Ameer-i-Kabir's (or Shums-ool-Oomrah's) claim.' The inquiry began on the 7th June, and was protracted for a month, although there were only some six sittings altogether. No evidence, I hear, was taken except behind the back of the agent of the nephews, who were now made defendants. At first they were told that the diary was of so sacred a nature that it could not be produced in court; but after a time one or two loose slips of long paper, partially covered with writing, forming the portion of the diary referred to, were put in evidence. The production of this diary of course lends a very grave complexion to the whole affair, and I am therefore quite unable to express any opinion as to its authenticity or otherwise. The diary was kept by some official about the Court as a loose record of what was going on. This particular entry, dated the 25th Safer 1274—that is, twenty-two years ago—says that these disputed jagheers are 'now being given' to Shums-ool-Oomrah III., and after his death to Shums-ool-Oomrah IV. They were, however, not conveyed, as is shown by the actual sunnud, until a fortnight later; and in the mean time two other jagheers of about the same value were given to Shums-ool-Oomrah IV., so as to put them both on the same footing. However, this matter of the diary is a question for the lawyers when the law's delays are over. I am describing the proceedings, not the charge. During the inquiry a lengthy statement of claim was, I believe, put in by Shums-ool-Oomrah's agent. The agent of the nephews was allowed to copy a page of it, but it was then withdrawn unread, and a new statement substituted, to which he could not obtain access. The inquiry came to an abrupt end on the 5th July, and the nephews were given only two days to announce their claim and produce their case. They protested against the impossibility of being able to comply with this short notice, and after two or three protests the time allowed them was extended to a week. On Saturday, the 12th instant, they sent in a representation complaining of the nature of the claim made, and the irregularity of admitting documentary evidence which it had never been attempted to prove, and finally stating their own title to the jagheers. Here for the present the case rests, but unless the Nizam's Government or the English Resident are able to grant proper judicial investigation for

the settlement of claims, and not a mere inquiry with a view to obtaining information a petition will, I believe, be sent to the Governor-General at Simla, and, if it be necessary, to the Privy Council at home."

BOMBAY REVIEW, *August 16, 1879*.—A fortnight ago we referred to the family feud going on at Hyderabad, wherein, as is alleged, the Co-Regent seeks to dispossess his nephews of a large amount of property. The chief circumstances of the case were stated at that time in certain communications that appeared in the *Times of India*, which we believe were tolerably correct so far as they carried the narration. The *Indian Daily News* the other day gave a sketch of the story, following very much the same lines, but at the close of its article flew off at a tangent in this way :—

"It would seem that the case will yet give the Government of India trouble ; but as far as the public are concerned it is of interest as showing that, in spite of the way in which Sir Salar Jung has been bepraised, the rule in the Nizam's territories is little better than that under the old Native Government of Oudh. What we have to note is the readiness with which both sides can find armed men to do their work, and the supineness of the Hyderabad Government in the face of a conflict between the Arabs and Rohillas of the Co-Regent and those of his nephews."

The only portion of this passage that is much to the point is the first line. It is likely enough that "the case will yet give the Government of India trouble," but for reasons very different from those, apparently, in the mind of the writer. The "trouble" is that this unfortunate imbroglio is in the first instance and chiefly the fault of the Government of India itself. It should be sufficiently notorious, even on the other side of India, that the Co-Regent was forced, at the instance of the Foreign Office, into the position that has enabled him to enter on the schemes of self-aggrandizement and spoliation, for which, as it appears, there is no judicial remedy, and only an uncertain appeal to the Nizam's Executive, of which the said Co-Regent is part. This looks very like a dead-lock ; and though, thanks to the protracted and persevering efforts of an able member of the Bombay bar, all the necessary evidence has been collected, the puzzle is what to do with it. The Residency is necessarily in a very delicate position—the peculiarities of which could perhaps be explained by a certain political officer recently "promoted" from Hyderabad—and the Foreign Office must feel rather squeamish in having to deal with the Nawab its *protégé*, who has, we understand, great local influence. Thus the "trouble" is perplexing ; but most so to our own political functionaries, Foreign Secretaries included, who prepared the way for it, and in spite of ample and earnest warnings against the false step that was being taken. The Foreign Office, or the Residency, or both, needed some one to remind them of Lord Melbourne's useful maxim—"Could not you let it alone?" The "trouble" now is as much to "let it alone" as to see it through in some decent and honest fashion. One obvious resource would be the appointment of a strong Judicial Commission, and there ought to be no difficulty in making a good selection for this purpose. For instance, one name that occurs to us at once is that of Mr. Justice Sewell White (now we believe on furlough) who with some experienced native judge or political officer well acquainted with Persian would suffice to clear up this tangled affair—that is, would suffice if His Excellency Lord Lytton, who ought to be free from the previous entanglement that has led up to the present "trouble," would insist on a new departure being taken in the right direction, so that the Government of India could work itself clear. No doubt Mr. Lyall would heartily second His Lordship's efforts to that end.

For the rest of our Calcutta contemporary's remarks, they display a strange anachronism in finding any analogy between the lawless and turbulent state of affairs in Oude in its worst days and the condition of affairs in H. H. the Nizam's dominions at the present time. It is true that the Co-Regent had no difficulty in finding armed men to carry out his *coup d'état* against his nephews' jaghires, and that they were fortunate enough to make sufficient show of defence. But, as we

remember the narrative, the charge of "supineness of the Hyderabad Government" is not borne out by the facts. The State police were speedily put in possession, as would have been the case of a similar dispute in a British province. In a subsequent paragraph our Calcutta contemporary makes what reads like a strong point about Wassudeo Phadke having secured a band of soldiers from "the congregation of Arabs and Rohillas in the Nizam's territories." Some such inference was, indeed, deducible from the first sensational account of Phadke's arrest that appeared in both the Bombay dailies. But this proves to be little more than a figment of the imagination; for it is now ascertained that his efforts to enlist the free lances in question entirely failed, as his former efforts did, as soon as Major Daniel and the other police officers were fairly on his track.

*TIMES OF INDIA, September 19, 1879.—Peasant Life in the North-Eastern Deccan.**—We have heard much for the last few years about the Deccan ryot, and at the present moment his poverty and his grievances, his debts and his other misfortunes are attracting the attention of our legislators. But except to district officials he is little more than a name. Of the ryot himself, apart from his connection with the money-lender, his frequent appearances as a distressed debtor, and latterly as the melancholy victim of a famine campaign, we literally know next to nothing. For this reason the little volume just published by Mr. Furdoonjee Jamshedjee of Aurungabad is as interesting as it certainly is opportune. He has studied the ryot with all the care and enthusiasm of a naturalist who has discovered a new species. Every action of the ryot's life, his hourly routine of work in the varying seasons of the year, his general carefulness and occasional outbursts of extravagance, his rare festivals, his earnings, his law-suits, his family pride, his homely joys and sorrows, his wife, his children, his friends, his gods, his house, his food, his clothes, his ox, his plough, and everything that is his, are all scientifically described in Mr. Furdoonjee Jamshedjee's *Notes* with a photographic accuracy and microscopic minuteness. Mr. Furdoonjee Jamshedjee, who is Superintendent of the Revenue Survey and Assessment of the North-Western Division of the Nizam's Dominions, has, he tells us, lived in Aurungabad for nine years. The district, with a population of 369,140 souls, is sufficiently limited to admit of careful study; and as more than half the total population, actually 52 per cent., belong to the agricultural class, and as 90 per cent. of these are true Kunbis, it would be difficult to find a fitter field for the kind of investigation undertaken by our author. His Kunbi, though he lives in the Deccan, is not exactly the Deccan ryot, for he owns the sovereignty of the Nizam, and, if our author's account may be trusted, leads, on the whole, a happier life. And though comparisons, as Mrs. Malaprop says, are "odorous," we think the book has its chief value in the way in which it exhibits identically the same race of people who dwell in our Deccan, living very different lives under a native raj. The questions raised, though not solved here, are of extreme importance, now that serious efforts are being made to ameliorate the condition of the Deccan ryot. It is, however, our immediate object to filch enough material from the earlier portion of Mr. Furdoonjee's volume to construct a life-like image of the Indian agriculturist—for, the question of land revenue being put on one side, the ryot is very much alike all over the Deccan, and indeed all over India.

The percentage of agriculturists in a distinctly agricultural district like Aurungabad, which is a fair sample of the Deccan generally, is 52 per cent. of the total population. But of these 15 per cent. are labourers, who can never look to anything more than their yearly hire, and whose prosperity entirely depends upon that of their direct paymasters. Putting these aside, we are able to divide the other agriculturists into four distinct classes, who either hold land themselves direct, or hold it as sub-tenants, or, owning bullocks and implements,—very often, it is true,

* Notes on the Agriculturists of the District of Aurungabad, H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, by Furdoonjee Jamshedjee, Superintendent Revenue Survey and Assessment, North-Western Division. "TIMES OF INDIA" Office, 1879.

on borrowed money,—can enter into a kind of partnership with those who do. Thus out of the total population of a good average district we may say that 48 per cent. are not agriculturists at all, though their trades depend, of course, upon the condition of the agriculturists; that 44 per cent. are agriculturists proper, and that 8 per cent. are merely agricultural labourers. Leaving these labourers alone for the moment we will consider Mr. Furdoonjee's four classes. The members of the first class never hold more than fifty or sixty acres of land, and "are prosperous by dint of other resources" than those of agriculture. They do nothing more as farmers than superintend the work of their labourers, and their families never go out to field work. This class consists chiefly of Brahmins, and also of affluent patels and prosperous artizans, and as they have nothing in common with the other cultivators they may be forthwith dismissed as belonging to a higher station of society. The second class consists of well-to-do Kunbis blessed with large families, of leading men among the Malis, of oil-pressers and general traders; and of the patels of important villages. They hold from one hundred to one thousand acres, much of which is always garden land, and, though they do not personally work in the fields, they closely superintend the work done by their own families and hired labourers. Besides cultivating the regular crops of the district they supplement their incomes largely by the sale of garden and dairy produce, and by rearing stock and breeding horses. These first and second classes, who are all really prosperous, and are also possessed of either hereditary wealth or an hereditary calling, form together about 15 per cent. of the agriculturists. The third class of Kunbis, pure and simple, consists of the true agriculturists, the cultivators proper, men who devote their entire time and labour to their fields, and whose sustenance depends solely upon the returns from their land. They are in tolerably easy circumstances so long as the seasons are favourable. They seldom or never employ hired labour, but are generally assisted by all the members of their own household, and are sometimes joined by a partner who brings his oxen, his plough and his labour as his contribution to the common stock. They hold from 25 to 99 acres of land, and as they form about 60 per cent. of the total cultivators they may be fairly taken as the representative type. The fourth class are a miscellaneous lot, Kunbis, Dhungurs, Malis, Mahars, Mangs, and so forth, either labourers who have started on their own account, or men who have fallen from the higher estate of the third class. They form 25 per cent. of the total cultivators. They hold twenty-four acres of land and anything under, and almost invariably join some other occupant as co-sharer, and "with his assistance continue to gain enough from the soil to find sustenance for themselves and their families." But they live from hand to mouth, and are the first to suffer in bad seasons. We have now only to remember the labourers, whom we mentioned before, to have the whole agricultural community before us.

The real Kunbi, however, belongs to the third class, and as the average holding is about fifty acres, and the average number of bullocks owned two pairs, we shall put our typical Kunbi into this position and give him a wife and three children aged ten, twelve, and fourteen years of age, respectively. He lives in a house built of posts six or eight inches square filled in by mud walls, and roofed with planks covered with clay, on which a little alkaline soil is sprinkled as a preventive against leakage and a protection against the ravages of white ants. Round the principal room there are three or four little rooms, from ten to fourteen feet square, used one as a kitchen, another as a store-room, and so on. The rooms are swept daily and frequently plastered with cattle-dung. A cattle-shed is built into the house, and in this one of the family generally sleeps to watch the oxen. There is sometimes a courtyard in front shut in by a high wall from the street. Bundles of clothing, wattle bins filled with grain, stocks of fuel, dried vegetables, and the various household gods are scattered promiscuously about, without manner or method. "When the fires are lighted, the smoke, which has little or no vent for escape, fills all the rooms almost to suffocation; and, what with the darkness, the smoke, the odour from the cattle-stalls, the chattering women and the crying children, a stranger is very glad to escape as soon as he can after entering."

We get a telling indication of the Kunbi's simple manner of life in the following complete inventory of what he generally has in his house:—

								Rs.	a.	p.
5	<i>Thalis</i> , brass plates, large and small	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
5	<i>Vatia</i> , brass cups	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
1	<i>Bagona</i> , brass cooking vessel	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	0
4	<i>Tapeli</i> , do. do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
1	<i>Tambea</i> , brass drinking vessel	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
1	<i>Tawa</i> , iron plate on which bread is baked	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
1	Wooden <i>Kathot</i> for kneading	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
1	<i>Chatu</i> , wooden ladle	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
1	<i>Latna</i> , do. stick for rolling out <i>polis</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
1	<i>Shummai</i> , wooden lamp	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
1	<i>Phulli</i> , do. plank	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
1	<i>Pulli</i> , brass ladle	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
1	<i>Chukki</i> , stone hand-mill	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
1	<i>Pala</i> , stone on which condiments are ground	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
1	<i>Musal</i> , pestle of heavy wood	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
1	<i>Sup</i> (grain cleaner), 1 <i>Chalni</i> (sieve), &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
25	<i>Ranjans</i> and <i>Mulkas</i> , earthen pots	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....	.....	.....
1	<i>Baz</i> , bed (string and all)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
2	Brooms	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
6	Baskets of sizes	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
3	<i>Kunning</i> , wattle bins for storing grain	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
4	<i>Ghatia</i> , small bells to be suspended round bullocks' necks	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
1	<i>Pohora</i> , leather bucket for drawing water, with rope	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
1	Iron knife	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
								19	2	6

The Kunbi rises early and retires late. Sometimes drenched to the skin in the rain, and sometimes under the sun in the hottest weather, his life is one of continual toil and exposure. He rises before the sun and performs his morning toilet at the nearest well on the road to work. He has three meals a day. Breakfast, which he carries with him and eats at eight, is the remains of last night's supper. At noon his wife or one of his children brings fresh cakes of bajri and a dish of dal or onions and the inevitable chutney, and this is eaten under some sheltering tree. At eight or nine in the evening, supper, consisting of fresh bread and more dal or vegetables and more chutney, is taken at home, and the remains preserved for breakfast. In talukas where the kharif crops are chiefly grown the cultivators live on bajri all the year round; but when both kharif and rabi crops are raised they subsist on jowari from March to October. Apart from the festivals the only recreation in which they indulge is to repair after supper to the "village *chaodi*, *dhurru-sala*, or Maroti's temple, where thoughts and ideas are interchanged, small gossip is retailed, and sometimes the merits of the different Government officials are discussed. If some of them are musically inclined, they bring with them their guitars (*viṇa*) and drums, when a rustic concert is started, and ballads and ditties composed in honour of some notables are sung, as well as humorous songs. About eleven o'clock p.m. they all retire, when every light is extinguished, and, save for the occasional barking of the dogs, the village reposes calm and tranquil in the stillness of the night."

The Kunbi wears a heavy turban of good stuff, and a dhoti and long coat, or sometimes only a cumblī of coarse material. He seldom wears ornaments. His wife wears a *sadi* and a *choli*—a gown and a bodice—of coarse material, and what silver ornaments she can afford. The Kunbi women are more energetic than the men, and very industrious. "They have to carry water from the river or well, grind corn, prepare the meals, sweep the house and plaster it with liquid clay or cowdung, clean the cooking vessels, wash the linen, and attend to their children. For a part of the day they are also employed on light field work." Besides this, they generally manage to earn something by the sale of fuel or grass to purchase oil, salt, and a little opium to be administered to the children. "Indeed," we are told, "the Kunbi woman takes an honest pride in supplying opium to her children from her personal earnings." Blessed is the man, says our writer, who has a number of female

relatives, for their industry is a steady source of income. "With a heavy load on her head, an infant wrapped up and slung to her back, the Kunbi woman of the poorer classes will sturdily tramp some six or seven miles to market, sell the produce of her field there, and from the proceeds buy articles for household consumption: she will then trudge back home in time to prepare the evening meal for the family." Altogether the Kunbi is a simple, honest, kindly creature, knowing little of the ways of the world or of the value of money. Hating all innovation, he will fight to the very last for his *watan*, or hereditary holding, and he is terribly perturbed if his bullocks are not given the right place in the procession at the *Polâ* feast, or if he is wrongfully preceded by another in offering libations to the pile of fuel fired at the *Holi*. His domestic life is cheerful and happy. He is a good husband and father. But though the main portion of the Government revenue all over India is derived from his patient toil and industry he is certainly not energetic.

As an important part of the Kunbi's social life we must refer to the *baluta* institution, by which he pays in kind, after his crops have been harvested, for the various services of the village artizans and menial servants of the community. Our ryot, with four members in his family, four bullocks in his stalls, and fifty acres under cultivation, will have to remunerate the *balutaydars* as follows, though we have given the grain in 2 lb. seers instead of the equivalent sheaves in which it is really handed over:—

									Grain.
a	1.	Mahur	...	...	...	...	...	...about seers...	110
	2.	Sutar (Carpenter)	...	...	...	...	...	" "	65
	3.	Chamar (Chuckler)	...	...	...	...	...	" "	60
	4.	Lohar (Blacksmith)	...	...	...	...	...	" "	35
	5.	Purrit (Dhobi)	...	...	...	...	...	" "	15
b	6.	Navhi (Barber)	...	...	...	...	...	" "	35
	7.	Cumbhar (Potter),...	...	...	...	...	...	" "	35
	8.	Yeskhur. (He generally gets a piece of bread daily from every house, and his share of <i>baluta</i> from the grain that is given to the Mahur.)							
c	9.	Mang	...	...	...	...	...	about seers...	15
	10.	Koli	...	...	...	...	...	" "	15
	11.	Mulani	...	...	...	...	...	" "	15
	12.	Bhutt	...	...	...	...	...	" "	15
	Total.....about seers...								415

Total.....about seers... 415

This institution is so interesting, and the services of the different *balutaydars* are so well explained by Mr. Furdoonjee, that we are tempted to quote at length, abridging at the same time when we can:—

"The Mahur serves as messenger, guide, and *begari* (menial labourer); carries money collected from the cultivators to the Tehsil cutcherry; rubs down the horses of travellers staying in the village; buries dead animals; and is, in fact, a man of all work. All the woodwork of the agricultural implements is made or repaired by the carpenter free of all charges, the cultivator merely supplying the wood. The *Chambar* re-soles and otherwise repairs the cultivator's shoes, annually supplies the cultivator with a new whip to drive his bullocks, and does the necessary repairs to the large skin buckets, the wells (*mhote*), free of all charges, and also finds the leather for the purpose. The blacksmith makes all the iron parts of the agricultural implements, and does all necessary repairs free, the cultivator merely supplying the iron and coals, and working the bellows. The *Dhobi* washes all the clothes of the cultivator and his family, and every time he does so receives a bread or two in return. The barber shaves free, getting a bread only when he shaves the head of the family. The potter supplies the cultivator free with earthen vessels for domestic use, for which he annually gets his share of *baluta*. The *Yeskhur*, the head of the Mahurs, is on duty at the village gate, where he is always present; it is for him to give orders to the other Mahurs, and see all the work done. In virtue of his office he receives an extra share of *baluta* from the portion allotted to the Mahurs. The duty of the *Mang* is to blow a horn and beat a drum before the temples and *Chaodi* every evening, and to make hempen ropes for the cultivators. The *Koli* fetches water for travellers, and daily sweeps the *Chaodi* and temples in

the village. The *Mulani* slaughters sheep and goats for the cultivators, whenever occasion may require. The *Blutt* (common priest) marries the villagers, and reads the *Punchang* to them every fortnight or so. It may here be mentioned that carpenters, Chambars, blacksmiths, Dhobis, barbers, potters, Mulanis, and Blutts do not necessarily exist in every village, but generally reside in the chief *Kusbas* (market-towns), and work for all the adjoining small villages. Each of these *balutaydars* has, sometimes, to look after as many as eight or ten villages. The carpenter is supposed to be the head of the *balutaydars*: he is called their Potali, and decides all disputes between them. Besides the *balutaydars* enumerated above, there are *harildars*, and other such *watandars*, who receive *balut* also; but these are only attached to large *kusbas*. The *balutaydars* also assist in the marriage ceremonies of the cultivators. When the marriage procession is formed, it is the duty of the barber to walk with the horse on which the bridegroom is mounted, and to hold it when occasion requires. He also waves a horsehair *charri* (fan) over the bridegroom's head, and he receives a present of clothing in return for his services. The Mangs beat drums and blow horns before the procession, and are rewarded by a gift of cloth. At the time when the second procession is formed, the bridegroom and his mother (or if she be dead some other female member of the bridegroom's family) have to walk from their own house to the bride's house. The dhobi then spreads white sheets on the road over which they walk. Two sheets suffice for this purpose, being spread alternately one after the other. The dhobi receives a present of cloth for his services. The carpenter attends one of the processions with a *chaorung* (wooden stool) made by him, which the bride's family present with other things to the bridegroom; and in the last procession, when the bride is brought home, the carpenter walks with a wooden horse. He also receives a present of clothing. The Kumbhar presents the bride's family with some earthen vessels painted in white and red stripes; he always walks in the last procession with a rude imitation of an elephant. He also receives for his services a present of cloth. The Koli supplies water during the feasting that takes place in connection with the marriage. He is also presented with some cloth. The Mahur women attend at the bridegroom's with a lamp placed in a brass plate, with some betel-leaf, &c.; and although none of the things brought are taken a present is made to these women. The Mahur works hard during the rejoicings that occur at the marriage, and in return receives a *sadi* and bodice for his wife, besides some broken victuals. The Blutt, on marrying the bridegroom and bride, receives a handsome money present, towards which the family of the bridegroom pays exactly double the amount paid by the bride's family. He receives, in addition, presents of clothing, and so forth. The cultivators cherish a strong love for the *baluta* institution, and they are altogether averse to the payment-in-grain system being supplanted by stated fixed money payments."

The chief festivals observed are the Holi, Pola, Dewali, Dussara, Guddi-Padva, Nag Panchmi, Akhati, and Sunkranth. The Holi is the only time at which the Kunbi may legitimately get drunk. But the Pola is the distinctive festival of the year, celebrated as it is in honour of the bullocks, who play the chief part in the procession. "They are washed clean, their horns are painted, and in the evening the owner adorns them with portions of his wife's silver ornaments. The wife's best *sadi* is cast on the back of the favourite bullock; and, headed with drum and fife playing a merry tune, the cattle are led in procession through the village, the head patel leading the way. The bullocks are fed on sweet bread steeped in oil, and some of the *balutaydars* receive sweet bread and other victuals."

The Kunbis are included in the list of Shudras, the last of the four great classes into which the people are divided according to the Hindu religion. The gods they worship are generally Khundoba, Maroti, Gunputi, Mahadeo, Devi, Mussoba, and Vittoba. Their titular divinities are Khundoba, Devi, and sometimes Mohoniraj. Every village has a temple of its own.

The children are married at the age of nine or ten, and here especially the improvident habits of the class are manifested. The marriage of the rank we are discussing would cost from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500, half of which would be invested in

silver ornaments, and half spent in feasting and alms. A birth is celebrated by an outlay of from five to fifteen rupees, and a death from five rupees to sixty. These are among the chief causes of the Kunbi's indebtedness.

Perhaps the most valuable chapter in the book is that which describes month by month the working calendar of the year, showing in detail how every rank in the cultivating classes, and almost every member of each family, is employed in the different farming operations, with full amounts of the different crops from sowing time till harvest. For this, however, we must refer the reader to the volume itself, and content ourselves with a summary of results. According to the distribution of time here described, the ryot and his family will be engaged in field work for the following number of days:—

	Days.		Days.
Ploughing	53	Reaping	31
Harrowing with <i>magla</i>	7	Carting	10
Levelling with <i>vukkhur</i>	28	Separating heads of corn from the stalks	27
Sowing	18	Giving out <i>baluta</i>	2
Weeding with bullock hoe	5	Threshing and winnowing	16
Enclosing fields with thorns... ..	4		
Watching the ripening crops	30	Total	231

It will thus be seen that out of the 365 days in the year the field work will occupy the cultivator and his family 231 days, leaving 134 days to be otherwise occupied. Some of these must be counted for holidays, illness in the family, executing repairs at the homestead, and for various other duties. Yet, allowing for all these, the Kunbi has a few weeks left, which can be profitably employed by himself, or members of the family, in labouring for hire in other than his own fields, in carting, or on public works when there are any going on in his neighbourhood.

We have taken the case in which the Kunbi devotes forty of his fifty acres to jowari and ten to bajri. His income, we are told, from the land, and his total expenditure, will then in a favourable season stand much as follows:—

Statement showing the estimated annual income and expenditure of a cultivator of the third class with a family of four:—

INCOME.	Seers of grain and bundles of kurbi.	Aggregate value.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
12,000 seers of jowar and bajri, estimated produce of 50 acres of land at 6 maunds (480 lbs.) per acre, and valued at 25 seers (50 lbs.) per rupee	12,000	480 0 0	
12,000 bundles of kurbi (jowar stalks), estimated at 300 bundles per acre, and valued at 8 annas per 100 bundles	12,000	60 0 0	
500 bundles of surrum (bajri stalks), estimated at 500 bundles per acre, and valued at 4 annas per 100 bundles	5,000	12 8 0	
Total out-turn in Rs.			552 8 0
DEDUCTIONS MADE.			
Seed-grain to be reserved for sowing purposes, estimated at 5 seers of jowar per acre, and valued at 25 seers per rupee	125	5 0 0	
Baluta payments, estimated at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the produce	500	20 0 0	
Grain to be stored for home consumption for the year, for five persons, estimated at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ seer ($1\frac{1}{2}$ lb.) per head per diem	1,350	54 0 0	
Wastage, estimated at the rate of 5 per cent. on the total produce	600	24 0 0	
Kurbi reserved for two pairs of bullocks for four months, estimated at about 25 bundles per two pairs per diem, and valued at the rate of annas 8 per 100 bundles.....	3,000	15 0 0	118 0 0
Estimated balance in hand. { Grain	9,425	377 0 0	
{ Kurbi and surrum	14,000	57 8 0	434 8 0

MISCELLANEOUS.

EXPENDITURE.	Seers.	Total.	Grand Total.
EXPENSES OF CULTIVATION.			
Two pairs of bullocks, valued at ₹ 60, at ₹ 30 per pair, estimated to last six years	Rs. a. p. 10 0 0	Rs. a. p. 82 0 0
Oil-cake, &c., two pairs of bullocks during four [?] months of the hot season, estimated to cost about ₹ 3 per pair per mensem.....	.....	12 0 0
Cost of agricultural implements, spread over the number of years they last, including cost of ropes required to be renewed annually .....	.....	10 0 0
Government assessment at the average rate of ₹ 1 per acre .....	.....	50 0 0
EXPENSES FOR FOOD, &C., EXCLUDING GRAIN.			
Oil at 2 seers per mensem.....	24	5 0 0	Rs. a. p. 104 8 0
Salt at 2 seers per month	24	2 8 0	
Red pepper at 2 seers per month	24	5 0 0	
Spices at 4 annas per month.....	.....	3 0 0
Vegetables and pot herbs.....	.....	4 0 0
Festivals .....	.....	10 0 0
Average annual expenditure for births, marriages, and deaths .....	.....	25 0 0
Extraordinary expenses, including amount of interest, &c., paid to sowkar on rare occasions .....	.....	50 0 0
DRESS.			
2 Country blankets at ₹ 1-4 each	2 8 0	Rs. a. p. 22 0 0
8 <i>Dhoturs</i> , for four male members of the family, one to be used as waist-cloth, and the other for covering the body .....	.....	5 0 0
4 Khadi (home-spun) jackets for cold-weather wear.....	.....	4 0 0
4 Common turbans .....	.....	4 0 0
4 Pair of shoes .....	.....	2 0 0
2 Sadis and two bodices for the cultivator's wife .....	.....	4 8 0
Total estimated expenditure			208 8 0
Estimated balance to be saved to meet bad seasons			226 0 0
			434 8 0

Here the assessment seems to play a very unimportant part compared to what it would play in the British Deccan, and the estimated balance to be extraordinarily large. But in support of this we are told that about thirty per cent. of the agriculturists in this district are free from debt, which would again be a curiosity in the British Deccan. The whole chapter, however, on "The Agriculturists; the Money-Lender; and the Civil Courts" is worth perusal by any one interested in the reforms contemplated by Mr. Hope's Bill.

Altogether in a year when a sixteen-anna crop is produced the ryot seems to lead a life of primitive domestic happiness, though necessarily one of almost unremitting labour. The picture drawn by Mr. Furdoonjee is exceedingly pleasant and life-like, and we may fairly congratulate him upon having given us the best account we possess of the simple patient people who supply the bulk of the revenue in all parts of India, British or native, and whose loyalty to whatever raj happens to be in existence need never be doubted. The other sections on Debt and Revenue, Agriculture and Crops, are, we dare say, equally good, but demand more serious consideration than we can give them here.

TIMES OF INDIA, *September 23, 1879.*—The "law's delay" is as tedious in the Hyderabad of to-day as it was in England when Shakespeare wrote. Two months ago we published a series of graphic letters from the Nizam's capital describing a trial which, in the local interest it excited and the political significances it involved, ranks fairly as an Indian *cause célèbre*. We left the court, such as it was, pondering over the decision, and after two months' delay this decision has just been

issued. The decision is, we imagine, very far from final, but it marks a good halting-place in the progress of this tedious suit, and offers a fair opportunity for reviewing the case so far as it has gone. Some two years ago the Government of India thought it necessary to intimate to Sir Salar Jung, the Nizam's Minister, that they were not altogether pleased with the line of policy he was said to have adopted in reference to the Berars. By way of conveying this displeasure in an indirect form, they deprived him of the services of his private secretary, Mr. Oliphant, and they appointed as his Co-Regent the one nobleman in Hyderabad who was his avowed and bitter enemy. This gentleman, popularly known as Shums-ool-Oomrah, to give him one out of many titles, had up to this time lived in official disgrace both with the local and British authorities. But now as the *protégé* of the English Resident, and indeed of the Government of India, he assumed a status, consideration, and influence scarcely inferior to those enjoyed by the Minister himself. He was not, however, a very wealthy man, for the bulk of the hereditary wealth, in the form of jagheers or grants of land held for military service, had descended to two of his nephews. At the time of his appointment as Co-Regent they were possessed conjointly of estates worth the large sum of fourteen lakhs per annum, devised to them by their uncle the late Co-Regent, in a document executed by Sir Salar Jung. In a few months' time, as we shall see, they were forcibly stripped of more than half this income: for, without the intervention of the law, one estate after another was occupied by the armed levies of their uncle, the Co-Regent, and they only put an end to the process of spoliation by calling out their own retainers and offering an armed resistance. They then appealed to the Resident, and were told to appeal to the Nizam's Government. This they did, but, as we shall see, without much success. But the interest of the trial is to be found, partly in the exalted rank of the parties concerned, for the uncle and the nephews belong to the family that ranks immediately after the family of the Nizam, and partly in the fact that the decision of a case in which his Co-Regent and his hereditary enemy was concerned rested nominally with Sir Salar Jung. This is the first time Sir Salar has been called upon to publicly review the acts of his colleague, the Co-Regent, and much curiosity was felt as to the line of conduct he would adopt. The "Minister's mind," as our correspondent pointed out at the time, "may well be supposed to have a bias in the matter, and thus his hands are politically tied." At all events friends and foes alike have been in a state of expectancy.

No question, it may be well to explain, has been raised as to the lands enjoyed by the nephews, Mohthashim-ood-Dowlah and Busheer-ood-Dowlah, accompanying the title of Shums-ool-Oomrah adopted by their uncle. They were formally assured, our correspondent told us, by their uncle himself, as well as by the British Resident at Hyderabad and by the Supreme Government, that he wanted nothing more than the title, and would not lay claim to any of the property received by them from their other uncle; and as this question has not been mooted we may presume that these assurances were actually given. As soon, however, as Shums-ool-Oomrah was appointed Co-Regent he seems to have realized the value of the position. He was one of the two men who ruled the State, and he was, moreover, the nominee of a Resident and of a Governor General with whom his colleague was supposed to be in some sort of official disgrace. He immediately appealed to his nephews for five lakhs of rupees to free him from pecuniary entanglements, and as the titular head of the family he requested them to hand over the Jehan-numah Gardens. He also told them that as his eldest son was already in possession of jagheers worth two and a half lakhs of rupees a year he thought they might well endow his younger son with immoveable property of a similar yearly value. They naturally declined such a costly way of acknowledging family ties, but the requests gradually assumed the form of positive demands. They were threatened with the displeasure of His Highness the Nizam, and were eventually debarred from attending his durbars and ostracized from his court. Finally they thought it would be well to purchase peace at a price. They offered to pay five lakhs of rupees in ready cash, to absolutely assign to

their uncle certain jagheers yielding Rs. 2,54,000 per annum, and to give him the Jehan-numah Gardens as "an appanage of the title." They would not give up these gardens—"the World's Show," and indeed the great show place of Hyderabad—out and out, for they had been instructed by will "to look after it as after ancestral family property." In return Shums-ool-Oomrah agreed to refrain from any further demands. The five lakhs were paid over, the transfer deeds of the jagheers were handed in, and Major Euan Smith, who had conducted the negotiations, is said to have exclaimed *Allah il illillah!* After, however, receiving the lakhs and the jagheers, Shums-ool-Oomrah changed his mind with regard to the other gift, and declined to receive the Jehan-numah Gardens except upon unconditional terms, and things were again at a dead-lock. In the beginning of 1879 the nephews were startled to hear that one Mahomed Shacore, their steward, who had the management of all their property, and who had been in the employ of their late uncle for many years, had deserted them without warning and taken service with Shums-ool-Oomrah. This ominous news came on the 10th January, and on the evening of that day they heard that their late servant was raising armed levies of Arabs and Rohillas with a view of seizing two important jagheers, Hussonabad and Narroyen Khedah, for his new master. They armed a relief party of their own retainers, but, owing to the remonstrances of the British Resident and the assurances of their uncle, they halted these men half-way, and on the 23rd January Shums-ool-Oomrah's levies swept into the jagheers, and thus put him in possession of estates worth four lakhs a year, which the nephews had enjoyed without dispute for nearly two years. The Nizam's Government were informed of the seizure, and were requested, as they would not act in the matter, to forward a letter to the Resident. This they declined to do. While these futile efforts were being made, an attack was made upon two more villages, but this time they were forewarned, and arming their retainers contrived to beat off Shums-ool-Oomrah's levies.

At last the two nephews, weary of attempting to get a hearing at Hyderabad, secured the services of a well-known barrister from Bombay, and prepared a formal petition to the British Resident. The day after sending in notice of this petition they were informed for the first time that Shums-ool-Oomrah laid claim to the jagheers in question on the evidence of what professed to be an entry in a diary kept by order of the late Nizam. They were informed that if they did not disprove within a day or two the claim advanced by the mere production of a copy of an entry in a document hitherto unknown, and relating to what had been done elsewhere it would be assumed that they were totally unable to do so. In this way the tables were unexpectedly turned, and the men who knew they had been stripped of half their worldly goods, and imagined they were the injured parties, found they were to be regarded as the aggressors, and treated in the inevitable action as defendants, not as plaintiffs. By this time a very general interest was aroused in the case, and at the end of May the Resident directed that an inquiry should be made. "They should understand," wrote Sir Richard Meade to Sir Salar Jung, "that it is at present a *mere* inquiry, in view to obtaining the fullest information in the case for your own satisfaction, and to enable you to judge what course you should take in any communication you may think proper to make to me in reference to this dispute, as well as to assist you in deciding how you should act in regard to the Ameer-i-Kubeer's (or Shums-ool-Oomrah's) claims." The inquiry commenced on the 7th June, and, though there were only some six sittings altogether, it was protracted for a month. The English barrister was not allowed to be present, and no evidence, our correspondent told us at the time, was allowed to be taken except when the native agent who represented the nephews was absent. At first the diary was alleged to be of so sacred a character as to render its production in court impossible. Eventually it was produced, in the shape of one or two loose slips of long paper partially covered with writing. The diary, according even to the decision arrived at by the Court, was kept by writers who daily entered therein any "verbal communications" received from inside or outside the palace, and "there was never any signature or seal affixed." This particular entry was dated twenty-two years back and said that these disputed jagheers are "now

being given" to Shums-ool-Oomrah III., and after his death to the present Shums-ool-Oomrah. It was a mere record of something that was said to have occurred, and as a matter of fact these jagheers were not conveyed to the late Shums-ool-Oomrah until fourteen days later, when the present Shums-ool-Oomrah received two other jagheers of equal value, so as to put the brothers on the same footing. Even from the decision we learn that the Government was not aware of the existence of this entry until it was suddenly produced by Shums-ool-Oomrah.

On the 5th July the inquiry ended abruptly, and the nephews were given only two days to announce their claim and produce their case. The time was ultimately extended for a day or two, but was not long enough to admit of the elaborate case prepared by the English barrister being received, and now, after an interval of two months, the decision has been pronounced, and may be given in its concluding words—"On the faith of the said diary, and on account of there not existing any order contrary to it, *and with the advice of the Resident*, it is decided that the rights of Nawab Shums-ool-Oomrah, &c., &c., to the taluks of Nusseerabad and Narroyen Khedah are proved." This decision is signed by Sir Salar Jung. Although it is easy to understand the disinclination of Sir Salar to sign any decision that might even hint at any suspicion that any follower of his colleague could have tampered with the diary, we think he might fairly have pleaded the old enmity between them as a reason for refusing to sign any decision whatever. Of course the case is now only removed to the jurisdiction of the Governor General, away from the stormy currents of local politics and the curious under-currents of local intrigue, and no great harm has been done. But considering the manner in which the Co-Regent took the law into his own hands at first by seizing the jagheers in question, considering the extraordinary nature of the entry that was suddenly sprung upon the nephews, the way in which they were converted into defendants, and the fact that they have still seven lakhs' worth of property per annum, which may not improbably be quite as mercilessly treated, we think Sir Salar would have best consulted his own interests and the character of justice in Hyderabad if he had either declined to sign the decision altogether, or had insisted upon the scope of the inquiry being extended far beyond the limits of the authenticity or otherwise of this particular entry in this particular sheet of the diary. When the party most interested in the authenticity of this entry happened to occupy the elevated position of Co-Regent to the most important Mahomedan State in India, the "mere" inquiry, involving, as it obviously might, the good faith of Shums-ool-Oomrah, became a political fact of the greatest delicacy and importance. After the way in which Sir Salar Jung was treated with regard to his colleague it might perhaps not have been seemly in him to have embraced the first opportunity of expressing his opinions about Shums-ool-Oomrah's public and private actions. But had the Minister abstained from expressing his opinions altogether the Government of India could scarcely have blamed the motives that led to silence. The course adopted was not satisfactory. We look forward to the appeal to Simla to remove the fogs and mists that at present obscure the case from first to last.

FRIEND OF INDIA, September 26, 1879.—*The Great Hyderabad Case.*—The Bombay papers of recent months have contained narratives of an extraordinary case of tyrannous extortion in the Native State of Hyderabad, and a correspondent of our own has also supplied information concerning it. The case has been called "The great Hyderabad case," and being an illustration of the infamous acts that are still possible even in the best-governed Native States when the interference of the Supreme Government is misdirected the case deserves to be laid fully before the public. As the narrative we are about to give may appear almost incredible, we may state that we have never seen any contradiction of the facts affirmed by our Bombay contemporaries and our own correspondent, nor have we any reason to doubt the perfect reliability of our informants. Still, if our restatement of the alleged facts should lead to any disclosures showing that the story has been in any way exaggerated, or the facts misrepresented, the result will give us great satisfaction.

We may state at once that the person charged with unscrupulous oppression and extortion is no other than the Co-Regent of the State of Hyderabad, and that his victims are his own nephews. It should also be understood at the outset that this man is believed to have been appointed to his present high office, where he has the power to perform his high-handed acts, at the express and urgent desire—which really means at the command—of the Supreme Government. It is further believed that this man was chosen for this post not on account of any supposed worthiness on his part, but because the Government of India desired to have a creature of its own in the position of Co-Regent, in order to limit the power and fetter the action of the great Minister, Sir Salar Jung, who was too high-minded and powerful for its liking. The consequence is said to be that, since the appointment of the present Co-Regent, Sir Salar Jung's authority and influence have become weaker and weaker, as it became more and more manifest that his coudjutor possessed the entire confidence of the Paramount Power. This will explain how it is that acts such as we shall now describe are possible in the State which, under Sir Salar Jung, had made such distinguished progress in good government and all manner of improvements.

The present Co-Regent, known as Shums-ool-Oomrah IV. and Ameer-i-Kabeer (*i.e.*, first noble of the State), is the youngest brother of his predecessor, Shums-ool-Oomrah III. Shums-ool-Oomrah II., his father, had three sons. The eldest succeeded him as Shums-ool-Oomrah III., and died childless. The second died leaving two sons: the third is now Shums-ool-Oomrah IV., and is charged with despoiling his two nephews of their rightful inheritance. Shums-ool-Oomrah II. had fairly divided his property among his three sons. Shums-ool-Oomrah III., being childless, divided his property between his two nephews. This he did during his lifetime, but having some suspicion (so the story is told) of the character of his brother, and wishing to protect his nephews after his death, he also made a will, dividing his estates and jaghirs between them, and bequeathing to them jointly a certain pleasure-garden, called *Jehanoomah*, which is greatly prized by the family. The will was duly signed, and witnessed by the Prime Minister, Sir Salar Jung. The title of Ameer-i-Kabeer is in the Nizam's gift, and could not be willed away, but the will expressed the testator's hope that this title, as well as the co-regency, which he held, might be conferred on Busheer-ood-Dowla, one of his nephews, who had already rendered worthy service to the State.

But, as we have seen, this arrangement did not suit the views of the Supreme Government, and after the death of Shums-ool-Oomrah III. the co-regency, together with the coveted title Ameer-i-Kabeer, was bestowed on his brother, the "wicked uncle" of this story, who is now Shums-ool-Oomrah IV., and wields the irresistible power which the confidence and support of the Supreme Government cannot but confer on a man who holds the position of Co-Regent. So far the only charge brought against any one is a charge against the Government of India of having committed a very grave blunder out of an unworthy desire to curtail the great and beneficent influence of Sir Salar Jung. But now comes the tale of tyranny and wrong. It is alleged that before his accession to power the Co-Regent had been a scapegrace and spendthrift; and he now felt himself in want of funds to uphold the dignity of his new position. He accordingly demanded from his nephews a sum of five lakhs of rupees, to enable him to uphold the credit of the family; and he at the same time expressed a hope that they would see it to be their duty to make over to him the pleasure-garden, *Jehanoomah*, which he chose to regard as an appanage of the head of the family. He further requested them, as they were wealthy and he was poor, to endow one of his sons, for whom he was unable to make a suitable provision, with property amounting to the annual value of about two and a half lakhs of rupees. It is not very surprising that the nephews demurred, and at first declined to accede to these modest requests. The requests, however, gradually assumed a more peremptory character, the only modification introduced being that the pleasure-garden should be given to his son instead of himself. His exorbitant demands being still unheeded, he proceeded to make his nephews feel his power. The first thing he did was to exclude them from the

Nizam's durbars, and in various other ways he put such strong pressure upon them that they were at last obliged to try if they could come to terms with him. They accordingly offered to pay him the five lakhs of rupees down, and to make over to him jaghirs to the annual value of two and a half lakhs of rupees. This they did on condition that he would make no further demands, but let them alone for the future. The wily uncle accepted their offer but forgot to adhere to the condition.

He still insisted on obtaining possession of the pleasure-garden, which he alleged had always been regarded as an appanage of the title and position which he held. The nephews for some time resisted this demand, but at last, through the great influence that was brought to bear upon them, they were made to consent to their uncle's holding possession of the garden not as his personal property, but as an appanage of the title. The other property was legally made over to him, and the business appeared to be settled. Soon, however, he renewed his demand that the garden should be made over to him as his personal property. This was refused, and here the matter rested for a time.

Another actor now comes upon the stage. This is a man named Mahomed Shookoor, who had been the agent in charge of the estates of the late Shums-ool-Oomrah III., and who after his death continued to manage the property for the nephews. In January last the nephews learned with astonishment and alarm that their agent had suddenly transferred his services to their uncle, without giving them warning or rendering them any account of his stewardship. They now believed that it was their uncle's deliberate intention to ruin them completely, and they applied to their Government for advice. Considering the position which their uncle held as Co-Regent, it is not very surprising that they gained but little by this step. Had Sir Salar Jung's power not been undermined in the way we have indicated they would have been sure of redress. As it was, they were instructed to conduct themselves like dutiful young men, and not to quarrel with their uncle, who must necessarily know what was best for them, and for the honour and well-being of the family to which they had the honour to belong. The plot now thickens. Not long after the comfortable advice and exhortation which they received from their Government, intelligence was brought to them that their late agent, now their uncle's tool, Mahomed Shookoor, was raising forces with the intention of dispossessing them of two jaghirs which they held, and which were under the charge of Mahomed Shookoor's son. Whether this man was at this time faithful to his charge, or a traitor like his father, we are not informed. On receipt of this news the nephews proceeded to equip a force of their own for the protection of their property. But while doing so they were careful to inform their Government of the nature of the step which necessity compelled them to take. The Government suggested that an interview should take place between the uncle and nephews, in order, if possible, to come to an understanding and prevent this unseemly contest. The suggestion was followed, and at the interview which accordingly took place the Co-Regent, while holding forth grandiloquently on the subject of his high position as head of the family and first noble of the State, disclaimed any intention of possessing himself of his nephews' jaghirs. Yet, no sooner was the interview over than, as is alleged, this unscrupulous tyrant issued a proclamation, to all who held authority within these two jaghirs of his nephews, declaring himself the rightful owner and lawful ruler of the territories, and claiming from them obedience and tribute. Before they were aware that this proclamation had been issued, the nephews, still suspecting their uncle's intentions, applied to the British Resident, as representative of the Paramount Power, to interfere in their behalf. We shall not stay to comment at present on the position and duties of a British Resident at a Native Court, nor to advert further than we have done to the fact that the acts we have described are very clearly traceable to the unwise interference of the British Government. To proceed with the narrative. The Resident declined to interfere, and advised the nephews to apply for redress to their own Government. Their Government repeated its former paternal advice, counselling them to submit to their uncle. Their uncle would now listen to no terms, and insisted on unconditional possession. While these negotiations—if negotiations they may be called—were going on,

Mahomed Shookoor, at the head of armed Rohilla and Arab levies, was taking possession (with the connivance of his son) of the nephews' jaghirs, and it is alleged that these wild troops overran the territories in question, committing the greatest atrocities. We need hardly say that our information as to the alleged licentious acts of those levies is very imperfect, and that we must here be understood as simply telling the tale as it has been told to us. The fact, at any rate, is that the people of those parts sent a deputation to the British Resident, complaining of the wrongs they had suffered, and imploring him to exert his influence for their protection. The Resident referred his petitioners to the Nizam's Government and to the nephews, their rightful masters. Whether they applied to the Government, or, if they did, what answer was vouchsafed to them, we are not informed. But the dispossessed nephews once again made their appeal to the Resident, presenting to him a long petition setting forth their cruel wrongs. What followed the presentation of this petition—what steps, if any, were taken by the Resident—does not appear; but it is probable that he must have done something, for some time afterwards Sir Salar Jung's nephew, Nawab Mookaram-ood-Dowla, was appointed to investigate the rival claims of uncle and nephews. The uncle now bases his claim to the possession of the two jaghirs, which he forcibly took from his nephews, upon an order which he alleges was made by the late Nizam. The translation of this order which has been furnished to us is as follows:—"25th Suffer, 1274 Hajira. On the representation of me, Khadur-ool-Moolk, regarding the honour acquired by presentation of Husnabad and Narrayen-kheda, it was ordered by verbal message, by Mamma Fearoo, that the talooqs in question are being presented to his elder brother Oomduth-ool-Moolk; after him you are owner. This order was delivered by Mahomed Rajah, Wajirah of Chobdars, who was under the orders of Athemad Nawaz Khan Mirdah." The nephews contend that the claim is altogether false and fabricated, and that the order, which has been produced under such suspicious circumstances, is manifestly worthless. Here for the present the narrative of "the great Hyderabad case" stops short. We expect to be furnished in due course with a history of the sequel.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *September 27, 1879*.—Since we gave our outline sketch last week of "the great Hyderabad case" and the principal characters concerned, the affair has been written upon at length by one of our daily contemporaries, to whom the other has replied with haphazard assertions in characteristically positive terms, showing sufficiently whence came the bias that prompts them. The story which led up to "the case" has also been told in a Calcutta paper, so that we need not just now go back on any of the details. Besides, to occupy the public mind with these surface matters only does the ill service of withdrawing attention from those unseen but all-powerful sinister influences, fostered or permitted by the Simla Foreign Office, which have rendered possible the growth and carrying through of such a series of monstrous spoliations as those recently exposed at Hyderabad. The writer in the *Gazette* attempts to minify the significance of the lawless transactions in question; but we submit it is either testing popular credulity or drawing on imagination to assert that "some half-dozen similar quarrels may be discovered annually in Hyderabad when necessary." If by that is merely meant attempts at "similar" overreaching and self-aggrandizement the assertion may pass; but if, as is implied, half-a-dozen instances of the unwarranted absorption or forcible seizure of property and revenues worth many lakhs per annum may take place at Hyderabad in any year, then the assertion is simply an outrageous one, without rhyme or reason to support it. Strange transactions of this kind have taken place at Hyderabad as in other Indian cities in the evil times of yesterday, but we believe it would take a good deal of search to find an instance of forcible appropriation of property of such magnitude and with such shameless audacity as in this recent Hyderabad "case." And the scandal of the thing is that this has been done under the ægis of the British Government—as the *Gazette's* too free phrase runs, "under the advice of the Resident." The writer can scarcely understand what this phrase implies, any more than he seems to know what is meant by "strictly confidential conversations" "between the Resident and the Minister." It

is impossible to say, though not difficult to guess, what oppression is perpetrated and political rights are overridden by this device of "confidential conversations," which one party can act upon and may report or not as he pleases, while the other may be forbidden, under the direst threats, to mention them even to his own sovereign. As to the circumstances under which the present Shums-ul-Umrah succeeded—not by any means "in due course"—to "the high post occupied by his predecessor," we would advise the rather too confident young politician of the *Gazette* to make fresh and impartial inquiry, or exercise more judicious reserve. Perhaps it might be well for him to ascertain what was the nature of the obstacles that delayed the succession "in due course." Diplomacy by secret and "confidential" intimidation cannot always succeed even at Hyderabad. The "thought-worn face of that Secretary to whom the Rajahs belong"—we quote Ali Baba—may become clouded with displeasure following on some sudden discovery that he has been kept in the dark or hoodwinked. The tangle and obscurity left by his predecessor may delay enlightenment; but he will not be always so busy as now.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *October 11, 1879.*—*Affairs at the Nizam's Capital.*—The following is from Secunderabad, dated 6th instant :—

"The decision which was lately pronounced in the great Hyderabad case has revived a feeling the existence of which cannot but be deprecated by those having the interests of both the British Government and the Native States at heart. Apart from the merits of the case, I cannot but think it unfortunate that the Nabob Shumsool-Oomrah should have gained the day, as it but deepens an impression in the minds of the people—whether justly or unjustly formed I cannot say—that his influence with the British Resident is of so powerful a nature that no great exertion is required on his part to gain an object on which he has set his heart. The peculiar circumstances under which the appointment of this nobleman as Co-Regent was carried out, and the subsequent history of Hyderabad, tend to give colour to this impression, which has received strange confirmation from the announcement made of the significant fact that Sir Salar Jung delivered judgment in the case "with the advice and sanction of the Resident." I do not think I take an exaggerated view of the aspect of affairs when I state that never was the machinery of Government so weak, nor the men in whose hands the ruling power is placed so demoralized, as is the case at present in Hyderabad. A short time ago there was an agitation in some of the leading Indian journals as to the lawlessness and turbulence of the Arabs, Rohillas and other mercenaries in the employ of the nobles of Hyderabad. Some of Sir Salar Jung's friends very zealously, but in my opinion very injudiciously, took up his cause and tried to show that there was no truth in the rumours which had given rise to the agitation. It appears to me to be as futile as it is unnecessary to deny that these armed mercenaries are naturally lawless and unprincipled, and that the only thing that has kept them down is the existence of a strong Government in Hyderabad; That of late their conduct has been such as to bring them prominently before the public is also unquestionable, and it might be explained very simply. Under the best of circumstances Sir Salar Jung was unable to fully control the turbulent and unprincipled nobles; but now, when it is made a matter of notoriety, eagerly asserted by certain Anglo-Indian journals, that the Minister himself is under disgrace with the British Government, the discontented and disaffected Sirdars take advantage of this fact, and court the favour of the Co-Regent, who, as is well known to those who watch Hyderabad politics, frequently takes very divergent views from those held by his colleagues. The result is we have a Government here disturbed by dissensions. The work of reform, which was being steadily though slowly pursued, is now under danger of being brought to a standstill; and certainly many abuses which under other circumstances would not have been found to prevail are now running their onward course unchecked. Under any circumstances this difference of opinion between the two noblemen would have been a serious matter; but when we find that though the executive government is in the hands of Sir

Salar Jung his colleague has the full support of the Resident, and can interfere in whatever matter he likes, the future administration of Hyderabad cannot but present a gloomy aspect."

BOMBAY REVIEW, *December 13, 1879*.—About forty or fifty Arabs are said to have been detained at Poona by the local police on a representation received from the Hyderabad Resident, prompted, we understand, by H. H. the Nizam's Government, which, receiving information about their influx into the Mogulai, have adopted stringent measures to interdict their route southwards. These Arabs are said to have arrived in Poona *en route* for the Nizam's territories, but nothing is stated as to whence they had come. They must, we suppose, have passed through Bombay. What says Sir Frank Souter?

DECCAN TIMES, *December 13, 1879*.—After what we have already written concerning the present state of affairs in Hyderabad, in exposure of the untruthfulness of the statements put forward by the Secunderabad correspondent of the *Bombay Review*, we cannot pass by unnoticed his last *communiqué* to that journal, which will be found below. In tone it is not a whit behind the others, and short though it be it is characterized by the same want of veracity. On a mere rumour, which, so far as our present knowledge extends, has no solid foundation, the writer asperses both Sir Richard Meade and the Co-Regent again. He hears "Lord Lytton has given a decision favourable to the nephews in the great Hyderabad case," and from this he argues, first, "that the Government of India is now evidently in a fair way of correctly estimating the true character of the Co-Regent," and second, that Sir Richard Meade has been "roused from the apathy with which he has hitherto viewed the complicated tangle of affairs in Hyderabad." Some such rumour was, we believe, started in the city, in the interests of the "nephews," but, like the thousand and one rumours constantly floating about, it does not seem to have a leg to stand upon. But it is sufficient in the hands of the writer to knock over the Co-Regent, as well as Sir Richard Meade, and the beauty of it is he wishes to make believe that he "in a quiet unpretending way" brought all this about, being the result of the exposure of the monstrous iniquities perpetrated by the Co-Regent, with the knowledge and consent of the British Resident, as set forth in the columns of the *Bombay Review*. The astounding impudence of the whole of the letters is its own refutation. There is a tinge of venom in almost every line of them that plainly shows the animus of the writer and reveals his object. We have flatly contradicted nearly all his statements and challenged him to bring forward his proofs, in unmistakable language, and yet in his own justification and in substantiation of the truth of his statements he merely says—"For not only has the Resident been told by the Co-Regent that the serious matters alluded to in my letter of the 15th ult. are based on no foundation, but even our little local *Times* has been specially engaged to contradict some and tone down other statements made by me." Neither the one nor the other assertion, even if true, would go any way towards proving the truthfulness of his statements, and it is an insult to common sense to put them forward with that view. We cannot tell for certain whether or no the Resident was told by the Co-Regent that the statements in the letter alluded to were base fabrications, and it matters little whether he did or not; but we can tell for certain that we have not been "specially engaged" by anybody, and that we are free to tell what we consider and know to be the truth on these or any other matters. We are liable to be led into error—as who is not?—but we never write aught that we know or have reason to suspect is not true. As for the action said to be taken by the Government of India in the dispute between the Co-Regent and his nephews, all we know for certain is that the uncle is in possession of the two taluqs which formed the bone of contention, and is likely to keep them, so far as is at present apparent. The Resident starts for Berar this morning, leaving the complicated tangle of affairs in Hyderabad to take care of itself, and will be absent until the middle of January next, and there is no doubt all will go smoothly during his absence.

DECCAN TIMES, *January 3, 1880*.—The Secunderabad correspondent of the *Bombay Review*, in his last letter, which we extracted in our issue of the 24th ultimo, attempts to make good the statements contained in his previous ones, which, it may be remembered, we flatly contradicted, and accused him of a gross and wilful perversion of facts. He cites certain cases, picked out, he says, at random from many others, to prove that the Co-Regent systematically interferes with the action of the Court. We will merely state the real facts, which we have been at some trouble in finding out, and leave our readers to form their own conclusions, and judge for themselves how much credence can be given to the writer. In the 1st case cited, that of Seolall Motilall against Bowanilall, the latter some 7 or 8 years ago mortgaged a portion of his landed property to a soucar, and failing in business altogether made over the remainder of his landed property to Seolall Motilall towards the liquidation of a debt he owed him. As the value of the property did not cover the amount of the debt, Seolall Motilall instituted a suit against Bowanilall, and tried to attach the landed property which had been mortgaged to the soucar. This the soucar, who is the Co-Regent's banker, resisted, and reported the circumstance to the Co-Regent, who, with the consent of Seolall Motilall, referred the matter to a *punchyet*. The *punchyet* decided in favour of the soucar. In the 2nd case, Mulhar Rao *versus* Meerah Bibi, a suit was filed for the sum mentioned; but before the case was settled the defendant arranged with Nawab Koorshed Jah for the sale of the property. The village does not form part of a Jaghire, but is *Mucktah* land, and can be bought without the previous sanction of Government. It was with the sanction of the High Court that Koorshed Jah lodged a banker's note for the amount in the Court, which saw no objection to the purchase, and the said note was only to be cashed after the Court had decided between the two litigants, as the defendant denied the full amount of the debt. The other case was that of a Marathi family, and was decided according to Marathi law by *punchyet* of the same caste as the claimants.

In reference to the stamps, it is true that those used by Sir Salar Jung in his own Jaghires are *printed* in the Nizam's Stamp Office; but we deny that their proceeds go to the *public* treasury. The mere charge for printing finds its way there; but the *value* of the stamp paper goes into Sir Salar Jung's own pocket. The only difference is that whereas Sir Salar Jung gets his stamp paper printed by the Nizam's Government the Co-Regent gets his printed elsewhere.

Considering that the Co-Regent holds little or no public or private correspondence, and certainly none whatever with the Judges of the High Court, it surprises us to find that the writer in the *Review* persists in asserting that he has seen certain documents headed "Sirkar Ali." We have good authority on the other hand for stating that the Co-Regent has never assumed the title.

Hussain Meah's case has been for some time in the hands of the Minister, and we are well aware that a great deal of pressure has been brought to bear on him, concerning which the least said the better. It is well known, though, that the various claims against him are in course of adjustment.

We have nothing to say about the dispute between the two retainers of Sir Salar Jung in which the Co-Regent is said to have interfered in the way he did. We rather suspect the writer has drawn upon his imagination, as all our efforts to obtain any *kubber* about it have proved in vain.

The picture drawn by the correspondent of the *Review* is indeed a dark one, but anybody at all conversant with the present state of affairs in Hyderabad knows how false it is. Even Sir Salar Jung must be no less surprised than astounded at the grave and serious charges brought against his colleague, who has left him almost free and unfettered in the government of the country. There are blots, and serious blots too, in the administration; but the Minister cannot lay the flattering unction to his soul, or it cannot be laid for him, that they are caused, in whole or in part, by the Co-Regent.

DECCAN TIMES, *March 13, 1880*.—Translation of the speech of Nawab Muckerum-ood-Dowlah at the recent meeting in the city in connection with the distress

in Ireland.—Before proceeding with the business of the day, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that this meeting is the first of its kind ever held in the city of Hyderabad. We have often met before to help in the performance of some social ceremony. We have more than once before met to assist Government in devising or carrying out measures affecting the public weal. But never before have the people of Hyderabad had occasion to meet together in a public assembly in order to concert measures for the relief of a portion of our fellow-creatures stricken by the hand of an unforeseen calamity. Our fellow-citizens are noted for their private charity. Seldom does poverty or want appeal to them in vain. Individually every one of you spends according to his means in almsgiving and the relief of distress. But this is the first occasion on which you have been called upon to exercise your benevolence in concert, and help in the alleviation of suffering in a distant part of the world. I must therefore first of all thank you for responding so readily to the call. I must thank you for having come knowing that there was good to be done, and the cause of benevolence and humanity to be served.

I shall now endeavour to give you some idea of the calamity which it is our purpose this afternoon to devise some means of relieving. Ireland is an island adjacent to Great Britain, and forms an integral portion of the United Kingdom of Her Majesty the Queen and Kaisar-i-Hind. The people of this island are suffering at the present moment from the effects of a dire famine, caused by a failure of crops brought on by excess of rain. The staple produce of the island is potato, and it is on this vegetable that the poorer classes mainly rely for their sustenance. Excessive fall of rain during successive seasons has entirely destroyed this and other crops, and the people are therefore in the greatest distress. In this respect the condition of Ireland this year is similar to that of our own districts of Raichore and Lingsugur during the last famine. You will remember that distress in these districts was brought on by a succession of bad years followed by one of complete drought. The same is the case in Ireland. There, as in these districts, the food stocks of the people were exhausted by the first two years of scanty outturn, so that the complete, or all but complete, failure of the third year found them utterly unprepared to cope with the calamity. We learn from newspapers and other sources of information that of the sufferers some have perished, and of those that survive many have left house and home to seek relief in more favoured countries, and the rest are in a most pitiable state of misery and privation. In connection with this calamity you must also remember that, unlike our own country people, the poor in Ireland not only want food, but also warm clothing. Theirs is a cold climate, in which during eight out of the twelve months of the year the protection of warm clothing is one of the first necessities of life. Now there are thousands of the Irish peasantry at the present moment who have neither food nor clothing. Nor can they show any assets on which they might raise the wherewithal to procure them. Thus these creatures of God are entirely dependent on the help of their fellow-men for their very lives. We Indians can easily gauge the extent of their suffering, for there is no part of this extensive empire but has gone through a similar trial and tribulation. The famine in Orissa, the famine in Bombay and Madras, have taught a sad lesson of experience in the three Presidencies, and in this assembly this afternoon there are no doubt many who have had personal experience of the famine that afflicted parts of our own country hardly two years since, and have a vivid recollection of the gaunt pictures of suffering which its victims presented, and which still haunt the memories of those who have ever seen them. You cannot have forgotten that even in this city of Hyderabad the cry of distress was sometimes so loud during the late famine that people could hardly go to their meals without being reminded that there were fellow-creatures in the streets who were starving for want of food. The most hard-hearted were moved at the sight of their wretchedness. It is true that the sufferers in Ireland are far from your sight, but the suffering of human beings is always an object of sympathy, whether far or near, and it is one of the primary duties of humanity to attempt to relieve distress wherever it may be found. Charity is not bound down by the limits of time or space. We should not rank as men if we did not sympathize

with our own fellow-men. What saith Sadi, one of our greatest poets and moralists?—"Mankind are as limbs of one another, and are come forth out of the same substance. When fate bringeth any ailment on one limb the other limbs are made uneasy. Thou that feelest no discomfort at the sufferings of others shouldst not be called by the name of man."

I may here tell you that measures for the help of these Irish sufferers have been organized in various parts of the world. Meetings have been called in a great many quarters of the globe, in which subscriptions have been collected, and large sums of money have been and are being remitted to Ireland. Besides Great Britain, help is forthcoming from Australia, from the United States, and from other countries. It is worthy of note that one printing concern in America has remitted so much as twenty thousand pounds, or over two lakhs of rupees. Many of the larger cities of India have also held public meetings and collected subscriptions for the purpose. Let us hope that we shall outdo other countries in this good work. The distressed in Ireland have a two-fold claim on the sympathy of the Indians. In the first place Ireland is under the sway of the same gracious Sovereign that rules over the Indian Empire. This is a bond of union which America, Germany, France and other countries do not possess. Secondly, we must not forget that in our own times of distress the European subjects of Her Imperial Majesty the Kaisar-i-Hind have always shown the greatest readiness to help us. During the famine of 1876-77 seventy lakhs of rupees were collected by public subscription within the short space of three weeks in London, and over four lakhs in Ireland, for the relief of the distressed in Madras and Bombay. Part of this money was offered to us, and would have been given if need were. Gratitude for a good turn is one of the noblest attributes of human nature. It is a quality in which we should always endeavour to excel. The people of India in general, and of our part of India in particular, ought therefore to consider it a privilege to be given the opportunity of helping a country that has stood us in such stead in our time of need. But apart from the feeling of gratitude and the principle of benevolence which I have urged upon you as motives for your conduct on this occasion, I think you will not fail to perceive that your readiness to help Her Imperial Majesty's subjects in Ireland is one of the best means of adding strength and permanence to the sympathy and friendship that exists between the two countries, and of drawing closer the bond with which Providence has united the fate of the one with that of the other.

I need not repeat the oft-repeated truism that our fate and circumstances are subject to constant vicissitudes. All have their times of need, individuals as well as races and nationalities. Let us thank God Almighty that we were able to tide over our time of need two years ago, and are now in a position to come to the rescue of those who are placed in a similar position in another part of the world, and to render some little help to our suffering fellow-creatures there. Gentlemen, remember their liberality, but above all remember the call of humanity and the cause of suffering, and let not your charity be stinted. You are called upon to help a people who are always foremost in helping others in their distress. Let us prove to them our sympathy and the readiness with which we respond to the appeal on their behalf.

I have every hope that not only those present here will give each one according to his means, but that you will convey the news to your friends and relatives and spread it wide over the country, so that all who wish to do a good deed may come forward and add their mite. The people of this country have always been known to possess kind hearts. I have no doubt they will prove it now by their unstinted liberality in this good cause. If the amount subscribed at the meeting of the Central Committee held under the presidency of the Resident on 17th February may be taken as an earnest, I hope to see gratifying evidence of your liberality to-day. If forty-six thousand Government rupees were subscribed within half an hour at that meeting, I have little doubt that before we separate to-day we shall have collected a sum in this good cause which shall bear no mean comparison with that amount, and which shall be a token to the world of your generosity of spirit, and of your kindness of heart.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *March 20, 1880.*—The great meeting recently held in Hyderabad on behalf of the Irish Relief Fund, and presided over by the Nawab Mookurram-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor, proved to be a sympathetic demonstration as grateful to the feelings of those it sought to alleviate as it must be a source of pride to the whole native community of this country; and what shed a brighter lustre upon the benevolent intent was the circumstance of its having been inaugurated under the impulse of that generous feeling so readily awakened in the minds of our native fellow-subjects. Eloquence never served a better purpose, nor could be more warmly responded to, than was the nobly conceived opening address of the President, who reminded his hearers that “charity is not bound down by the limits of time or space,” and quoted the appropriate words of Sadi, one of their greatest poets and moralists, who says—“Mankind are as limbs of one another, and are come forth out of the same substance. When fate bringeth an ailment on one limb the other limbs are made uneasy. Thou that feelest no discomfort at the sufferings of others should not be called by the name of man.” Though the force of rhetoric is here carried to its limit, it would be invidious to attribute wholly to this the very creditable fact that on the spot there was subscribed the munificent sum of over Rs. 14,000, which amount has since been very largely increased. The meeting was held in the palace gardens of H. E. Sir Salar Jung, whose interest in the proceedings we may feel well assured was not less warm on this occasion than on the many others wherein his generous influence has played so prominent a part. Much, too, of the greatly successful issue of this good work must be due to the active exertions of Moulvi Madhi Ali, who, as secretary to the sub-committee, took upon himself so large a share of the labour.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *March 20, 1880.*—In common with the public generally, we had, for some time past, lost sight of what is known as “the Great Case” at Hyderabad; though it was hard to believe that such an absurd but monstrous miscarriage of justice could remain entirely unredressed within the influence of the Paramount Power. The worst of the matter was that the local agents of the said righteous and justice-boasting power should, as we stated at the time, have themselves shown such leaning to the side of the turbulent and strong, and should have, passively at least, done all that could be done to hinder the efforts of the oppressed nephews to obtain redress. When any lull of affairs at home permits this “incident of political management” to be stated there the part taken by the Hyderabad Residency officials may well seem incredible. Yet it is on record that a British Resident could write to a Native Minister—“let them (the nephews) understand clearly that no English lawyer will be admitted to the inquiry”—an ultra-legal order which must, we feel sure, sooner or later be matter for an “inquiry” of a different kind, in which either the Foreign Office or its agents will sustain no enviable position. The letters in which Mr. Tyrrell Leith applied to be allowed to show cause on behalf of his baffled and outraged clients, and the curt refusals returned by the subordinates of the Residency, must be known to the members of the Bombay bar, who will know how, at the right time, to vindicate that public right of advocacy which has been admitted in every province of India where British influence prevails. For the present we have only to mention that an effort is being made by way of petition to seek redress directly from Her Majesty’s representative and Viceroy. Unless the boastful *régime* of Imperialism is a mockery and sham that appeal can scarcely be in vain, though the false steps aforetime taken by its local representatives, and also the false position into which H. E. Sir Salar Jung was forced by the astute intriguers who supported the usurpations of the powerful and enormously wealthy uncle, may delay and complicate the course which redress should take. Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries are seldom wanting in zeal to denounce abuses in Native States; therefore they will do well to bear in mind, as was publicly stated at the time, that the jaghirs and villages of the nephews were forcibly seized by “armed levies of Arabs and Rohillas” on behalf of the uncle, the Co-Regent, Shums-ool-Umrah. It was in the Rohilla-ridden jaghirs of the

same powerful Nawab, who enjoys, or at that time did enjoy, the favour and support of the British Residency, that Wassudeo Phudke took refuge and tried to enlist the said Rohillas to act as dacoits in the British Deccan. Possibly this circumstance may have had a good deal to do with the withdrawal, the other day, of the charges against several of the prisoners so gallantly captured by Major Daniell, with the aid, at the time, of Abdul Hak, of H.H. the Nizam's Police. Be that as it may, the wholesale spoliation which these nephews of the Co-Regent suffered cannot go unredressed so long as there is any solid ground—as we firmly believe there is—for the magniloquent declaration that no grievance can go unremedied that it is in the power of the British Government to remove, which was first uttered by Sir James FitzStephen in the Supreme Legislative Council, and afterwards repeated, with rhetorical furbishings, by Lord Lytton at the Delhi political theatricals. Here is an instance that will test the validity of those declarations; and no Englishman can believe that the practical application of those high doctrines will lag far behind the terms of the manifesto.

TIMES OF INDIA, *March 22, 1880.*—The “Great Hyderabad Case,” to which we repeatedly referred a few months back, has at last gone before the Governor-General in Council, and as it is intimately connected with the reasons that have formed two hostile parties in the Nizam's capital, and even threaten to upset all the reforms Sir Salar Jung has effected during the last twenty years, we are pretty sure to hear a good deal more about it now. Our Hyderabad correspondent tells us that the memorial just sent in through the Resident to the highest court of appeal in India is a model of concise statement. The case, however, has been so amply discussed before, and its issues lie in so small a compass, that the memorial can contain little new to those who closely followed the graphic letters we published last July. We may trust, however, that it does contain much that will be new to the Governor-General, else there would, we think, have been no necessity of sending it on to head-quarters at all. Ever, however, since Lord Lytton's Government thought proper to punish Sir Salar Jung's supposed agitation in high circles at home for the restoration of the Berars, by the appointment of a Co-Regent to control his power, the conduct of affairs at Hyderabad has grown more difficult and uncertain. Sir Salar cannot well show open hostility to any acts of a colleague who, as a bitter personal enemy, was literally forced upon him, without risking such a reproof from the Government of India as would necessitate his resignation; and the local representative of the Government of India feels bound, it seems, to back up his own nominee through all reports of good and evil. Now, however, that the case has been formally brought before the highest authority in India, with the object of carrying it on, if need be, to the Privy Council, the Government will have the opportunity not only of insisting upon justice in the case itself, but of reviewing, and perhaps revising, their policy in the original appointment of His Excellency Shums-ool-Oomrah, the Co-Regent in question. The real issues may be said to be the *personnel* of the Native Government of Hyderabad, but the interests in this particular case are vast enough, and the parties involved of sufficient influence and resources, to afford a guarantee that the struggle will be fought out to the bitter end, and that none of the scandalous incidents involved will escape the notice of the public. Copies of the memorial can, says our correspondent, be seen at Hyderabad, and if it be found to contain any fresh matter we may refer to it at length, but barring this the case can scarcely be put more strongly than it was put by our correspondent last July.

Soon after the present Co-Regent was appointed to his important office, and endowed, by the strange facts involved by this appointment, with almost irresponsible authority, he began his attacks upon the wealth and possessions of his nephews, the nephews also and the adopted sons of the last Co-Regent. These gentlemen are, we are officially told, “second only in rank to the family of the Nizam,” but as a matter of fact they belong to that family. Nawab Mothashim-ood-Dowlah Bahadur and Nawab Busheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadur are great-grandsons of one of the Nizams; the latter is a brother-in-law of the present Nizam; and intermarriages

between the two branches have frequently occurred. They head the aristocracy of Hyderabad, and correspond, as it were, to those great nobles in England who take an hereditary lead in politics. Busheer-ood-Dowlah is, moreover, by a strange turn of fate, Minister of Justice in his brother-in-law's dominions. At first Shums-ool-Oomrah's attacks took the form of demands for pecuniary assistance, and his appointment presupposed such influence with the Residency that large sums of money were unwillingly made over to him. Emboldened by this he seized one small estate, and as this was naturally disputed he then despatched a levy of armed men and took forcible possession of two very valuable estates. In the short space of eighteen months he succeeded in despoiling his nephews of landed properties worth no less a sum than seven lakhs of rupees per annum. To resist further encroachments they armed their own retainers, and found them of service in beating off the Arabs and Rohillas sent against their outlying lands. Thus in a State which had been well governed for twenty years, and which the Government had at one time been fond of holding up as a model, a condition of things prevailed approaching to civil war, with one of the two responsible rulers as the prime mover. It was easier for the nephews, however, to resist further encroachments than to regain their own. For even a Minister of Justice when he is opposed to a Co-Regent with armed men behind him and a colleague whose hands are tied is able to do nothing more than appeal to the Supreme Government. Sir Salar could not interfere to any purpose. He was unwilling, for reasons obvious enough, to take ostensible part against his colleague, and perhaps not altogether unwilling to have his colleague's actions brought prominently to the notice of the authorities at home. But the Government of Hyderabad must be in a pretty condition when the Minister of Justice is compelled to make an appeal to the Supreme Government for the restoration of estates worth seven lakhs per annum, which were seized by levies of armed troops by the executive head of the Government, and to which no claim was put forward at the time—to which, indeed, no claim is, we believe, put forward now except an alleged entry in a loose page of an alleged diary of daily events in the household of a former Nizam, said to have been dictated to writers by the women or pages coming from the inner chambers. These pages are neither signed nor sealed, and are, we hear, freely stigmatized as forgeries in the memorial addressed to the Governor-General. To complicate matters, the memorial will, our correspondent tells us, be accompanied by a petition signed by both the present Nizam and his mother, praying that, for the reputation of the State, justice may be done in a matter in which, as a minor, the Nizam regrets he is not allowed to take action. It is not creditable to find the Government of Hyderabad divided against itself in this way, and to see the Nizam himself protesting against the manner in which justice is administered by authorities sanctioned by the Government of India. All our feudatories are vitally interested in the settlement of the question, and we have no doubt Lord Lytton will direct the Foreign Office to pay it the attention it deserves.

DECCAN TIMES, *March 31, 1880.*—Several of our contemporaries, and notably the *Times of India*, have invested the "Great Hyderabad Case," as it has come to be called, with an importance which it has hardly attained, and have discussed the subject as though it were one of the burning questions of the day. The case has repeatedly been thrust forward to the public notice as one that is fearfully disturbing the minds of His Highness the Nizam's subjects, as one that threatens to sap the very foundations of the Hyderabad Government, and, in the high-falutin language of our Bombay contemporary, is likely "to upset all the reforms Sir Salar Jung has effected during the last twenty years." This is decidedly an incorrect and distorted description of the case, as all at Hyderabad who are fully acquainted with the subject perfectly know. In reality there is no extraordinary excitement over the case, nor has it in any way disturbed the even course of administration. The public outside Hyderabad, however, may be led by the descriptions published by some of the Indian newspapers to imagine that the Government of the State was in a state of chaos, especially when the case in question has been made the text for pouring forth denunciations against the Co-Regent Shums-ool-Oomrah,

whereby the public would be likely to consider that personage as one who was rapidly bent on interfering in every public act of His Excellency Sir Salar Jung, and frustrating the reforms which the beneficent rule of that able Minister has been introducing and steadily carrying out for many long years past. We, who are cognizant of the real state of affairs, can easily perceive that such violent publications are simply the emanations of party inspiration, and are therefore altogether misleading, inasmuch as these writers are thick and thin advocates of one side of the Great Hyderabad Case, and will persist in perverting everything to suit their own purpose. The *Times of India* on the subject, with an astonishing recklessness, makes a statement for which it has no warrant. It is surely contrary to fact when it unblushingly declares that the appointment of the Co-Regent was a punishment on Sir Salar Jung for his agitation in the matter of the Berars and for the purpose of controlling his powers. It is well known that on the death of the late Nizam arrangements were made that the government of the country should be carried on by two Régents during the minority of the present Nizam. These arrangements were made in the beginning of 1869, when Lord Mayo was Viceroy and Mr. Seton-Karr was at the Foreign Office. On the death of the late Co-Regent, who was with Sir Salar Jung when the Regency was established, the Government of India associated initiated nothing new in nominating the present Co-Regent to that office ; it merely carried out the arrangements that had already been made.

The Nawabs Mothashum-ood-Dowla and Busheer-ood-Dowla ought doubtless to be infinitely obliged to the writer of the article we refer to, and which will be found in another column, at the handsome manner in which he has exhibited them for public admiration. He has posed them as very high state personages, as "second only in rank to the family of the Nizam," in fact that "they belong to the same family," and in virtue thereof "they head the aristocracy of Hyderabad, and correspond, as it were, to those great nobles in England who take an hereditary lead in politics"!! Now it is a notorious fact that these two nephews of the Co-Regent have only very recently emerged from the obscurity which had enveloped them for years. It is true that they are connected with His Highness's house, but there was a scandal in that branch of the family, into the particulars of which it does not concern us to enter, which placed them under a cloud. During the reign of the late Nizam Nasur-ood-Dowla, these nephews were never permitted to attend the durbars of His Highness, or even the durbars at the Residency ; in fact the late Nizam was so incensed against them that he would not permit them to enter his presence. They continued in obscurity even during the following reign, that of Afzul-ood-Dowlah, and it was only when Mr. Saunders was Resident at Hyderabad that they were seen at the Residency. These circumstances are well known in the city, and at the Foreign Office too, and it must only raise a smile, and recall to mind the history of their past lives, whenever such attempts are made to exalt them to a position they do not hold.

In order to show how grievously the "Our correspondent" has misled the writer of the article, we would point out how utterly absurd it is even to suppose that the present Nizam would *petition* the Government of India in regard to the Great Hyderabad Case—and his mother too! We can assure our contemporary that things are not managed quite in this style in the city of Hyderabad, and that in point of fact nothing of the kind was ever contemplated or is in contemplation. We are informed on reliable authority that His Excellency Sir Salar Jung has refused to forward the "petition" of the nephews to the Government of India, and we doubt not that the copy sent to the Resident for the same purpose has met with a similar reception.

BOMBAY REVIEW, April 3, 1880.—A fortnight ago we mentioned that what will yet come to be known as a (political) *cause célèbre*, the "Great Case at Hyderabad," is not to be allowed to drift into oblivion, as first winners hoped would happen. Whether it has yet been placed formally before the Government of India we are not aware ; but so much the worse for the Foreign Office if it has not been. It is satisfactory, so far, to observe that the grave questions connected with the

higher range of British political administration in India, to which we have several times referred as being mixed up with the essentials of this episode in the current history of the Nizamate, are not likely to be lost sight of by the Press; though Lord Lytton and his coteries may, for the present, be too busy watching the devil's cauldron of Kabul to permit of giving due attention to this internal disorder. The following remarks we cull from an article on the subject by our Agra contemporary :—

That the Government of India should have committed the inexplicable blunder of appointing two Co-Regents where a single Minister had sufficed for twenty years is extraordinary enough. For we can hardly believe that acts such as those described could have taken place entirely without the Resident being aware of them. Indeed the inference is irresistible that the authority of the Resident was (nominally at least) employed to enforce an act of spoliation! That property to the tune of £70,000 per annum should have changed hands in eighteen months, that bands of Arabs and Rohillas should have been equipped, that armed resistance to their encroachments should have been organized, and that the British Resident should have remained in ignorance of all that was passing under his nose, involves an amount of faith that the public is not endowed with.

After alluding to the "palpable break-down of the dual system," for the institution of which in this instance the *Delhi Gazette* infers that the present Resident is "primarily responsible," our contemporary makes the following pertinent remarks :—

Sir Salar Jang ruled Hyderabad ably for twenty years, and what could have induced the Government of India at the end of that time to curtail his authority and introduce an element of discord into the Nizam's dominions it is not for us to decide. The allegation that this was done in consequence of the agitation in regard to the Berars we are loth to believe. It is far more probable that *intrigues had been going on for years* in connection with the proposal of appointing a Co-Regent, and that in a moment of weakness the Government of India consented to a step which they may have cause bitterly to regret.

Whilst much of what is here said is in effect too true, there are one or two points in respect of which we would suggest some slight qualification. It scarcely does to speak of the authority of the Resident being even "nominally" "employed to enforce an act of spoliation;" though it is matter for astonishment that he "should have remained in ignorance of what was passing." Indeed it is plain enough from the papers in the proceedings—conducted, we believe, under the skilled direction of Mr. Tyrrell Leith, of the Bombay bar, whom the Resident ruled should be debarred from appearing in "the Court"—that His Honour knew sufficient to enable him to press very hard against the weaker and, chiefly owing to that pressure, the utterly helpless side of the despoiled nephews. As to the foundation question which underlies this episode, namely, the elevation of the present Co-Regent to his perilous position, it must be supposed that the Government of India was eventually made responsible for all that was done. It may become a grave question for future investigation what was the information and material on which the Foreign Office proceeded in this subterranean exercise of its large and dangerous powers. The hint we have italicized in the above extract must extend to a period beyond the advent of the present Resident, and he might find the scheme already arranged for the *coup d'état* which placed the formerly ostracized Nawab in the position which he, or his myrmidons, has so grievously abused.

As to the policy of allowing two Co-Regents to exercise executive power there might be plausible pleas advanced in defence of it. But by discouraging the enlightened Minister the fatal mistake has been made of allowing the representative of the bigoted and law-defying elements in the Hyderabad State to get the upper hand, thereby inviting the occurrence of such a gross act of spoliation as this, of which the full history is now to be put before the Government of India. There have been strong Residents at Hyderabad who would have kept the Shums-ul-Umra and his creatures well in hand while allowing him the status and shows of ceremonial power. But, as we have often had to remark, the more discriminating and intelligent branch of the old Indian art political seems to have almost been lost, and the present *imbroglio* at Hyderabad is a striking proof of this. The Agra paper quotes Sir Richard Meade's handsome acknowledgment of the able Minister's

management of the famine difficulty "in accordance with the principles enunciated by the British Government," and concludes thus :—

It is a pity that recent events should even lend a colour to the supposition that this excellent feeling has been destroyed, and that in the person of the British Resident Sir Salar Jung does not possess that perfect sympathy and support that his past history would seem to justify.

"Pity," aye, and bitter reproach to those, whoever they may be, who are striving to depress and discredit one of the wisest and best friends that the British Government ever had in India.

DECCAN TIMES, April 7, 1880.—The *Bangalore Spectator* says that "one of the best speeches that has been made in connection with the Irish famine was delivered at a meeting held at Hyderabad, by Nawab Muckerum-ood Dowlah," and "more loyal sentiments we have never met with." It concludes the article commenting on the speech with these words—"It is very gratifying that such a speech should have been delivered in a town like Hyderabad, which a short time ago was considered the most fanatical in India."

DECCAN TIMES, April 10, 1880.—The *Great Hyderabad Case*.—It is surprising to find such papers as the *Delhi Gazette*, the *Times of India*, and the *Bombay Review* expressing themselves in the most extravagant language in their notices of the *Great Hyderabad Case*, as it is now called. We reprint elsewhere extracts from these papers in which very serious charges are fulminated against the Co-Regent, Sir Richard Meade and the Foreign Secretary of India as well. Publications of this sort in connection with the Hyderabad State have been appearing for some time past, and are likely to do injury to the character of the high dignitaries assailed in the estimation of the general public, who are unacquainted with the true facts connected with the present government of the Hyderabad State. The views of the papers we refer to are based on the most absurd errors—such errors indeed as we should not have expected our Bombay contemporaries at least, who profess to know all about Hyderabad, would have committed.

In all their reviews of the *Great Hyderabad Case* it is clearly apparent that they are labouring under a most deplorable mistake, and on entirely false premises have been building up strong arguments, arriving at startling conclusions, and thundering forth impeachment against the Co-Regent, the Resident and the Government of India as well. The error under which our contemporaries are labouring is this. In each successive review of the *Hyderabad Case* they are persistent in laying stress on one particular point, viz., that the creation of the office of Co-Regent by the Government of India was a recent one, and that the present "Ameer-i-Kubeer," Shums-ool-Oomra, was the first Co-Regent of Hyderabad. It is strange that our Bombay contemporaries should have so long remained in error on this important point.

The simple facts of the case, which those who know anything about Hyderabad affairs are quite aware of, are these. On the death of the late Nizam, Afzul-ood-Dowlah, in 1869, the infant Prince, the present Nizam, was placed on the *musnud* on the 1st March of the same year, and at the same time the Government of India, under Lord Mayo as Viceroy, appointed a Regency, composed of H. E. Sir Salar Jung and the late Shums-ool-Oomra (the elder brother of the present Co-Regent), Sir Salar Jung as Prime Minister being the executive head of the Government also. Mr. Saunders in his Administration Report for the year 1869-70 writes :—

"In conformity with the wishes of these Ameers themselves, the guardianship of the Nizam's person and the responsibility of the administration of the country until he should come of age had been assigned to the Nawabs Sir Salar Jung, K.C.S.I., and Shums-ool-Oomra Ameer-i-Kabeer Bahadur. The executive functions of the government had at the same time been vested in the former nobleman, in his long-tried capacity of Minister of State.

The consideration which pointed to Sir Salar Jung as one eminently fitted

for this office hardly require to be referred to, as his high qualities are fully appreciated wherever the recent history of this State is known.

The Nawab Shams-ul-Umrah, again, as the acknowledged head of the party in Hyderabad affairs which may be said to represent the Nizam's own personal views and interests, formed a tower of strength to the new administration as soon as he consented to hold a place in it. The great-grandson of a nobleman who accompanied Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Nizamate, from Delhi in the early part of the last century, the present Shams-ul-Umrah is the worthy representative of a family which, owing to the official position always held by its chief as commander of the Nizam's personal troops, and also to several inter-marriages it has made with that of the Nizam himself, bears in the eyes of the people of Hyderabad a prestige only second to that of the sovereign. The title of Ameer-i-Kabeer, or premier noble, which is invariably borne by the head of the house of Shams-ul-Umrah, thus truly denotes his actual position in the country. Thus it will be clearly seen that the Co-Regency has been in existence for the past *eleven years*. The late Co-Regent was a nobleman of a literary turn of mind, and seldom, if ever, asserted his position as Co-Regent in matters connected with the executive government of the State; thus his term of office as Co-Regent passed away without any public remark. On his death his brother, the present Co-Regent, succeeded to the title and status of Shams-ul-Umrah, Ameer-i-Kabeer, and, with the approval of Government, to the Co-Regency also. There was nothing out of the usual course of things in his succeeding to the Co-Regency. The present Co-Regent, however, being a man above the average calibre of Hyderabad statesmen, and feeling the responsibility attaching to his position, has interested himself more than the late Co-Regent had done in matters relating to state administration; but every little act of his in regard to public matters has been seized by his detractors, distorted out of shape and used as a weapon against him. The statements sometimes made by newspaper correspondents that the Co-Regent has been a check in the way of reforms introduced by H. E. the Minister is false as well as absurd, for the simple reason that H. E. the Minister, as the executive head of the Government, has direct control over every department of the State. Even though there may not be an entirely cordial feeling existent between these two leading noblemen, the executive work of His Excellency Sir Salar Jung as Prime Minister is so separately defined that the Co-Regent could scarcely, even if so inclined (which there is not the least reason for supposing), directly interfere with the administrative machinery of the State.

With these plain facts of the case before us, the *serious* statements and severe criticisms of the journals referred to, who are labouring under an erroneous idea, completely fall to the ground. We have already said that there may not be a very friendly understanding between these two great houses, but their private differences do not and cannot materially affect the public business of the State. Zealous partizans of either house are doubtless always eager to represent their own master in the fairest colours possible, and to misrepresent the doings of the opposite party, and this has been doubtless the cause of all the florid writings in the Indian newspapers about Hyderabad, the Co-Regent, the Minister, &c., &c., which are no doubt all quietly laid aside with a contemptuous smile by the Foreign Office, and by that section of the Indian public who are *correctly* informed of Hyderabad affairs.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *June 26, 1880*.—The *Englishman* does well in thus drawing the attention of the Marquis of Ripon to what is known as "the Great Case" or "the Nephews' Case" at Hyderabad:—

Among the knotty cases which the new Viceroy will be called upon to decide is that of the Nawabs Mohtasham-ood-Dowlah Bahadur and Basheer-ood-Dowlah Bahadur of Hyderabad, the great-grandsons of the Nizam Ali Khan, who lately memorialized the Government of India against the sequestration by the Regency of certain hereditary properties, of great value, part of estates originally granted to their great-grandfather by the Nizam, and subsequently settled on the memorialists by their uncle Shams-ul-Umrah, who had received them, as his share, in a distribution of the estate by the Nizam Nawab Afzul-ood-Dowlah.

This is a concise statement of the young Nawabs' contention and claim ; but His Excellency may, perhaps, be inclined to shrink back from what at first sight would seem to suggest legal difficulties complicated with questions of Mahomedan law. But such an apprehension would, we believe, presently disappear on the case being fairly faced ; but there is a previous question, and one that lies entirely within Lord Ripon's purview. That is, as to the manner in which what is mildly spoken of in our extract as "sequestration" was carried out. It is notorious that the seizure of the Nawabs' villages was effected by an armed force, that the Nizam's police were restrained from resisting the marauders ; and it is understood that the Resident when appealed to by the nephews for protection against the lawless violence of their relative not only refused the very reasonable request, but, it is alleged, passively and indirectly allowed the oppressor full scope in his raid. So that long before Lord Ripon need fear any legal question arising on his looking into this case he will find himself confronted with a very plain story of open violence and outrage, the bearing of which from an executive and political point of view will be only too clear to him. He will be considerably astonished to find that a British Resident, who in the centre of the "naughty world" of a Native State is set not only as an exemplar, but guardian of law and order, could so far forget his high responsibility as to be somewhat worse than powerless in a crisis wherein dignified and effective interposition was manifestly called for. We observe the *Englishman's* remark that "a question will, however, in all probability be raised as to the power of the Government of India to interfere authoritatively in such a matter." But there can be no question whatever as to the imperative obligation that rests on the Viceroy to look into the conduct and bearing of its executive and political representative from first to last of this case.

DECCAN TIMES, *June 30, 1880.*—*The Hyderabad Gazetteer.*—It is not generally known that the Nizam's Government is just now busily engaged in getting up a Gazetteer for the Hyderabad dominions. The country has hitherto been such a "terra incognita" that any attempt to obtain a knowledge of its state and vast resources ought to be hailed with satisfaction by all who take an interest in one of the fairest provinces of India, and the Government is to be congratulated on the important work it has undertaken. It must be confessed that the task is by no means an easy one, as there are no sufficiently reliable data for a compilation of this kind, for although a considerable amount of information regarding the country has been collected from time to time—some portions of it, no doubt, trustworthy and accurate enough—there is nothing like the required material ready to hand for the undertaking. Some time in 1878 a gentleman attached to the Revenue Survey was sent to Aurungabad to collect data for a Gazetteer of that district ; but it appears that the Government was not happy in its selection, and from various reasons—sickness, we believe, among the number—Mr. Adshead was not considered competent for the task assigned him. It was not, however, until October 1879 that the Gazetteer Department was organized, and Mr. E. G. Lynn, of the D. P. W., placed at its head. With Mr. Lynn were associated Dr. Aghornath, the Director of Public Instruction, and Mr. Wilmott, late Sub-Editor of the *Times of India*, and at the same time some half-dozen or so District Compilers were appointed to assist in gathering information to be utilized in the compilation of the Gazetteer. In the absence of data, mostly of all kinds, it is very obvious that the selection of competent men to collect them was the proper thing to do, and we believe that the Department has already amassed much useful information, and that very shortly the first volume of the Gazetteer will be published. When the nature of the work is considered, and the many difficulties in the way, it reflects great credit on the energy and ability of the Department that so much progress has been made. In the Gazetteer Department the State has not been put to any very great extra expense, as most of those employed in it are old hands, transferred from other departments. But the importance of the undertaking would justify even a larger expenditure, as there can be no question that full, accurate, and reliable information in all matters relating to His Highness's dominions, such as the Gazetteer ought to give, is a great desideratum.

Idem :—

PROCEEDINGS of a Meeting of the Committee for the relief of the distress in Ireland held at the Residency, Hyderabad, on Thursday, the 24th June 1880.

MR. JONES, President.

The following members were present :—Moulvie Anim-ud-Din, Mr. Shapurji Edulji, Shaik Inayet Hussain Khan Bahadur, Messrs. C. Prayero, P. J. Charles, Dr. Bayley, Major F. A. Wilson.

Read a letter, dated 21st instant, from the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir Bahadur, stating that the sum of Rs. 6,000, being the amount of subscription collected by the Sub-Committee presided over by Nawab Koorshed Jah Bahadur, and in the Pagah Districts, would be paid into the Bank by Mr. Shapurji Edulji, who lays before the Committee the Bank's receipt for the above sum.

Read also a letter, dated 21st instant, from the Nawab Mukarum-ud-Dowlah Bahadur, stating that out of a total of H. S. Rs. 31,040-6-6 subscribed to the Sub-Committee presided over by him, H. S. Rs. 19,585-10-0, including a remittance of H. S. Rs. 5,703-0-6, of date, had been paid into the Bank, leaving a balance of H. S. Rs. 11,454-12-6, for the realization of which every effort was being made.

The above letters are in reply to letters of 12th June 1880 addressed to the Nawabs, by order of the President, by Major Wilson, Joint Honorary Secretary.

From a telegram from the Lord Mayor of Dublin, received on 9th June, reports previously received from the Committee in Dublin, and other general information available, it seems clear to the Committee that although a diminution of the distress may be hoped for afterwards, there is every prospect that it will be felt with severity during the next two months. The Committee, therefore, consider it most urgently necessary that all sums intended for the relief of that distress should be remitted home without any delay, and trust that all subscriptions still outstanding will be promptly paid, in order that the accounts may be made up and all available funds remitted so as to reach Ireland in time to meet the greatest need.

The accounts laid before the Committee show that the total payments into the Bank on account of the Fund up to the 19th May 1880 amount to H. S. Rs. 62,071-9-10, and that the cost of remitting to Ireland £4,280, including charges, has been Rs. 60,810-7-4, leaving a balance to credit of the Fund on the 1st June of H. S. Rs. 1,261-2-6.

Resolved that the Joint Honorary Secretary be directed to instruct the Agent of the Bank of Bengal to arrange for a further remittance to Dublin by telegraphic advice of £1,000 as soon as the funds at credit will admit of it, which this meeting confidently expects will be possible in a day or two, with reference to the letters above read, and the offer kindly made by Moulvie Anim-ud-Din Khan to endeavour to secure prompt payment of certain outstanding subscriptions.

A list of the subscriptions appearing to be still unpaid is laid before the meeting, but there is no doubt that some of the amounts therein will be found to have been paid through members of the Committee and included in the totals of the collections remitted by them to the Bank. It is earnestly hoped by the Committee, as above stated, that those who have not yet paid the amounts they may have subscribed will do so as early as possible.

Thursday, the 1st July, having been appointed for the next meeting, the Committee was dissolved, with a vote of thanks to the chair.

TIMES OF INDIA, December 14, 1880.—The Conduct of Famine Relief: a letter from "An ex Famine Officer in the Nizam's Dominions."—"Referring to the letter signed 'An ex Special Famine Officer,' published in your issue of the 6th instant, I may be allowed to say a few words. After careful inquiries and reports by officers specially appointed for famine duty the Nizam's Government came to the conclusion in January 1878 that the famine was practically over, and ordered the relief works and poor-houses to be closed accordingly. There may have been particular cases of suffering afterwards, but these would not justify the Government to continue the administration of relief, as no Government is expected or bound to relieve cases of individual hardship or trouble.

"If, however, the number of emigrants from a country be taken as a criterion of the administration of famine relief, 'Ex Special Famine Officer' will be astounded to hear that no less than 47,400 people migrated into H. H. the Nizam's territories from the adjoining British districts up to the spring of 1877 only. In the course of about two hours on the forenoon of the 9th November 1876 the correspondent of the *Times of India* encountered some 230 persons on the Begumpore road *alone*, who were all migrating to the Nizam's dominions, and had no knowledge whatever of the existence of relief works in their own territories. This, however, by no means proves the absence of relief works in the British districts, or the mismanagement thereof. It may be that these people migrated because works in their own territories were further from their homes than those in the foreign land, because they were ignorant of the existence of such works in their own country, or because they had friends elsewhere whom they expected to help them."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *December 11, 1880.*—It may be remembered that in these columns was first quoted the speech of Mr. W. Digby at Plymouth relating to the management of Indian famines, in which he expressed himself to the effect that "there was only one part in Southern India in which the famine of 1877 was successfully grappled with, and that part was Hyderabad, a Native State under native administration." That, it will be seen, is a general statement. To it "An Ex Special Famine Officer" "who was employed for five months during the famine of 1879," opposes (in the *Times of India*) this particular remark:—

It was a part of my duty to examine and question carefully all whom I saw suffering severely from the effects of scarcity, and amongst such sufferers I found a very considerable number who had come over from the neighbouring Native State to seek relief in British territory. I am unable to give figures and exact data; but this is a fact in the statement of which my colleagues in famine work could support me. In scarcely a village did I fail to find at least one "Moguli" pauper, who, if questioned as to why he did not apply for relief in his own country, stated readily that in his own country there was no relief to apply for.

To this Mr. S. Digby rejoins (in the same paper):—

I have no wish to express my opinion on the subject one way or the other; but as it will be six weeks before my brother's reply can appear I may perhaps be permitted to point out that his remarks at Plymouth seem to have had reference solely to the famine of 1877, and not to that of 1879, when your correspondent says he gained his five months' experience. * * * but I fail to see how the fact that he served for five months in the Bombay districts during the scarcity last year makes him an authority on the conduct of the Madras and Hyderabad famines of 1877.

We scarcely see that there is any need to trouble Mr. William Digby, or wait for any fresh statement from him on the subject. He has already surely done his share, not only in his "Report on the Administration of the Mansion House and other Famine Relief Funds by the Madras General Committee," but in the two noble volumes which he published giving the whole history of the famine in Southern India. The question raised by "An Ex Special Famine Officer" is only one branch of the general subject, and really lies within comparatively narrow compass. Even that extends considerably beyond the Wynaad officer's personal experience. Although during the period referred to he did travel over a large portion of the British districts immediately adjoining to the Nizam's territory, that was a very late period, and his "one Moguli pauper in a village" is but a stray swallow in presence of the full and authoritative information which, it seems, the Special Famine Officer has not thought it worth while to study. One of the best amongst the several volumes of famine literature is that drawn up by the Syud Mahadi Ali, the able Secretary of Revenue of H. H. the Nizam, and published under the authority of that Government. Nothing could be more comprehensive and discriminating than the treatment which every branch of the subject receives in that Yellow Book. There is not much said in this report regarding the topic of migrations between the two territories; but we may rely on it that everything pertinent to the subject is frankly recorded. Here is a passage relating to the early part of the distress:—

In December 1876 correspondence was received from the Political Office concerning a large number of persons (about 10,000) who, attracted by the opening out of relief works on the Kurnul side of the Tungabhadra, had migrated thither from His Highness's territory. They were rejected

from the relief works on the British side, and employment had to be found for them on relief works on their return to their own country. This tended to increase the amount of distress in East Raichur.

Referring to a period later on—in fact, when the trouble was over and its whole course could be calmly reviewed—we find the Nizam's reporter thus writing :—

In the beginning of the famine, as has been stated, large numbers of British subjects from the Sholapur and Ahmadnagar districts in the Bombay Presidency, along with their cattle, poured into the districts situated in the Western Division of His Highness's dominions, and there remained for a long time. In these regions they had easy access to water and fodder for their cattle. * * * "The people of Ashte [in the Nizam's territory] treated their immigrant brethren with remarkable kindness. They allowed many of them to take shelter in their houses, gave protection to their cattle, and employed such as were willing to labour in their fields."

There is, however, nothing surprising about this, inasmuch as the poor cultivating population of India are always accustomed to show such sympathy towards their brethren in distress. The poor know how to feel for the poor, and do feel in times of distress very deeply. The chief advantage derived by these immigrants was that their life and property were taken care of and remained secure.

This passage should be sufficient to settle the general question, though it does not refer to the southern portion of H. H. the Nizam's territory, which the Ex Special Officer claims to be best acquainted with. But he will find, if he takes the trouble to look, that the compilers of the Hyderabad Famine Report have been there before him. Whereas he is "unable to give exact figures," both these are given by the Nizam's Minister, showing precisely how many of their subjects emigrated into British territory, and how many of our people immigrated into the Hyderabad country. It is interesting to trace this efflux and reflux ; but the movement was really of no great magnitude either way. Such as it was the balance is against us. Here are the totals of the tabulated statement—15,436 persons left the Nizam's territory for British, but 47,399 migrated from British into the Hyderabad districts, most of whom, we believe, remain there.

PIONEER, *December 29, 1880.*—The *Madras Standard* learns from Hyderabad that Miss White, who has taken service as medical attendant in the Nizam's family, has obtained a well-salaried appointment. Some of the ladies of Sir Salar Jung's family have expressed their willingness to learn medicine under Miss White. The Nizam of Hyderabad contemplates paying a visit to Aurungabad, the ancient capital of the Deccan, from which station he proposes to go to Roza, to perform a sacred ceremony. His Highness will be accompanied by H. E. Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., Sir Richard Meade, K.C.S.I., and Major Trevor, Secretary for the Berars, and the usual large retinue.

MADRAS MAIL, *January 7, 1881.*—The prosecution of the "*Statesman*."—As will have been observed in the telegraphic news of our issue of the 3rd instant, criminal proceedings for libel have been instituted in London against Mr. Robert Knight the Editor of the (London) *Statesman*, by the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir Shams-ul-Umra. Having no desire to expose ourselves to similar proceedings, we will only state that the article complained of uses such language with regard to the nobleman in question that no one can be surprised at the turn things have taken. The story forming the material for the article is the old one, which some of our readers may remember, in which an individual personating the wife of the Resident of the day, for the purpose of receiving money, was one of the *dramatis personæ*. Nothing new is added to it, nor is any fact or argument stated of a character to reverse the verdict of "not guilty" which was long ago passed upon the Nawab. Notwithstanding this, the old story is raked up, and a gentleman who, at any rate, by reason of his age is venerable, is called upon to clear himself again. So bitter, indeed, is the attack made upon him that it is difficult to believe that the publication of the article has not some political object. It may be remembered that on the nomination of the Nawab as Co-Regent along with Sir Salar Jung a strong feeling of hostility to him was exhibited by a party in Hyderabad. Notwithstanding all opposition, effect was given to the nomination. The result of the proceedings in London must soon be known, for we hear that the trial is to take place early in the present month.

TIMES OF INDIA, January 20, 1881.—*The charge of libel against Mr. R. Knight.*—At the Bow-street Police Court on the 30th ult., Mr. Robert Knight, of 11, Haroldstone-road, Kensington, and Mr. Daniel Joseph Keymer, of 1, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street, appeared before Sir James Ingham, in answer to summonses charging them with unlawfully publishing a certain false and defamatory libel of and concerning the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad in a magazine called the *Statesman*.

Mr. Gorst, Q.C., M.P., and Mr. Montague Williams appeared in support of the summonses ; and Mr. Besley was for the defence.

Mr. Gorst in opening the case gave a long history of the present position of Hyderabad. The present Nizam being a minor, the British Government had appointed two Regents, one being Sir Salar Jung and the other the then Ameer-i-Kabeer, the elder brother of the present complainant, who was then known under the name of the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra. On the death of his brother, the Nawab, who succeeded to all his titles and honours, being the Ameer-i-Kabeer, was appointed as Co-Regent with Sir Salar Jung. The article in which the alleged libel was in the *Statesman* for October last and was headed "The Restitution of Berar." The Berar question arose from the desire of Sir Salar Jung to have the provinces known as the Berar Provinces restored to the kingdom of Hyderabad. They had been handed over to the British Government on the condition that the revenues should be appropriated to the support of a force known as the Contingent, to act for the benefit of the State of Hyderabad. Mr. Gorst then proceeded to read the article, which stated that at first the letter's written by Sir Salar Jung about the Berars were suppressed by the Resident. It continued : "At this crisis—for the date can be fixed very nearly with certainty—the negative method of declining to answer and refusing to forward letters was coupled by the Resident, C. B. Saunders,—not we may be sure, without a confidential hint from head quarters,—with a positive plan for checking the Regent by encouraging local opposition. It was no easy matter ; it was indeed impossible to find an honourable opponent for the Nawab Salar Jung." The article also contained the following passages :—"But as no loyal or honourable opponent for the Nawab Salar Jung could be found in Hyderabad, it was necessary to secure for the purpose one that was disloyal and dishonourable. Such a person was found in the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra." "In 1861 the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra was detected, described, and denounced by the British authorities as a disloyal and dishonourable person, the chief contriver and agent in a fraudulent and corrupt conspiracy, whereof the Nawab Salar Jung was to have been the principal victim and the Nizam the principal dupe." "Wikar-ool-Oomra had other qualifications that fitted him for the sinister purpose of our Foreign Office—his notorious enmity to Salar Jung, his restless ambition, and his personal disgrace." "On the 15th of March 1859, as Colonel Davidson, the Resident, was leaving the Nizam's durbar arm-in-arm with the Nawab Salar Jung, a Rohilla, named Jehangeer Khan, discharged a carbine loaded with slugs at one of them. The assassin was almost immediately cut down by the Nizam's guards. As he was killed on the spot, his secret perished with him. All that was known about him was that he was a retainer of the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra." That passage, Mr. Gorst said, contained a distinct insinuation that the Nawab had been an accomplice in a dastardly crime. The article continued :—"An investigation followed, which proved, beyond all doubt, the question that the Nizam had been misled by a base conspiracy concocted and conducted by the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra. Assisted by an accomplice, who was held almost equally in favour by the Nizam and the Resident, Yakooab Ali Khan, the Jaghirdar of Tickapilly, the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra persuaded the Nizam, to whom, as a near relative, he had constant access, that the Resident, like others, had his price, and that if that were handed over with due and decent form, the Nizam could have his own way entirely as to the choice of a Minister. To give full satisfaction to the Nizam, and to save the Resident's dignity, the actual recipient was to be Mrs. Davidson, who would in person convey to His Highness the desired assurance that neither the Resident nor the Viceroy would give any support or countenance to

Salar Jung if His Highness desired his removal. The next scene of the drama consisted in the private introduction of a lady calling herself Mrs. Davidson, wife of the Resident, into the Nizam's presence at the palace, where she gave the requisite pledge that Colonel Davidson would put no obstacle in the way of Salar Jung's dismissal, and whence the lady departed with a handsome parcel of gold mohurs in her carriage. But in the subsequent investigation it appeared that the supposed Mrs. Davidson was the wife of an apothecary, dressed up and tutored for the occasion, who soon afterwards disappeared from Hyderabad, not, however, without having been identified and examined. The immediate result to the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra of having been detected as the prime mover in this disgraceful conspiracy was briefly described in the Administration Report for 1869-70, by Mr. C. B. Saunders, the Resident at Hyderabad. He says that the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra, brother of the Ameer-i-Kabeer, having been pronounced guilty, some years ago, of lending himself to an intrigue, the object of which it was believed, was to procure for himself the office of Minister, had been prohibited, under the orders of the Supreme Government, from appearing on any public occasion, the Nizam's own durbar not excepted, when the British representative was present, this sentence amounting to one of complete political extinction." "It was notorious that the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra, henceforth to be known as Shums-ool-Oomra, Ameer-i-Kabeer, could not, and would not, co-operate harmoniously with the Minister. His character was bad, he had robbed and deceived his master, he had insulted the British Government and slandered her representatives. But he was now fully available for the discomfiture of Salar Jung, and the infamy of his antecedents only made him the more subservient." "His remembrances were disregarded, and in a grand durbar, appropriately held by the youthful Nizam in our military cantonment of Secunderabad, surrounded by British troops, on September 29, 1877, the Resident read a letter from the Viceroy, nominating the present Nawab Shums-ool-Oomra, Ameer-i-Kabeer, formerly called Wikar-ool-Oomra, a Co-Regent of the Hyderabad State." "The economical and administrative results to the Hyderabad State of this compulsory and scandalous union have been as disastrous as every one could have predicted. The Ameer-i-Kabeer has claimed much more direct share in executive government than his brother, and has grasped at every occasion of opposing his colleague's policy and obstructing his measures. Judicial reform is blocked by his maintenance of hereditary jurisdictions and privileged exemptions from the ordinary course of law." "Very bad rumours are current at Hyderabad." "What is thought at Hyderabad of the appointment, promotion, and ostentatious patronage of Wikar-ool-Oomra, a man found guilty of conspiracy, corruption, and calumny, to the discredit of British officials, may easily be conceived." "Moreover, if Wikar-ool-Oomra having once, at least, compassed and imagined the bribing of a Resident's wife, should be generally suspected of having recently resorted to some analogous devices, and if aspersions against British officers are consequently current in the streets of Hyderabad, let indignation fall where it is due—not upon the miserable engine of all this mischief, but upon the unscrupulous workmen who drew it from its dark corner when they could have had no reasonable hope of applying it to any good purpose. We charge Lord Lytton's Foreign Office with this crime, and demand an inquiry into the facts." Mr. Gorst, after reading these extracts and other portions of the articles, said he thought that when he had proved the publication of the libels complained of, the learned magistrate would have no difficulty in committing for trial. The libels were not ordinary libels, but were evidently written with the intention of stirring up discord between the British Government and the Government of Hyderabad.

Charles Ernest Andrews, clerk to Messrs. Newman and Company, 8, Draper's-gardens, E.C., gave formal evidence as to purchasing a copy of the *Statesman* containing the article complained of.

Edward Edwin Widlake, director and assistant manager of the Printing and Advertising Company, proved printing the number of the *Statesman* containing the alleged libels.

This being the case for the prosecution, Mr. Gorst asked that the defendant should be committed for trial.

Mr. Besley, for the defence, contended that this was an attempt to gag the Press for political purposes. He pointed out that the defendants were only summoned on the simple charge of publishing a defamatory libel. Nothing was said in the summons about a foreign potentate, and he should therefore not address himself to the first charge mentioned by Mr. Gorst. With regard to the other charge, he argued that it should not have been brought in a criminal court. In the matter of a libel there could be no criminality unless there was a tendency to provoke a breach of the peace, and it was absurd to say there could be any tendency to provoke a breach of the peace between a person in India and another in London. Either the Ameer should come into this jurisdiction, or the case should have been brought before the Indian Courts. The *Statesman* was circulated in India, and the latter course would have been quite possible; but no doubt the Ameer did not dare to deny there the truth of the charges made against him, where they would have been easiest to prove. The prosecution might also have gone to the Court of Queen's Bench; but they did not do that, as they then would have been obliged to find surety for costs.

Sir James Ingham said he thought the points raised ought to be submitted to a higher Court, and he should send the case to such higher Court for trial. He accepted the defendant Knight's own recognizances in £100 for his appearance at the trial.

Mr. Gorst said the summons against the defendant Keymer would be withdrawn, he having only sold one copy of the magazine.

The *Evening Standard* says:—It is often philosophically remarked that the world is a very little place after all, and some show of reason is given to the observation when it is found that a gentleman who lives at Kensington and another who dates from the prosaic region of Fleet-street are summoned for having criticized the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad, the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra. The particulars of the case must have had an odd sound at Bow-street, where for the most part very commonplace people tell very commonplace stories, and are fined and sent to gaol in a very commonplace way. Sir James Ingham, Mr. Gorst, and Mr. Besley must have felt themselves on quite novel ground when, instead of having to decide whether some policeman was assaulted by the prisoner, or whether the prisoner was roughly handled by the policeman, whether some ragged creature was drunk and disorderly enough to make a fine necessary, or whether there was evidence of a petty theft, they found themselves inquiring into what happened when Colonel Davidson, the Resident, leaving the Nizam's durbar arm-in-arm with the Nawab Salar Jung, passed a Rohilla named Jehangeer Khan, and what the Jaghirdar of Tickapilly and the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra said to the Nizam on a certain occasion, together with details about the Nawab Shums-ool-Oomra Ameer-i-Kabeer, formerly called Wikar-ool-Oomra, Co-Regent of Hyderabad. The first idea that will occur to most people on reading the particulars of what these personages are said to have done is that a great deal of indignation is being fruitlessly wasted, for the English reader cannot possibly get up much excitement about the Jaghirdar of Tickapilly, Wikar-ool-Oomra, and the rest of those concerned. Nor is the matter an easy one for a magistrate to decide, and Sir James Ingham was certainly wise in relegating it to a higher Court.

The *Echo* says:—When Mr. Knight first determined to tell the truth about Indian affairs in the pages of the *Statesman* he doubtless counted the cost. Any man who is conversant with the back-stairs department of Indian official life might publish much that it is for the interest of the country to know, but most men shrink from a course which involves great self-sacrifice. Mr. Knight has been long and honourably known in connection with journalism in India, and not the least of the many services he has rendered that country is the publication of the *Statesman* in this. That he should raise a host of enemies by his plain speaking was to be expected, and yesterday a distinguished member of the Fourth Party—fit instrument for such work—succeeded in inducing Sir James Ingham to commit

Mr. Knight for trial for libel upon a man who lives, and is at the present moment, in Hyderabad. For aught we know, the Ameer-i-Kabeer may have been badly dealt with by the *Statesman*; but Lord Canning, if Mr. Besley is correct, has placed it on record that a quarter of a century ago he was an unscrupulous knave. That, however, as it may be; what we would ask is whether it is just, whether it is anything but monstrously unfair, that a man should be committed to take his trial on a charge of false and defamatory libel at the instance of an unknown prosecutor. We say unknown, because the Ameer-i-Kabeer is at the present time at the other end of the world, and it is an outrage upon common sense to suppose that the Co-Regent of the Nizam of Hyderabad would seek redress for alleged defamation by taking out a summons at Bow-street. Mark the way in which those who have instructed Mr. Gorst have gone about the business. They do not charge Mr. Knight with publishing the libel "knowing it to be false," for then he might have proved it to be true; they do not proceed by civil suit, for then the Ameer-i-Kabeer would have had to appear in court, and costs must have been lodged. If this personage has been libelled it was open to him to come to England to prefer his complaint in person; but Sir James Ingham's ruling makes it possible for any man at the antipodes, whose name has been mentioned by a public writer, to be made the tool on this side of people who wish to be revenged on his critic, but whose courage is only equal to stabbing him in the dark.

TIMES OF INDIA, *January 25, 1881*.—A considerable amount of interest has, we hear, been excited in Hyderabad by the action for libel brought against Mr. Robert Knight, as editor and proprietor of the English monthly magazine known as the *Statesman*, which is published "in correspondence with the daily *Statesman* in Calcutta." The article upon which the action is based is the second of two articles upon the Berars question, in which, somewhat *à propos de bottes*, as the French say, Sir Salar Jung's colleague and Co-Regent, Shums-ool-Oomra, is very roundly attacked. He has often been attacked before, even in official documents, and his appointment as Co-Regent was supposed to be a cutting official snub to Sir Salar for his untoward energy about the Berars question. Mr. Saunders, the Political Resident, had in his report of 1869-70 gone pretty far. He declared that Shums-ool-Oomra "having been pronounced guilty some eight years ago of lending himself to an intrigue, the object of which, it was believed, was to procure for him the office of Minister, had been prohibited, under the orders of the Supreme Government, from appearing on any public occasion, the Nizam's own durbar not excepted, when the British representative was present. This sentence, of course, amounted to one of complete political extinction." But Mr. Knight, or his writer, goes much further, in saying that it was necessary to "secure a disloyal and dishonourable person to oppose Sir Salar Jung," and that Shums-ool-Oomra had "other qualifications that fitted him for the sinister purpose of our Foreign Office—his notorious enmity to Salar Jung, his restless ambition, and his personal disgrace." "It was notorious," the writer added, "that the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra, henceforth to be known as Shums-ool-Oomra, Ameer-i-Kabeer, could not, and would not, co-operate harmoniously with the Minister. His character was bad, he had robbed and deceived his master, he had insulted the British Government and slandered her representative. But he was now fully available for the discomfiture of Salar Jung, and the infamy of his antecedents only made him the more subservient." And there was much more of the same nature. Sir Salar has, we believe, officially denied any knowledge of the articles, and from the report of the trial Mr. Knight seems inclined to take the full responsibility on his own shoulders. The story goes in Hyderabad that the Co-Regent, being annoyed with the tenor of the article, appointed an attorney to act for him in England, and that, though he subsequently telegraphed instructions that no proceedings should be taken, he was either too late or his attorney too zealous. It would certainly have been more satisfactory had the trial been conducted in India, but we understand that a Commission will probably be appointed to take evidence in Hyderabad itself, when a good deal of dirty linen is likely to be washed in public.

STATESMAN, *January 26, 1881.*—The *Englishman* has been instructed to inform the public “upon official authority” that the Ameer-i-Kabir instituted his action for libel against Mr. Knight “without any previous notice of his intention to, and without any kind of previous communication on the subject of such proceedings with, the Government of India or the Resident at Hyderabad.” We do not suppose that anybody ever suspected the Government of India of complicity in this prosecution, and it seems extremely funny that any official should have thought it necessary to deny by anticipation a charge that it would be ridiculous to make. If it may have occurred to any persons to think that perhaps Sir Richard Meade had a hand in it, such persons will no doubt be duly thankful for this “official” assurance that he had not. But not many persons, we suppose, can have been simple enough to imagine that the Resident at Hyderabad would have allowed himself to be, at least directly, mixed up in an affair of this kind. The “phenomenon” is much too “occult” to be so easily traced to its source. At the same time there need be very little doubt that the unfortunate nobleman who has been dragged into the position of prosecutor is a mere tool in the hands of some persons in the background. To save the *Englishman* the trouble of penning another paragraph on “official authority,” we may say that we have excellent reason to know that the prosecution was not instigated by the Secretary of State, and we believe the Prime Minister has not had any communication on the subject with the Amir-i-Kabir! We may add that the next time the “official authority” who has contributed this valuable information to the *Englishman* fancies he sees anything in this journal which stands in need of correction, we shall be happy to put a small portion of our own space at his disposal for that purpose. We had rather do that than see him sport his fool’s cap in such a respectable paper as the *Englishman*.

DELHI GAZETTE, *January 27, 1881.*—From the papers just received by the mail we have a tolerably full account of the proceedings taken in London against Mr. Robert Knight as Editor of the *Statesman*, for an alleged libel on the Ameer-i-Kabeer at Hyderabad. We recently drew attention to the peculiar circumstances connected with this case, and furnished our readers with certain very tell-tale reminiscences from the history of the plaintiff’s career. It may be remembered that the Ameer-i-Kabeer, the chief of the nobles of Hyderabad, who has held the rank of Co-Regent with Sir Salar Jung since 1877, has a career chequered with intrigue and adventure. Long before the death of his elder brother, the late Co-Regent, and his consequent accession to his present rank and titles, he had attracted the attention of the Government of India by the various means by which he strove to realize the ambitious dream of his life, which was to supplant Sir Salar Jung as Prime Minister. It seems that the late Nizam was a man of too conservative a stamp to sympathize with, or in point of fact, fairly to understand, Sir Salar Jung’s policy. The Minister had some difficulty at times in maintaining his ground, and in this element of unpopularity the then Nawab saw his opportunity. He himself was wealthy, he was married to one of the Nizam’s daughters, he had constant access to the palace, and his rank transcended that of the Minister, who held his position at Court and in the State chiefly in virtue of his office. There is little doubt that the possession of these advantages kindled his aspiration, and that he was not likely to allow a chance of turning them to account to escape. We say this much with the most careful attention to the reticence due to a case which is still *sub judice*. The grounds of the libel are quite specific, and we have no desire to violate the unwritten law which for the present exempts these grounds from public discussion. All we venture to say is that the Ameer has long been recognized as an ambitious and unscrupulous man, and that he was pronounced guilty of lending himself to an intrigue some eighteen years ago, which is believed to have had for its object the attainment for himself of the office of Minister, and for which he received a sentence tantamount to “complete political extinction.” These latter words are those of Mr. C. B. Saunders, a former Resident in Hyderabad, whose account of the affair, in his Administration Report for 1869-70, we have merely paraphrased here. But, besides the personal aspect

of the case, it has a political phase, which is not for a moment to be overlooked. The indicted article is chiefly directed to the subject of the restitution of Berar, and it may be presumed that it is the trenchant criticism of this misjudged and ill-conducted business that has given particular offence. Sir Salar Jung has struggled manfully for the resumption of this territory, and he has met at the hands of the Government of India with but scant courtesy. He has carried everything before him in argument, and where logic and testimony have failed the Government they have taken refuge in abuse. This is one of the heirlooms left behind by the late Administration, and it is to be hoped the present Government will not in this case feel bound to preserve a continuity of policy.

In another column will be found a brief account of the case as far as it has gone. Before Sir James Ingham, at Bow Street, on the 31st December, Mr. Knight and Mr. Keymer were charged with publishing a false and defamatory libel. Mr. Gorst, the leading counsel for the prosecution, stated that the charge was twofold. It embraced the publication of a libel upon a foreign sovereign for the purpose of stirring up ill-will between Great Britain and Hyderabad, and an ordinary libel on the *Amcer*. All the interest at present centres in the procedure. As Mr. Besley, who appeared on behalf of the defendant, asked,—and asked without obtaining any reply,—why was not the action brought in India, where, if libel there be, it could be more promptly and effectually met? If the *Amir-i-Kabir* or his backers were anxious to try their luck in a libel suit, there have been opportunities afforded them in the Indian Press in various directions that we need not specify. Probably the unsophisticated Amir has a hearty detestation of the fair, if somewhat severe, Indian Penal Code, seeing that it not only admits, but invites, the line of defence known as “justifying.” No doubt the English law admits of similar pleas, though in more clumsy fashion; so that the Amir cannot gain much advantage by airing his grievance on the banks of the Thames. Therefore the question arises, is the Amir really the prosecutor? Sir James Ingham amongst the active stipendiaries is a very weak vessel, or he would scarcely have ventured on committal without having the prosecutor or prosecutors put in more distinct form before him. To us in India Mr. Gorst’s statement about libelling “a foreign potentate”—as he designates this comparatively insignificant though factious Hyderabad chief—is amusing enough. But the solicitors who drew the indictment appear to have been better lawyers than their counsel, for they left out all the rubbish about “foreign potentates.” In like manner Mr. Gorst must have all the credit for the farcical plea about “stirring up discord between the British Government and the Government of Hyderabad.” It is known here only too well who it is and what influence has caused discord and estrangement between the better side of the Hyderabad State and certain irresponsible, though powerful, British officials. The one satisfactory consideration about these proceedings is that there will now be a fair opportunity of exposing the stupid, reactionary policy that was adopted some time ago towards Hyderabad, and which reached a climax at one period under the special auspices of the late Viceroy. The concluding sentence of the incriminated passage read by Mr. Gorst runs:—“We charge Lord Lytton’s Foreign Office with this crime, and demand an inquiry into the facts.” Possibly—of course, we say only possibly—this may afford some indication as to the direction in which the real prosecutors in this case may be found. It may merely be a coincidence that Mr. Gorst, who is known as one of the four members of “the Fourth Party,” is one of Lord Lytton’s personal friends, and has lately been a guest at His Lordship’s house. The phrases about “foreign potentates” and “stirring up discord” between the two Governments are much in the style of the rhetorician who descanted of the earthen pipkin between iron pots, and “the ring of iron” within which the luckless Shere Ali was to be enclosed. It is also just possible that the presence in England of a former Assistant Political of Hyderabad may have something to do with the institution of this action. However, the libel is the question—that is “the thing in which to catch the conscience of the king.” And we would suggest to the prosecution the advisability of engaging a grammarian to do the parsing which shall serve to connect the phrase “this

crime" with its antecedent. As the defence will in all probability subpoena not only Colonel O. T. Burne, who has charge of the political portfolio in the India Office, but also the past and present Simla Foreign Secretaries and Lord Northbrook, there will be lively doings in the Central Criminal Court. The case, if it actually goes to trial, will bring a number of important questions affecting India before the public, and this in itself must result in a certain gain to the side which can appeal to popular sympathy on the ground of truth and justice.—*Indian Herald*.

PIONEER, *January 27, 1881*.—In reference to certain remarks in the *Statesman* newspaper on the prosecution of Mr. R. Knight for libel some explanations are called for. In the article referred to the action is called a bureaucratic campaign against the *Statesman*; and in a short paragraph following the article there is a broad insinuation that Major Euan Smith's arrival in London is connected with the institution of this prosecution. We are requested to state, upon official authority, that the Amir-i-Kabir instituted his action without any previous notice of his intention to, and without any kind of previous communication on the subject of such proceedings with, the Government of India, or the Resident at Hyderabad.

TIMES OF INDIA, *January 28, 1881*.—A correspondent sends us the following notes of a visit paid to the city of Goolburga, in the Nizam's dominions, which will not be without interest to the friends of progress in this country :—

"After the lapse of seven years I visited this place of so much historic interest, and was both surprised and pleased to see the many changes for the better which have taken place. Goolburga is now a flourishing city, very different to what it was in 1874, and bids fair to resume some of its former greatness at no very distant period. What was once an entire *maidan*, irregularly patched with scrub and clumps of withered, parched-looking trees, is now dotted with buildings of various sorts, intersected with really good roads, which are no doubt numbered among the chief stimulants to commerce. They have not been constructed at random, but with a view to the promotion of the interests and convenience of the public. The idea of mounding up the trees with stones and keeping them whitewashed is decidedly a good one, and might be followed with considerable advantage in all mofussil stations.

"Proceeding from the railway station to the city of Goolburga, about two and a half miles distant, I observed a structure which put me very much in mind of a bandstand, but I thought surely there can be no such institution here. I was mistaken, however, for upon inquiry I found it was a bandstand, and a very excellently planned one too, surrounded by a moat about eight feet broad, filled with water, and with green sward around tastefully laid out with flower trees. This building stands in the centre of a garden which has been laid out and planted, and will in a few years be a very pleasant resort for the people of Goolburga, for whom it has been constructed. I saw a specimen of some of the vegetables grown in a portion of the garden, and found them fully equal to the same species in any part of the country. A short distance from the bandstand is a tank-house, which serves the double purpose of supplying water to the moat around the bandstand, and a billiard-room and lounging-room for those who take an hour's recreation in the garden. This smacks of Oriental liberality, which I am afraid would not answer in every station. After leaving the garden, I proceeded once again in the direction of the city, the entrance to which is an arch with castellated top, all built of stone. The top stone is surmounted by the crescent moon and star, signifying that the place is a Mahomedan city. Immediately on the left of this gate stands the jail, the walls of which are in the form of an irregular trapezoid. The entrance gate to this building is also a very well conceived structure, combining some of the lightness and elegance of Saracenic architecture with the solidity and uniqueness of the Doric. I was most agreeably entertained by this visit, as I did not expect to find the internal economy so perfect, especially after witnessing the management of jails in other parts of H. H. the Nizam's dominions. I found the prisoners, all of whom looked well

cared for and healthy, engaged in various pursuits,—weaving, paper-making, rope-making, tent-making, printing, dyeing, &c.,—and was really astonished at the excellence of their manufactures. I saw carpets, *shatranjies*, cloth and towelling which are fully equal to anything I ever yet saw of the kind in the country, and the tents are as good as any ever yet manufactured at Jubbulpore. But now comes the most interesting part of the affair. I learnt that this jail *yields a revenue to the Government*, and on examining the ledgers was shown the following figures:—Revenue for the year 1877, Rs. 3,759-8; for the year 1878, Rs. 7,428-9; for the year 1879, Rs. 7,025-6; and this after defraying expenses for food, clothing, teaching and guarding the prisoners, and the rent. This is, I am informed, without precedent in any jail in India. The whole cost of the barracks, workshops, cells, wells, &c., was Rs. 36,000 only, including Rs. 6,000 for prison labour. An engineer present who accompanied me assured me it could not have been built by any department for less than four times that sum. The visitors' book shows a long list of persons of more or less distinction who have at sundry times paid the jail a visit, all of whom have expressed themselves much gratified with what they saw.

“Passing straight along the main road I came upon a miniature Elphinstone Circle, with a fountain in the centre, enclosed with ornamental iron railings and lamps. These buildings, which are all of stone, are appropriated to public offices, and are substantial buildings. Emerging from this circle I entered the principal street, on either side of which are well-to-do merchants, many of whom have come from towns in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and find it profitable to remain. At the end of this street there is a public market, built on the principle of the Crawford Market in Bombay so far as regards the arrangements for stalls, &c., and I hear it is intended to extend it, the revenue derived from it paying about 40 per cent. on the capital expended. Many other buildings about this part of the town are quite new to me, and being well built and kept clean give a good appearance to the place. Many alterations and additions are proposed to be made, and will no doubt be accomplished in time, especially if the present officer remains here, for it is he alone, I am told, who has, by indefatigable exertion and personal supervision, made this ancient royal seat, which was almost a howling wilderness when I last visited it, a flourishing city. The gentleman to whom I refer is the Sudder Talookdar, Mahomed Eckra Moolla Khan, a most valuable officer in H. H. the Nizam's service, and one whom it is earnestly to be hoped will meet with that just recognition of his services which they deserve. He is called the Aladdin of Goolburga, and certainly he is, and, while being a faithful servant to his master, is a staunch friend of the British, and an admirer of their institutions and their learning. The population of Goolburga when Mahomed Eckra Moolla Khan became Sudder Talookdar, or, as we would call it, Commissioner, was about 15,000, and now it amounts to over 30,000. The revenue also, which was only about half a lakh of rupees annually, now reaches the large sum of five and a half lakhs. These figures show that there has been unmistakable progress, and all I spoke with declared that every improvement made, and every change for the better effected, is to be attributed solely to the gentleman above named, who likewise bears the reputation of being a liberal, just, and clever official.”

DELHI GAZETTE, *January 28, 1881.*—The *Pioneer* is requested to state, upon official authority, that the Amir-i-Kabir instituted his action for libel against Mr. Robert Knight without any previous notice of his intention to, and without any kind of previous communication on the subject of such proceedings with, the Government of India, or the Resident at Hyderabad.

The first skirmish of a bureaucratic campaign against the *Statesman* came off at Bow-street Police Office on Thursday the 30th of December, when Mr. Robert Knight was committed for trial by Sir James Ingham on a charge of libelling “the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad” in an article, “The Restitution of the Berars—No. II.,” which appeared in the London *Statesman* for October. The committal was very speedily, not to say hastily, decided on by the magistrate, who, in common with several of his brethren, seems to have cordially accepted a recent

ruling on the law of criminal libel as relieving him from much responsibility and trouble, and almost compelling him to send a defendant for trial on an audible complaint being made. So far it might seem as if the attacking party had won a move in the game, but though Mr. Knight will not be suspected in India, where his practice and principles as a journalist are known, of shrinking from such a contest, it is by no means clear at present that the committal can hold good. Nothing, we are well assured, would better please Mr. Knight than an opportunity, such as would be afforded by a fair and open trial, of dragging to the bar of public opinion those who have at once destroyed the moral supremacy of the empire and checked administrative progress in the Nizam's dominions by forcing an utterly unworthy, incompetent, and irreconcilable colleague on a statesman whose noble career of twenty-five years entitled him to imperial confidence and to the most cordial support. But the question, we believe, that was before Mr. Knight and his excellent legal advisers when the mail of the 31st of December left London was whether he could obtain a fair trial at all under the peculiar circumstances of the charge preferred against him. Those circumstances appeared of so unprecedented and preposterous a character as to render it very doubtful whether the course taken by the committing magistrate was not in fact as ill considered as it certainly was abrupt and hasty, and whether it would not either be prohibited on application to a superior Court, or made of no effect under judicial direction before a grand jury.

It must seem, we think, an altogether iniquitous position that a journalist in London should be called up in a Criminal Court to answer the complaint of a phantom. The Ameer-i-Kabeer may be a very substantial personage at Hyderabad—sitting here, we have no doubt of his personality—but most assuredly neither to Mr. Gorst, M.P., who spoke on his behalf, nor to Sir James Ingham, the magistrate who heard the complaint, could he have been anything more than a phantom. No proof of his existence was produced or laid before the magistrate. Not even his name was mentioned. He was made to complain under a title, Ameer-i-Kabeer or "Great Lord," which, for all that anyone in London—or, for the matter of that, in Calcutta—knows, may be assumed by half-a-dozen people in India. Admitting, however, the existence of such a person at Hyderabad, there was nothing before the magistrate to show that he was really aggrieved, that he desired these matters to be made the subject of judicial inquiry, and that he was not, as Mr. Knight's counsel suggested, the mere tool of some "political" emissary behind the scenes, employed and encouraged to try and crush the *Statesman*. If the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad was really desirous of vindicating his character from the aspersions that have been cast upon it, why did he not attack any one of the journals in India which have contained the same imputations in substance as appeared in the London *Statesman*? The evidence on both sides can only be obtained in this country. No criminal charge of libel, no civil action for libel, relating to this matter, could possibly be sustained against any journalist in an Indian Court unless the Ameer-i-Kabeer himself were prepared to put in appearance and to submit himself to a full examination. It remains to be seen whether the Central Criminal Court or the Court of Queen's Bench in London will accept a nameless, invisible, and intangible phantom as a prosecutor, on the mere word of a solicitor set in motion and supplied with funds by some one who keeps in the background. It remains to be seen whether in the courts of British justice a person alleged to have a grievance may avoid bringing his complaint where its truth can be tested, and where he must answer for his own actions, and whether he may lend his name, or, as in this case, his title only, in order to serve the sinister purpose of a political partizan.

The *Echo* of Thursday the 30th of December, commenting on the impending charge against Mr. Knight, says:—"The prosecutor is in India, but we suspect he is only put forward by others who feel aggrieved by the outspokenness of the *Statesman*. The article winds up with these words: "We charge Lord Lytton's Foreign Office with the crime, and demand an inquiry into the facts."

The *Scotsman* of the previous day, in announcing that the case was coming

on, mentioned that Major Euan Smith, formerly Assistant Resident at Hyderabad, had lately arrived in London. Did the *Scotsman* mean that there was some connection between the two events?—*Ibid.*

DELHI GAZETTE, *January 31, 1881.*—The action for libel brought by the Ameer-i-Kabeer, the Co-Regent of Hyderabad, against Mr. Robert Knight, the Editor of the *Statesman*, is being tried by a Special Jury at the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr. Knight pleads justification.

PIONEER, *January 31, 1881.*—Mr. Robert Knight, now the subject of a prosecution in London on a charge of libelling the Ameer-i-Kabir of Hyderabad, has issued an appeal to the Princes and people of India, calling upon them to subscribe money to pay the expenses of his defence. This has been published by his own organ in Calcutta. We hope no other journals will have the indiscretion to give it a wider circulation. Such an attempt to make capital out of the absurd pretence that Mr. Knight is the champion of the people of India against an oppressive Government would be more deeply culpable than it is if it were not that the incurable folly and conceit of its author may be charitably supposed to render him insensible to its gross impropriety. Otherwise disloyalty would be a mild word to apply to conduct which sought to stir up, among the classes which the present appeal addresses, a feeling of hostility and resentment against the British authorities, the innocent objects of Mr. Knight's persistent calumnies.

TIMES OF INDIA, *February 1, 1881.*—*The Action against Mr. Knight.* The following is a letter from Mr. Shapoorji Edulji Chinai, Secretary to H. E. the Ameer-i-Kabeer, Co-Regent of Hyderabad, dated Hyderabad, Deccan, Jan. 28 :—
 "A paragraph relating to the action of H. E. the Ameer-i-Kabeer against Mr. Robert Knight for libel appears in the issue of your paper of Tuesday last, the 25th instant, in which it is stated:—'The story goes in Hyderabad that the Co-Regent, being annoyed with the tenor of the article, appointed an attorney to act for him in England; and that though he subsequently telegraphed instructions that no proceedings should be taken he was either too late or his attorney too zealous.' It is quite true that His Excellency was annoyed with the tenor of the article and appointed an attorney in England, but it is false that he subsequently telegraphed that no proceedings should be taken. I beg you will insert this letter in your paper, for the statement you have published is evidently an *ex parte* one, for before reading the paragraph in your paper I never heard the 'story' in Hyderabad, and it is a statement which I venture to suggest should not have been published whilst the action is pending; moreover, it is likely to lead to an impression that H.E. the Ameer-i-Kabeer is not anxious to go into the merits of the action, whereas the contrary is the case."

TIMES OF INDIA, *February 1, 1881.*—The action brought against Mr. Knight by the Co-Regent of Hyderabad is evidently destined to make some stir here and at home. In our advertisement columns Mr. Knight appeals to the "princes and people of India" for aid to complete what he calls "our work of exposure," and to assist "in dragging from the recesses of the official bureaux the documentary evidence which establishes the accuracy as to facts" of the article which is alleged to be libellous. On the other hand, the Co-Regent sends us, through his secretary, a letter intended to correct an impression, said to have been conveyed by a paragraph in our columns, that the Ameer-i-Kabeer was not anxious to go into the merits of the action. He assures us that "the contrary is the case." The language used in the article in the *Statesman*, and the imputations conveyed, especially towards the close of it, seem to demand such full inquiry as could only be obtained in a court of law; and we are glad to learn that both sides are agreed to fight the matter out to the bitter end. It was very far from our intention to convey any sort

of impression that the Ameer-i-Kabeer was anxious not to go into the merits of the case, once action had been taken ; and we are glad to give publicity to the fact that he had not, as we heard the story went in Hyderabad, been somewhat undecided before instituting the first proceedings. In the interests of the public we are sorry that a trial of this great local importance is not to be heard in India itself. If, however, a Commission is really to be appointed to take evidence in Hyderabad, the Hyderabad Government will, we think, do well to give full publicity to the proceedings.

Delhi Gazette, February 1, 1881.—Mr. Robert Knight's Appeal to the Princes and People of India.—Native Princes and People of India,—On the eve of my departure from this country to return to India I was served with a summons to attend the Bow-street Police Office to answer before the magistrate a criminal charge of libel brought against me by the Amir-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad, whom the Foreign Office under Lord Lytton appointed as Co-Regent of that State, in order to fetter the action of the great Minister, Sir Salar Jung, and completely check his efforts for the restoration of Berar. Simultaneously with this prosecution, letters have come home from official personages in India urging that the London *Statesman* should not be permitted to continue such exposures of the conduct of the Indian Government as have been made by it in the matter of the abolition of the Salt Line, and the treatment of the Native Princes of Rajputana in connection therewith. It was a sure instinct that led my colleague, Lieutenant-Colonel Osborn, and myself to determine to publish a London edition of the *Statesman* at the very doors of Parliament. The object we had in view has already been largely accomplished. And now this Wikar-ool-Oomrah is put up to pursue as 'criminals,' in the Law Courts of this country, the men whom you know to have devoted their lives to the promotion of a pure and righteous government of India, in the interests of our own beloved country and of the vast dependency the rule of which the Divine Providence has confided to us as a trust.

The criminal prosecution which this man has entered against me will, I hope, be made the occasion of showing before Her Majesty's Judges and before all England the greatness of the cause in which we have enlisted.

The defence will be a very costly one, from the fact that the prosecutor does not appear in the case for examination, and from the great difficulty there will be in dragging from the recesses of the official bureaux the documentary evidence which establishes the accuracy as to fact, and the complete honesty of purpose, of the article No. 8 in the London *Statesman* of October 1st, on the Restitution of Berar.

I appeal confidently to you therefore not to permit the London *Statesman* to be crushed, as these men are conspiring to crush it.

It is vital to your interests, vital to the interests of the British Crown, that we should complete our work of exposure, and you must sustain us in the work.

I asked you to contribute promptly to the formation of a *Statesman* Defence Fund. Let every one in the country, prince and peasant alike, show his sense of the true character of this prosecution by subscribing to the fund.

I ask the native Princes of India to contribute generously towards the fund, and the poorest of the people to send in their 'mite' towards it.

Such an opportunity of so bringing home to the conscience of England the faults of our government of India under the late *régime* that they shall be made impossible in the future may never occur again, and I appeal to you in the interests of yourselves and your successors.

R. KNIGHT.

LONDON, December 31, 1880.

Subscriptions should be sent instantly to my son, Mr. Paul Knight, *Statesman* Office, Calcutta. By him they will be acknowledged or not, according to the desire of the subscribers.

R. K.

STATESMAN, *February 4, 1881*.—The Calcutta correspondent of the *Pioneer*, commenting on the Hyderabad libel case, says :—"Sir Salar Jung's repudiation of Mr. Knight and his statements is rather amusing. The Hyderabad statesman is rather afraid, apparently, of being linked too closely with the London *Statesman*." But if the announcement that Sir Salar Jung had repudiated all connection with the article in the London *Statesman* had been supplemented by the further statement that he did not do so spontaneously, but was called upon to do so by the British Resident, the matter might not appear so very amusing. Of course Sir Salar Jung had no connection with the article. Nor is it probable that it would ever have occurred to him that he might be suspected. As to those who did suspect him perhaps the wish was father of the thought.

The same writer speaks of the contradiction of a statement that the prosecution was really a Government one. We do not think any such statement was ever made. It is true that Mr. Knight and many others believed that the Amir-i-Kabir was but an instrument in the hands of others, and that those others were or had been Indian officials. But it was never asserted that the Government of India, or any officer of the Government *acting in his official capacity*, had a hand in the prosecution. Those who have misrepresented us as making the statement that Government was the real prosecutor must have laboured under a misapprehension, unless they wished to do us an injury.

DELHI GAZETTE, *February 4, 1881*.—*Mr. Robert Knight*.—Mr. Knight's appeal to India for aid in meeting the expenses of his defence against the criminal prosecution—we might in other circumstances have said persecution—to which he is being subjected may or may not be productive of substantial results; but in either case he has not done wrong, we think, in promulgating it. While hoping that it may succeed, we are quite prepared to find that it has failed; not that the Princes and people do not appreciate the services of a man who undertakes to expose the maladministration, real or imaginary, from which they suffer, but because to support Mr. Knight openly will be to bring down upon themselves the wrath of Olympus. In saying this we would not be understood as altogether approving of Mr. Knight's peculiar manner of exposing the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Government of India and its executives, or altogether agreeing in the conclusions he draws from facts or fictions placed at his disposal by aggrieved or discontented individuals. Yet he is an earnest man, of great ability and considerable experience, often wanting in tact and erring in judgment, but imbued with the honest conviction that the special mission of righting all Indian wrongs has been entrusted exclusively to himself.

Mr. Knight, even in the appeal he has published, insists that the *Amir-i-Kabir* is, in the matter of the ill-judged criminal prosecution, a mere tool, a catspaw, being used by somebody connected with the Government of India, or by the Government of India itself, to strangle the London *Statesman* by ruining its editor. This can hardly be the case. Under other circumstances we would have said this *cannot* be the case, but when the *Pioneer* is instructed to deny that either the Government of India or the Resident at Hyderabad had had any communications relating to the intention or resolution of the *Amir-i-Kabir* we may well be excused for being cautious in our choice of words. The public outside the charmed official circle to which our Allahabad contemporary owes its inspirations will, we fear, be inclined to adopt the conclusion that the words of denial authoritatively put forth will bear more than one interpretation. There is something to be read between the lines. But let that pass for the present, and let us see what Mr. Knight has said about the prosecutor, who has, for a native of India quite ignorant of England, its people, its ways, and its laws, taken the very extraordinary course of instituting proceedings in the courts of a far-distant place, where he is quite unknown either as Wikar-ool-Oomra or "the great lord," where "the Nizam" and "Hyderabad" command as little attention, interest or influence as the King of Dahomey and Timbuctoo. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the ill-advised Hyderabad man cannot

escape the stigma of being counted as a mere sound, a "phantom," and nothing more, and of being used by others to answer a malicious purpose not his own.

These passages from Mr. Knight's article will explain the "libel":—

"But as no loyal or honourable opponent of the Nawab Salar Jung could be found" [by Mr. C. B. Saunders, the Resident] "in Hyderabad it was necessary to secure for the purpose one that was disloyal and dishonourable. Such a person was found in the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra."

His authority for what might otherwise be taken as "loose invective or partizan abuse," is said by Mr. Knight to be "an official report from the Residency at Hyderabad. "In 1861," he continues, "the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra was detected, described, and denounced by the British authorities as a disloyal and dishonourable person, the chief contriver and agent in a fraudulent and corrupt conspiracy, whereof the Nawab Salar Jung was to have been the principal victim, and the Nizam the principal dupe. The secondary victim—who would merely have been slandered behind his back, probably without its ever coming to his knowledge—was to have been the British Resident. The British Government, also, would have been grossly deceived, and, in the person of its representative, the Resident, insulted and maligned."

It is then advanced that, notwithstanding all that, the Resident had engaged the services of the man to oppose Sir Salar Jung. Whether, in his efforts to blacken the character of the Government of India, Mr. Knight has overstepped the bounds of strict truth and propriety in describing Wikar-ool-Oomra remains to be seen. We read further on that "The Nizam had been misled by a base conspiracy concocted and conducted by the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra," and that conspiracy was to deceive the Nizam into the belief that the British Resident, then Colonel Davidson, would for a bribe, to be received by his wife, Mrs. Davidson, consent to the removal of Sir Salar Jung. The wife of an apothecary was made to personate Mrs. Davidson, it is said, and that "lady departed with a handsome parcel of gold mohurs in her carriage." Government authority is cited for this statement also. The following passage from the Administration Report is quoted:—The Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra "having been pronounced guilty, some eight years ago, of lending himself to an intrigue, the object of which, it was believed, was to procure for himself the office of Minister, had been prohibited, under the orders of the Supreme Government, from appearing on any public occasion, the Nizam's own *darbar* not excepted, when the British representative was present. This sentence amounted "to one of complete political extinction."

This was, however, the man subsequently selected by the British Government to be Co-Regent with Sir Salar Jung, and, if Mr. Knight be right, selected to counteract the efforts of Sir Salar Jung to get back the Berars for his master. We read:—

"It was notorious that the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra, henceforth to be known as Shums-ool-Oomra Ameer-i-Kabeer, could not and would not co-operate harmoniously with the Minister. His character was bad. He had robbed and deceived his master; he had insulted the British Government and slandered its representative. But he was now fully available *for the discomfiture of Salar Jung*, and the infamy of his antecedents only made him the more subservient.

"What is thought at Hyderabad of the appointment, promotion, and ostentatious patronage of Wikar-ool-Oomra, a man found guilty of conspiracy, corruption, and calumny, to the discredit of British officials, may easily be conceived "Moreover, if Wikar-ool-Oomra, having once at least compassed and imagined the bribing of a Resident's wife, should be generally suspected of having recently resorted to some analogous devices; and if aspersions against British officers are consequently current in the streets of Hyderabad, let indignation fall where it is due—not upon the miserable engine of all this mischief, but upon the unscrupulous workmen who drew it from its dark corner, when they could have had no reasonable hope of applying it to any good purpose. We charge Lord Lytton's Foreign Office with this crime, and demand an inquiry into the facts."

Mr. Knight's demand has been met in a manner he did not anticipate. Is it

likely, we ask ourselves, that the Government of India could have, under all the extraordinary circumstances of the case, instigated or consented to the criminal prosecution now proceeding in London? We answer ourselves by saying, It could not be. It is probable, however, that some one deeply concerned in having an inquiry into the conduct of the British Government and of the Resident at Hyderabad—and that inquiry in London, and not in India—is the prime mover and instigator! Who that somebody is we may suspect but must not mention.

To the charge Mr. Knight pleads justification. And well he may, seeing that his estimate of Wikar-ool-Oomra's character and capabilities is based upon the opinions formed of him, and expressed in public documents, by the Government of India and the British Resident with the Nizam. The article in the *Statesman* is directed not against the prosecutor, but against the Government of India, which is accused of the highly discreditable act of having invited a man, already convicted of conduct base in the extreme, to return to favour, for no other purpose than to utilize his love of intrigue and his cunning and his audacious unscrupulosity, to thwart the bold and uncompromising honesty and conspicuous talents of Sir Salar Jung, who refused to yield Berar to the Paramount Power simply because it *was* paramount, and in fair debate had defeated all the arguments the Government of India could produce to justify the act of spoliation of which it had been guilty. If Mr. Knight's views be accepted, the only weapon of both offence and defence left the Government of India was to hire the services of a man already condemned by itself in unmeasured terms as untrustworthy and unscrupulous, suspected by many as the employer of assassins, and bind him to Sir Salar Jung, to hamper, thwart, embarrass and ultimately defeat that able and honest native statesman in the noble work he had set himself to perform.

If our surmise be correct that Wikar-ool-Oomra has been instigated to the action he has taken, he has simply been duped; and he will learn from the result that there are men in the world as astute as himself in the tortuous course of diplomacy and as clever at intrigue. We dismiss as simply absurd the statement made in the columns of a contemporary that the "Great Lord's" attorney in London had exceeded his authority by filing the suit without further reference to India, and without awaiting further instructions. No attorney in London would wilfully adopt a course fraught with so much risk to his reputation and his position. Doubtless the nominal prosecutor was surprised at the speedy action taken, but that is a great point gained by his unsympathizing advisers.

Mr. Knight standing at the bar is a representative man of a novel description. He actually represents the Government of India!! It is the Government of India that is on trial in his person before the public of England. That's how we view the position of parties. And if he succeeds in proving all that he has advanced in his articles headed "Restitution of Berar" great will be the damage done to India's statesmen of the period. Whether he *will* succeed in proving the accuracy of his statements, and fully justify his warm and glowing vituperation of certain gentlemen connected with events in Hyderabad, is a question difficult to determine, and one with which we need not interfere at present. One result appears to us quite beyond doubt—nothing permanently damaging can happen to Mr. Knight. He has a very favourable opportunity now of gaining such a standing before the public of England as ten years of mere *Statesmanship* could not have given him. And his legal defenders will have the opportunity of obtaining such a reputation as twenty years of ordinary routine work could not have brought them.

STATESMAN, February 5, 1881.—The postponement of Mr. Knight's case will be of the greatest advantage to the defence. Very important materials for the defence are, we believe, now on the way from India to England, and the delay will, we may hope, give time for them to arrive and receive the careful attention of counsel before the case can be brought on. It is perfectly true, we learn, that the Ameer-i-Kabeer repented, when it was too late, and telegraphed instructions to his agent in London to stay proceedings. By this time, we imagine, there are

others, besides the Nawab, who bitterly regret that action has been taken: for, whatever may be the result as regards Mr. Knight, it is pretty certain that some very unpleasant revelations will be made as to Hyderabad affairs, and it is to be feared that some British officials may not be happy when the case is over, any more than the Ameer-i-Kabeer himself. It is possible that the case may prove of the very highest service to the British Government in this country, by compelling inquiry into the nature and habits of the Indian Foreign Office and the Political Service. Next to the condition of the masses under our rule, the character of our relations with the Native Courts is perhaps the most important question affecting the future of our Indian Empire. And if this case should lead to the exposure of abuses, and some steps in the way of reform, Mr. Knight will consider his own trouble in the matter richly rewarded.

STATESMAN, *February 8, 1881*.—We make no apology for quoting prominently the following remarks on the Hyderabad libel case from the London *Echo* of the 9th January :—"We are glad to note that Mr. Robert Knight, the editor of the *Statesman*, shows in the present number of that periodical that he is not to be daunted from his purpose by a criminal prosecution. It would be no exaggeration to say that if from want of public support, or from the ruinous cost of defending a prosecution for libel, the *Statesman* were to be crushed, it would be a public misfortune. With an intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, and an undaunted courage which few possess, Mr. Knight has pleaded the cause of the people of India before an English audience for several months, at first through the medium of a weekly journal, and latterly in a monthly magazine. From the beginning it could be seen that this was an onerous, thankless, and unremunerative task; but it seems to have occurred recently to some of those whose actions Mr. Knight has unsparingly denounced that he might be silenced by a criminal prosecution for libel. At the end of last month he was summoned to Bow-street, the nominal prosecutor being a certain Indian dignitary, the Ameer-i-Kabeer. The Polonius, or rather the Polonii, behind the curtain are not yet revealed; but there can be little doubt that the real prosecutors are certain Indian officials who pull the wires of this Indian puppet. If the Ameer-i-Kabeer is successful we may look for some startling applications of the law of libel. The Czar of Russia, or Prince Bismarck, or Oosman Pasha, or Ayub Khan may send telegrams ordering a prosecution to be commenced by their friends or their diplomatic representatives; and since the personal attendance of a prosecutor at the preliminary investigation is held to be unnecessary it would not be difficult to secure the commitment for trial at the Central Criminal Court of the editors of half the London daily papers. Such a spectacle would not be without some good effect; it would, at least, carry Mr. Hutchinson's Libel Bill through both Houses with a rush."

We may state that, the case having been removed to the Queen's Bench, it is expected—or was expected when the last mail left London—that the trial would be delayed for some time, perhaps for months. In the mean time, as the presence of the defendant is not necessary, it is probable that Mr. Knight will return at once to India, where but for this prosecution he would already have arrived. Readers of the *Statesman* will be glad to learn that there is a probability of his resuming editorial charge of this journal at an early date. The London *Statesman* will be carried on, during his absence from London, by his present colleagues. His interests here until his arrival will be represented by his son, Mr. Paul Knight.

TIMES OF INDIA, *February 9, 1881*.—The following is a letter from Mr. Wm. Digby, honorary secretary of the (late) Indian Famine Relief Fund, and author of "The Famine Campaign in Southern India in 1876-78," dated Plymouth, January 6, 1881 :—"Sir,—In your issue of December 6 appears a letter signed 'An ex Special Famine Officer,' in which allusion is made to a speech which I made a few months ago in Plymouth. Referring to the famine of 1877 I stated that the only part of Southern India in which the famine was

fairly met and conquered with the minimum of suffering was in the Nizam's dominions. I argued that Indian officials knew better how to manage their own countrymen than foreigners, however good their intentions, possibly could. All this had a bearing upon the subject of discussion in the meeting I addressed. I mention this merely by way of explanation, and to help 'An ex Special Famine Officer' to understand the logical nature of my remarks.

"As to the main point, which he impugns as being 'manifestly unfair,' I have only to remark that it is unassailably true. My answer to him must either be very long or very short. If I had no mercy upon your general readers, and were sure of space being available to me, I could prove, point by point, my main assertion, and show that only in the Nizam's dominions, under Sir Salar Jung's enlightened guidance, was the distress met in a really creditable manner. In the interests of truth, and for the good of the Indian people, there is no task I should like better than this. If you, Sir, would promise me space, I would gladly undertake the duty. Now, however, I must content myself with directing your correspondent to the study of a work which perhaps he has not seen. I conclude he is fully acquainted with all the incidents that have been published relating to the famine in Madras, Bombay and Mysore; if he were not, of course, he would not have ventured to pose as an authority on famine administration. Possessing that knowledge, this famine officer will, if he peruses the 'Report on the History of the Famine in H. H. the Nizam's Dominions in 1876-77, by Moulvi Mahdi Ali, Revenue Secretary, and Secretary to the Central Famine Relief Committee,' see that I was amply justified in the assertions I made. This report alone would serve to cover all the ground I took up. But I did not depend upon that only, for what I said I spoke from the knowledge which I necessarily derived from my own connection with the famine, knowledge which contains many facts highly honourable to our Indian fellow-subjects in a famine crisis. The report to which I have referred reached me several months after I arrived in England. I cannot say that the gratifying—i.e., gratifying comparatively—facts it contained altogether surprised me. I remembered that when we were receiving sums of money by hundreds of thousands of pounds for private relief from England, and we telegraphed to the British Resident at Hyderabad that we would gladly set aside a portion of our receipts for the Nizam's dominions, and send some on account at once, in a day or two an answer came from Sir Salar Jung, warmly appreciating the good-will and generosity of the English people, but adding that the famine in His Highness's dominions had practically been mastered, and outside help was not needed. The report of Moulvi Mahdi Ali shows clearly how it was that while the famine was [?not] mastered in the adjoining presidencies of Madras and Bombay and in the Province of Mysore it was mastered in Hyderabad. To the report, therefore, I refer your correspondent; and if he be acquainted with the whole sad and bad history of the Famine Administration in Southern India in 1876-77, and if, further, he be the candid man I take him to be, he will agree with me that the only region in the fateful year in which the famine was fairly and well encountered was, as I said in the *Athenæum* at Plymouth, 'not Madras, which was ruled by a British Governor and was under British administration; it was not Bombay, which was governed by the very energetic Sir Richard Temple; nor was it Mysore, also under British rule; but it was the Nizam's dominions, which were ruled by the natives themselves.'"

DELHI GAZETTE, *February* 12, 1881.—The London correspondent of the *Times of India* has the following on the libel suit against the London *Statesman*:—"In Press circles the opinion is that nothing will come of Mr. Robert Knight's committal on the charge of libelling the Ameer-i-Kaboor of Hyderabad. It would be improper to discuss the merits of the charge; and it would be superfluous to moralize on the fanatically ferocious style which the *Statesman* affects. But it comes home to us all that if the action against Mr. Knight be sustained English newspapers will be the objects of all sorts of charges by foreign princes and rulers, whose government and behaviour we have been accustomed to criticize with considerable

freedom. The Czar of Russia vs. *The Daily Telegraph*, or the Sultan of Turkey vs. *The Daily News*, or the Pope of Rome vs. *The Morning Advertiser* will be a new 'sensation' for the public. I observe that some of the writers on the subject perceive that the libel is far more severe upon Lord Lytton than anybody else; and it is suggested that if Lord Lytton and his friends are the persons really aggrieved it would be better that they should be the actual prosecutors."

TIMES OF INDIA, *February 16, 1881*.—The noisy beating up for subscriptions from the princes and people of India for the Robert Knight defence fund, says the *Civil and Military Gazette*, will probably result in the collection of a sum of money sufficient to protract the trial for libel hanging over that gentleman, and also to enable him to bring forward a mass of more or less relevant evidence. Mr. Knight, with amusing vanity, says that officials have sent home to say that his journal renders the government of India impossible, and that there is a conspiracy to crush his paper. Though this is amusing, there is a touch of pathos in it, for it is one of the first illusions to which an over-wrought brain falls a victim. If the *Statesman* had been readable or saleable the omnivorous London newspaper trade would have been only too glad to make its fortune, in spite of all the conspiracies that could be hatched against it.

The same paper remarks :—All things considered, we have some reason to be proud of the new and rising caste created in India by English influence. The "educated natives," though perhaps a little too vain of their self-bestowed designation, and apt, like most castes and guides, to consider the world framed for their own especial benefit, address themselves to contemporaneous politics with interest and intelligence. It is remarkable, therefore, that they should have mustered in such force at the Singh Subha Hall, to hold a grand *palaver* and collect subscriptions for the Robert Knight defence fund. In this case, leaving apart its side issues, Mr. Knight is fighting for the restitution of Berar to the Nizam of Hyderabad, which means, as every philosophical radical ought to know, the handing over a large population, who have enjoyed the benefits of a constitutional government, to a pure despotism. Does it never occur to Mr. Jogendro Chunder Bose and the rest of his brethren how promptly and effectively their eloquent utterances in favour of representative government, and the other questions on which they hold forth, would be shut up by rulers like the Nizam? Is their freedom already so irksome that they long to feel the iron bit of repression in their jaws? They may rest assured that there are many more deserving objects of their sympathy and charity than Mr. Robert Knight, who may with confidence be left to make as good a thing as he can out of his present affliction.

STATESMAN, *February 19, 1881*.—It is announced in the home papers that the charge of libelling the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad, which has been brought against Mr. Knight, will be tried by a special jury in the Court of Queen's Bench, a writ of *certiorari* having been applied for and granted in Judges' chambers. Mr. Knight will plead a full justification for the alleged libel, and that its publication was for the public benefit. The pressure of business in the Court of Queen's Bench is so great that it is not expected that the case can come on sooner than next autumn, and meanwhile he proposes to come to India to collect evidence. We are afraid he will not be able to collect a great deal of evidence in India, nor do we know whence he expects to obtain it. Official aid in the task is not likely to be given without reluctance; still a sense of fair play may suggest to Englishmen that he should have such access to official documents as is granted to the prosecution. Two Bombay solicitors visited Hyderabad a short time ago in the interests of the Ameer-i-Kabeer, and were permitted to search the Residency records for materials to aid the prosecution. Will the Resident consider it his duty to accord a like permission to Mr. Knight? We have no right to assume that he will refuse; but it is impossible not to remember that when Mr. Leith,

the barrister, went to Hyderabad to conduct the case of the nephews against the Ameer-i-Kabeer, the Resident refused him access to the records, and even refused to see him. In that case, however, we believe he denied that Mr. Leith had any *locus standi*, but he could hardly take up that attitude towards Mr. Knight or his solicitor. But we do not venture to hope that much success will attend the effort to extract evidence from official documents in India.

TIMES OF INDIA, March 3, 1881.—The *Civil and Military Gazette* says :—The Knight fund meeting lately held in the city has been described in some of the down-country papers as a great public demonstration. So it was. But the point of the joke is that it was rather a demonstration of excitable Baboos from Bengal against the phlegmatic folk of the Punjab than a demonstration by both on behalf of Mr. Knight. The rascals and other leading residents of the town and neighbourhood protest against being held responsible for the meeting. It was, they say, wholly the work of “foreigners.” As a matter of fact, only two or three Punjabis of any position were in attendance; and they went less to bless than to curse. The shrewish “foreigners” screeched them down with taunts on their want of understanding; and it is even said that they yelled out—“Is this your boasted jurisprudence?” Some hundreds of rupees have been realized, chiefly “on paper.” The Baboos’ experience of the work of collection reminds one of the Bombay parson’s grievance. Standing up in his pulpit the reverend gentleman intimated that in future no cards would be received on the collectors’ plates, only cash, because, he pleaded plaintively, “I have discovered that when our messengers call for their money some gentlemen say ‘*hamara chithi nahi hai*,’ some ‘hang it, *kul ao*,’ and that others even swear horribly and say, ‘*tum suar, jehannam ko jao*.’”

MADRAS MAIL, March 14, 1881.—*Sir Richard Meade.*—The departure from Hyderabad and India at the close of the present month of Sir Richard Meade marks a distinct era both for the Nizam’s State and the Empire. It is not likely that we shall again hear of a native infantry cadet rising to political power so rapidly, and filling such important and lucrative positions as have fallen to Sir Richard Meade during a service of forty-three years, of which, it is said, he has only spent six months in England. The race of soldier-statesmen in high places promises to be soon extinct. It is not, however, for the purpose of dwelling on this probability that we congratulate one of the last and most fortunate of the race on not having been born twenty years later; our present object is to glance at what the outgoing Resident at Hyderabad has done in the last five years of his career.

When Mr. Saunders left the Hyderabad Residency things were supposed to be in a bad way. Sir Salar Jung, to use an expressive phrase, had kicked over the traces; Englishmen flocking into his service had impressed him with a sense of his grievances, and of the independence of the young sovereign from whose revenues they drew their salaries. The Berar question was burning, and the banner of England did not “blow” in the approved Tennysonian fashion. The first thing Sir Richard Meade had to do was to make it blow, and that he has succeeded in doing this completely is the most notable of his achievements. He had to convince the Hyderabad Minister that the favour of English Dukes who don’t read history, nay, even the smile of a Royal Prince, are not all-potent in practical politics; that to be a social lion in London is a different rôle to that of a triumphant diplomatist; and that treaties are not made and unmade out of pure sentiments. Next, he had to restrain the ambition which Englishmen had helped to awaken, and while recognizing the past services and reputation of the Minister to show him that a protected State was not at liberty to fix the strength of its own army, and stammer over the meaning of the word suzerainty. Then the education of the young Nizam, a matter in which a Hyderabad Minister might reasonably differ from a British Government, but in which nevertheless the latter cannot

wholly divest themselves of responsibility, has been a difficulty not yet overcome. But of all the thorns which have beset the path of Sir Richard Meade and choked, as is sometimes said, the whole administration of Hyderabad, [sic] has been the appointment of the present head of the house of Shums-ul-Oomrah to be Sir Salar Jung's colleague in the government. This event took place in 1877, on the death of his elder brother, the late Co-Regent, a mild and amiable nobleman, who was content to entrust the helm to the hands of the experienced Dewan, who naturally enough protested against the association with himself of an ancient rival and foe. The only alternative, however, as Sir Salar Jung himself admitted, was to let the Dewan reign alone. This, after mature deliberation, the Government decided not to do, and it may be the decision was not altogether a happy one. To pronounce any opinion on it, however, is not possible without access to all the information on which it was founded, and notwithstanding its obvious disadvantages we are disposed to accept it as wise under the circumstances. As having influenced, or being supposed to have influenced, that decision, Sir Richard Meade has been regarded as the patron of the colleague objected to, blind to his faults, and a little less than kind to the virtues of the other side. Whether this be a fact or a misconception, it is certain that he has had to interfere to secure now and then for the Ameer-i-Kabeer, the Co-Regent, a voice in the government of the country, and information as to the revenues and expenditure of the State, which Sir Salar Jung at one time disputed his right to possess. It can easily be imagined that a dual government so constituted is not beneficial to progress. To expect statesmen, especially Oriental statesmen, who have been rivals from youth to sink their private feelings for the public weal is to lay on them heavy burdens. But those who know Sir Salar Jung personally and those who know him only by name should temper the sympathy he commands, and deserves to command, by the reflection that the Ameer-i-Kabir, the first nobleman of the State in point of rank, is the head of a house allied by a marriage to the reigning dynasty through three generations, and that to extinguish him as a political personage would be to run counter to the feelings of a large mass of conservative Mahomedan feeling at Hyderabad.

The position of the British Resident is obviously, then, one of difficulty, and the distinguished officer who now leaves it for well-earned repose in his native land would probably be the first to own that his successor approaches the task before him with advantages no longer available to one who has been in the turmoil of the contest. Sir Stuart Bayley takes up the reins without having had any previous experience of Native States. The personal qualities which have made Sir Salar Jung popular will not be lost on him; and if only that enlightened Minister will lean more on the representative of the Imperial Government at his elbow, and listen less to counsels from afar, and the interested advice of the shallow exponents of native liberal thought who are often credited with moulding his ideas, he may yet be worthy of his former fame. We do not pretend to pass any criticism at present on the work Sir Richard Meade has done at Hyderabad. It has not escaped detraction, but it has, we understand, commanded the approval of the Government of India. Lord Northbrook thought no one in the political service equal to Sir Richard Meade after his labours at Baroda, and it has been the Colonel's good fortune to be smiled on by other Viceroys, as he doubtless will be by Secretaries of State, when the time comes for him to take his seat in the Indian Council at home. With our good wishes for the advent of that auspicious hour we wish him farewell.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *March 25, 1881.*—*The Statesman Libel Case.*—The Calcutta *Statesman* has the following :—

As the prosecution of Mr. Knight for "inciting the Nizam of Hyderabad to make war against the Empress of India"—for that is the ludicrous form which the plaint against him has taken—is likely to become a case of extraordinary interest, and as we know that many of our readers are deeply interested in it already, we

need make no excuse for giving prominent insertion to the following letter, which we have been permitted to publish :—

[Letter from Sir George Udny Yule, K.C.S.I., C.B., ex-Resident at the Nizam's Court.]

30, Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, February 22, 1881.

My dear Sir,—It is, I think, of very great importance that the suit which has been brought against you by the Amir-i-Kabeer, Wikar-ool-Oomra, Co-Regent of Hyderabad, should go to trial. It would be a public misfortune were it to be compromised ; for, in common with many others who know the facts, I have long been anxious to see the treatment which Sir Salar Jung has of late years received at the hands of the Government of India (particularly in the appointment of Wikar-ool-Oomra as Co-Regent with him) brought to the notice of the Home Government in such a way as to compel it to make a full inquiry. I have often thought of addressing the Secretary of State myself on the subject, but have been deterred from doing so for several reasons, of which I need mention only two. 1st.—The certainty that any inquiry, in the usual way by “officials” of the Government of India would be abortive, and could result only in making Salar Jung’s position worse, if that be possible, than it now is. To be thorough and effectual, the inquiry must be entrusted to men of high standing wholly unconnected with the Calcutta Foreign Office ; and it is for this reason that I so earnestly hope that the libel suit against you may prove the occasion of showing in open court, before Her Majesty’s Judges, the true character of the Ameer’s appointment, and the long course of oppression and insult to which Salar Jung has been subjected by the Government of India for years past. My second reason is that it would be hopeless to look for any assistance from Salar Jung himself. Without entering into the general question of the position of Native Princes and their Ministers, it is not too much to say that Salar Jung, from hard experience, and especially from his treatment of late years, must have lost all faith even in his right to remonstrate against any proceedings of the Resident, and all hope of his representations being regarded as of any weight by the Government of India. His natural caution and modesty have, under the treatment he has received, become developed, I fear, into absolute fault ; and anything like co-operation from him, in these circumstances, is not, I am persuaded, to be looked for. When, therefore, I saw in the *Times* a brief report of the prosecution entered against yourself by the Ameer, I rejoiced at it as an opening that might lead to the exposure of Salar Jung’s wrongs without implicating him, and I resolved to offer you such help as I might feel justified in giving towards exposing the character of the Co-Regent, regarding whom you have, to the best of my knowledge and belief, said in your article nothing but the truth, and even less than you would have been justified in saying. In spite of Sir Salar Jung’s repeated remonstrances, we have forced upon him as his colleague a man who was notoriously his personal enemy, a man who had heavily bribed others in scandalous intrigues against him, and whose servant had openly tried to murder him. What wonder that there should be “no longer any justice in Hyderabad” ? as I also have heard in common with yourself. Although I have not referred in this letter to the other matters discussed in your two articles on the Restoration of Berar, I may say that I believe every word in them to be true, and that the main facts are susceptible of complete proof from the reports of our own officers.—Yours very truly,—G. U. Yule, Ex-Resident at Hyderabad.

To R. Knight, Esq.,
Statesman Office, 332, Strand W.C.

STATESMAN (London), *January 1, 1881*.—On the 30th December the Editor of *The Statesman* was summoned to the Bow Street Police Court on a charge of libel ; and the case has been committed for trial before the Central Criminal Court on the 10th of the present month. The article complained of appeared in the October number of this journal, under the title of “The Restitution of Berar,” and it is alleged by the prosecution that it contains two libels—the first that of publishing a libel upon

a foreign sovereign for the purpose of stirring up ill-will between Great Britain and the kingdom of Hyderabad; the second that of publishing an ordinary libel on the Co-Regent of Hyderabad. The first accusation is manifestly absurd on the face of it. The article in question is a narrative drawn from official documents, and relates how the present strained relations between Hyderabad and the Calcutta Foreign Department have been brought about, and suggests how that state of tension can be removed. Its obvious purport is to point out how a state of good-will can be substituted for the state of ill-will which at present exists, not between Great Britain and Hyderabad, but a certain Calcutta Bureau and the latter State. The second charge has *prima facie* more of substance in it. The article in question points out, what is notorious throughout India, that in their desire to sap the influence of Sir Salar Jung in the Hyderabad State the Calcutta Foreign Office have appointed as Co-Regent the Ameer-i-Kabeer, a man in every respect unfitted for that high office. In making this statement we commented, as it was our duty to do, with severity upon the antecedents of this Co-Regent as revealed in the official records of the Indian Government, and it is this part of the article which is complained of as libellous. We need not inform our readers that the Ameer-i-Kabeer is himself a mere stalking-horse in this matter. The procedure adopted shows this. What we said in the London *Statesman* has also appeared in the Calcutta *Statesman*, and in other Indian journals. Had the Ameer-i-Kabeer been really anxious to clear his character of the aspersions resting upon it, he would have instituted proceedings in Calcutta, where the matter could have been sifted to the bottom. But the object of this prosecution is not to elicit truth, but only to prevent its revelation to the British nation. The Ameer-i-Kabeer has already been used as a tool to destroy the power of Sir Salar Jung; and it is now hoped that he will prove not less effective in the destruction of *The Statesman*. What will be the issue of the trial before the Central Criminal Court we have no desire to attempt to anticipate. But the prosecution is a testimony to the utility of the work done by *The Statesman*, and a strong encouragement to ourselves to proceed fearlessly in the task we have undertaken. *The Statesman* is the first systematic attempt which has been made to reveal to the nation the dark and unknown places of our Indian Administration; and the Indian Bureaucracy is well aware that these places will not bear to have light let in on them. If *The Statesman* were merely an ignorant slanderer the secret promoters of this prosecution are sufficiently astute to understand that by a statement of the truth its slanders would be made impotent for evil. But they know that it has spoken but the truth; and therefore it is that, instead of fair discussion, the law has been invoked, in order, if possible, to close its lips for ever. This hope, at any rate, we can assure them, is destined to be disappointed.

STATESMAN (London), *July 1, 1881*.—On the 30th of December last the Editor of this journal was summoned to the Bow Street Police Court on a charge of libel, preferred by unknown prosecutors, but at the instance, as was alleged, of the Ameer-i-Kabeer (great lord), Wikar-ool-Oomra, of Hyderabad. The case was, very improperly, as many thought, committed for trial before the Central Criminal Court by the sitting Magistrate, Sir James Ingham, who ought never to have issued a summons upon such information as was before him. The article complained of appeared in the October number of this journal, under the title of the "Restitution of Berar," and it was alleged by the prosecution that it contained two libels: the first a libel upon a foreign sovereign, for the purpose of stirring up a war between Great Britain and the State of Hyderabad; the second an ordinary libel on the Ameer-i-Kabeer. That personage was a man of notoriously bad character, forced upon Sir Salar Jung as Co-Regent with him of the State during the minority of the young Nizam, for no other purpose whatever than to coerce that Minister—to whom Englishmen owe what they can never repay—to stop all further remonstrances from the Hyderabad Court on the subject of the restitution of the Berars. The appointment of the Ameer was an utter scandal even in India, his unfitness for the high office to which he was appointed being notorious throughout the empire. In disclosing the facts to the nation, we commented, as it was our duty to do, with

severity upon the antecedents of this Co-Regent as revealed in the published official records of the Indian Government itself, and it was this part of the article that was complained of as libellous. We need not tell our readers that the Ameer-i-Kabeer was himself a mere stalking-horse in the matter ; and the procedure adopted showed this clearly. Had the Ameer been really anxious to clear his character of the aspersions cast upon him—not by ourselves, but by our officials at Calcutta in their own published reports of bygone years—he would have been advised to proceed against us by civil action, when the charges made against him by these gentlemen could have been sifted to the bottom. Trusting to the ignorance which prevails in this country as to what goes on in India, they had rehabilitated the man for no other purpose whatever than to use him as an instrument for giving check-mate to the unanswerable remonstrances which Sir Salar Jung was making, on the young Nizam's behalf, on the subject of the Berars. We have now to ask our readers to peruse with attention the full exposition we have given further on in these pages of the history of this question. They will read it, we feel sure, with the astonishment, indignation, and shame with which a knowledge of the facts long since filled our own mind. We pledge ourselves to the complete truthfulness and accuracy of every statement we have made. Where we have erred, if we *have* erred, it has been honest, unconscious error. Our whole conduct towards the Hyderabad State has been an infamy, and not less infamous has been the treatment to which Sir Salar Jung has been subjected in the last few years for simply doing his duty to the Nizam. We are resolved that the matter shall not rest where it is, if it is in our power to prevent it. The Attorney-General has issued a fiat prohibiting the further prosecution of the criminal suit against us ; for the object of the prosecution was not to elicit the truth, but to prevent its being disclosed to the British nation. The Ameer-i-Kabeer was wanted, and has simply been used as a tool, to destroy the power of Sir Salar Jung ; and it was hoped that he would prove not less effective in the destruction of *The Statesman*. The prosecution is a testimony to the utility of the work done by us in these pages, and a strong encouragement to proceed fearlessly in the task we have undertaken. *The Statesman* is the first systematic attempt that has been made to reveal to the nation the dark and unknown places of our Indian Administration ; and the Indian Bureaucracy is well aware that these places will not bear to have light let in on them. If the conductors of this paper were ignorant slanderers the secret promoters of this prosecution were sufficiently astute to understand that by a statement of the truth its slanders would be made impotent for evil. But they knew that it had spoken but the truth ; and therefore it was that, instead of fair discussion, the law was invoked, in order, if possible, to close our lips. It was not merely an attempt to gag the Press, but an effort to hide from the nation facts which it is of the utmost importance it should know. In so far as the Ameer was concerned the case is over, to our own disappointment and that of the large body of gentlemen—some of them in India, and others in this country—who knew or gravely suspected the truth of our allegations, and that we had not disclosed the worst aspects of the case. The Attorney-General having stopped the prosecution, we considered carefully what we should do, and at last made up our minds. The real prosecutor in the case was never disclosed. He kept carefully in the background. It was not the Ameer with whom we had to fight. We knew that all along. It was a more powerful foe. It was the man who had forced the Ameer upon Sir Salar Jung, as Co-Regent and colleague, to reduce the Minister to submission and silence. The instigator and author of the suit was himself the foremost actor in the transactions of the last four years at Hyderabad, which will be found described in the latter part of our article on Berar in the present number, and was no other than the ex British Resident. We lay our hand upon him unflinching, as having, by his proceedings, made the British name an infamy in Southern India. These are heavy charges to bring against an old officer of the State, and we know well their gravity. We let the Ameer go. : He is not worthy of further pursuit. The true offender is our own officer, Sir Richard Meade, now here in England. His deputy in the task of forcing the Ameer as a colleague upon the Minister, and his demoralizing presence

upon the young Nizam, was Major Euan Smith, also in England. We appeal solemnly to the nation to insist on the cause between us and these men being adjudged with the gravity that such an impeachment calls for. Were the occasion not one of overwhelming importance both to this country and to the people and Princes of India, we should have allowed it to pass away. As it is, we can do no other than what we have now done, and we await the result. In the mean time let our readers peruse attentively the tale of shame we have narrated further on in this issue.

We wound up our article of October last, for which we were prosecuted, with the sentence: "We charge Lord Lytton's Foreign Office with this crime, and we demand an inquiry into the facts." The words were carefully chosen. This is no question of party. It matters not what the Home Government is, or what the politics of the Secretary of State or the Viceroy and Governor-General. Whig or Tory, it is all the same. The bureaucracy is too strong for them all. Whether the Viceroy is Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, or Lord Ripon, it is the same. It is simply impossible for the Viceroy to make himself master of the subjects that come before him by his own personal study and research. He has to depend upon the records, the files of the bureaucratic departments, from which everything is eliminated that gives any view of the case other than that to which the Calcutta officials are committed. The India Office knows nothing—literally nothing—of what goes on in the country. It is dependent entirely upon the system of reference to, and reports from, the very officials whose conduct and course are questioned, and everything that tells against either is systematically kept from the knowledge of the Secretary of State. It is for this reason that we despair of all appeals to the India Office or to the Ministry.

STATESMAN (London), *July 1, 1881*.—THE AMEER-I-KABEER v. "THE STATESMAN."—*The Attorney-General's Fiat stopping the Prosecution*.—Our readers are aware that the Editor of this journal was being prosecuted for libel by the Ameer-i-Kabeer (Wikar-ool-Oomra) of Hyderabad, for certain statements concerning him in our second article on the "Restitution of Berar," published by us last year, in the October number of this review. The suit was removed from the Central Criminal Court by *certiorari* to the Court of Queen's Bench in February last, Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Mr. Justice Bowen expressing their surprise, when the writ was moved for, that a criminal suit should have been filed in the case at all, as the prosecutor was residing abroad and out of the jurisdiction of the Court. The prosecution had good reasons for their course. They wished to evade the issue of a Commission to India to examine witnesses, while it was by means of such a Commission only that we could possibly establish the truth of our allegations. We were advised therefore to memorialize the Attorney-General to stop the proceedings by a writ of *nolle prosequi*, and so compel the prosecutor to proceed by civil action, if at all. The grounds on which the application was made were stated by Counsel in the Attorney-General's Chambers on the 2nd April last; and, as the case is unprecedented and of great public importance, we now lay an abstract of the proceedings before our readers, with the Attorney-General's fiat in the case.

Saturday, 2nd April 1881.

(Before the ATTORNEY-GENERAL.)

REGINA v. KNIGHT.

Transcript from the Shorthand Notes of Messrs. Marten and Meredith.)

Counsel for the applicant (defendant), Mr. Waddy, Q.C., and Mr. Besley, instructed by Messrs. Shaen, Roscoe, and Co.

Counsel for the respondents (prosecution), Mr. Gorst, Q.C., instructed by Messrs. Newman, Dale, and Stretton.

Mr. Waddy: I appear, Sir, in this case in support of a memorial presented to you by the defendant, a copy of which I believe has already been sent to you.

The Attorney-General: Yes, I have read the memorial and the indictment,

and I have read the article in *The Statesman* also, and I think you had better state the grounds upon which you support the *nolle prosequi*.

Mr. Waddy : As you have seen these documents, I will simply say that this is an indictment for libel against Mr. Knight for an article published in *The Statesman* reflecting on the conduct and character, it is said, of a person of the name of Wikar-ool-Oomra, a Co-Regent of Sir Salar Jung's at Hyderabad. On the part of Mr. Knight there is not the slightest desire to escape from the responsibility of the article, which was published in a magazine of which he is editor and proprietor. He does not want to escape from the responsibility of any one single thing that is said in it, because there is not a single thing in it which is not only capable of abundant proof if the proper means were given to prove it, but which is not in point of fact, notorious at this moment in India and has not been printed—I believe I shall be in a position to show—and published throughout India. I believe that I shall be able to show that there is not a single thing in this article that has not been published by the Queen's Government itself in India in official documents. If, therefore the persons, whoever they may be (and it is difficult for us to find out who they are), who have instituted this prosecution, will only have the goodness to give Mr. Knight a fair opportunity, nothing will delight him more than to prove every word of this statement for which he is now indicted.

What I complain of in this matter is that it is a deliberate attempt to abuse the criminal procedure of the country, for the purpose not of getting at the truth, but for the purpose of keeping back the truth. If there had been a civil action brought, Mr. Knight would then have had an opportunity of proving the truth of the article, for the benefit of the English public. Under these proceedings he has not got that opportunity. If there is a *bonâ fide* desire on the part of the persons behind this prosecution to get at the real truth in the case, why on earth was there not a civil action? That is a question which has been asked already in court by higher authorities than myself, to which I will refer in a moment. I can see many reasons why there should not be a criminal action; I can see none why there should not be a civil one. The difference between a civil action and a criminal one, as you know very well, Sir, is, first, the fundamental one that in a civil action I, on the part of the defendant, should be forced to prove that the publication is matter of public interest. Can there be any difficulty in that matter in this case? Not the slightest. You have read the article, and it is clear that if the statements there made are accurate and true it is for the public interest that they should be published to the world. Nothing could be more for the public interest than that if such a shameful state of things as is described in this article exists this country should be made alive to the fact. Therefore *that* cannot be the reason why the civil remedy has been abandoned, and the criminal one has been chosen.

But there is a very good reason from their point of view why they have abandoned it, and why they have chosen the criminal form of action, but a very bad one in the interests of justice, and it is this : If they attack Mr. Knight civilly he can prove the whole of his case; by attacking him criminally they know that it is impossible for him to do so, and they have chosen the criminal indictment, in preference to the civil action, for that purpose, and for that purpose alone. I have no hesitation, Sir, whatever in stating that that is my conviction, and I believe that I shall make it out, in a very few words indeed, to your satisfaction.

Before I come to that, however, there is one further question to be asked with regard to their choice of the criminal instead of the civil form of remedy. It is well-established law that you have a right to take that form under certain circumstances—namely, if that which has been published (the alleged libel) is calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. That is the foundation of the law upon the whole subject. It is only the other day that Lord Coleridge was laying this principle down in the clearest possible terms. In the case of *Lawson v. Labouchere*, the other day, Lord Coleridge demanded : “ Must not libel in a criminal prosecution appear to be intended or calculated to produce a breach of the peace ? ” Sir H. Giffard said he thought not. It was only the reason given for the law of criminal liability for libel, not a definition of its nature.

Lord Coleridge replied that "it was given as the only reason for the criminal liability for it."

And then afterwards, in his summing up, he said :

"The law upon the subject is clear. Historically, no doubt, the reason why defamatory observations, whether in writing or by word of mouth, by one private person against another, have been held the subject of indictment, is that they tend to a breach of the peace, and the indictment in the present case concludes, as all such indictments must, by alleging that the libel was published contrary to the peace. The reason why such private libels are allowed to be subjects of criminal inquiry is not that they are in themselves matters for the criminal law, but that they tend to a breach of the peace, which makes them of public interest, and the public interest is represented by the Crown ; and so the prosecutor in such a case has a right to avail himself of the forms of a criminal prosecution in a case which, except for that reason, would be left to the Civil Courts to adjudicate upon."

Now, Sir, I need hardly point out that here there is not a shadow of pretence that we are likely by a libel in this country to provoke a breach of the peace between my client and friend, Mr. Knight, and the Ameer of Hyderabad. There is not much danger of that. The way in which it is put is this, I understand : " But you are likely to provoke a breach of the peace between this country and Hyderabad." Now if it were possible to discuss that pretext with a grave face the case would stand upon a very different ground. If that be the real danger, then, Sir, the motion or action should have been through you, and not through a private policeman, as is the case in this prosecution. Because, when we come to look at the prosecutors in this case on behalf of the Wikar-ool-Oomra, of Hyderabad, you will be surprised to hear that the prosecutors (the only names they dare give us) are, first, a clerk in the solicitor's office ; secondly, the policeman who was made use of to serve the summons ; and, thirdly, to his very great astonishment and surprise, our own printer, called as a formal witness, and then bound over to prosecute. And these positively are the nominal prosecutors in this case, on behalf of Wikar-ool-Oomra, Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad ! Of course it is perfectly obvious that it is not a *bonâ fide* prosecution. I will now strengthen what I was saying a moment ago by the fact that, when the *certiorari* was moved for, Lord Coleridge immediately put his finger upon this very point.

The Attorney-General : You have no shorthand writer's notes, I suppose, of what Lord Coleridge said ?

Mr. Waddy : I have tried my very best to get them. 4

The Attorney-General : Were you present ?

Mr. Waddy : I was not ; but my friend Mr. Besley, who is with me, was.

The Attorney-General : Are those the words Lord Coleridge used ?

Mr. Besley : I believe they were the exact words he used.

The Attorney-General : Was anybody present on your side, Mr. Gorst ?

Mr. Gorst : Unfortunately, my friend who is with me, and was present, is not here.

Mr. Waddy : That is the report in the *Times*.

Mr. Shaen : I applied to Mr. Finlayson, who is the *Times*' reporter, and I find that no shorthand note was taken beyond what appears there.

The Attorney-General : This is Mr. Finlayson's note.

Mr. Waddy : But Mr. Besley was present, and I remember the matter being mentioned immediately afterwards, and there is no doubt, I believe, that the *Times* reports exactly what Lord Coleridge said. But, Sir, the case is stronger than that. I do not need the authority of Lord Coleridge upon the point. The fact is that this is simply an attempt to abuse the course of justice. In a report with which you are very familiar, and which I may take is a document with the greatest possible authority, emanating as it does from some of the most learned men in the country (I mean the Report of the Royal Commission on the Amendment of the Criminal Law), I find it laid down that "a defamatory libel is matter published without legal justification or excuse, designed to insult the person of whom it is published, or calculated to injure the reputation of any person by exposing him to hatred,

contempt, or ridicule." And then there is this side note—"This is the existing law, *the criminality of libel* depending upon its tendency to produce a breach of the peace."

So that there is not the slightest doubt in the world about it. It has been held by the authorities over and over again, and is the ground laid down by the Commissioners, Lord Blackburn, Mr. Justice Stephen, Mr. Justice Lush, and Mr. Justice Barry, and therefore is a statement about as authoritative upon the subject as anything can be. We are therefore in this position : there is no reason that can be suggested why a civil action should not have been taken in the case, because they can get all the remedy they want by that means ; unless, indeed, their anxiety is to stop Mr. Knight's mouth by putting him in prison—which they are not likely to effect ; whereas in civil action he could give evidence to prove the justification which he pleads.

Mr. Gorst : He could not give evidence, because he knows nothing about it himself.

Mr. Waddy : That is an exceedingly clever way of putting it, but it is not quite accurate. There is a good deal that Mr. Knight could give evidence about ; but in the second place my friend has hit one of the very points in the case to which, Sir, I expressly wish to call your attention. This course has been adopted, we say, not only for the purpose of shutting Mr. Knight's mouth, but for the purpose of rendering it impossible for him to give any evidence at all. You have read the papers.

The Attorney-General : I have read the article in *The Statesman* ; that is all.

Mr. Waddy : Yes, you have seen that. Now I hold in my hand a document.

Mr. Gorst : I must intervene if my friend is going to put in evidence, because he is really asking to try the case. If he is going to put in evidence to prove before you the truth of the libel, of course I must go into evidence to prove its falsehood, and this would be a lengthened inquiry.

Mr. Waddy : I am not going to do so. One of the statements in the libel is that something which had been done with regard to Wikar was a sentence, amounting to one of complete political extinction. You may possibly remember those words.

The Attorney-General : Perfectly.

Mr. Waddy : Now the question is how can that be proved in this country ? I happen to hold in my hand the official report, published in Hyderabad, by the "Resident's Press," from which those words are taken verbatim.

Mr. Gorst : They are put in quotation in the libel itself.

Mr. Waddy : I know ; and they form part of the libel complained of in the indictment.

The Attorney-General : What is your point upon that ?

Mr. Waddy : That we cannot show in this country the truth of our statements. We happen to have this particular document here, but it is not published in England, and we could not prove it here ; but it is capable of the simplest proof in India, because these documents are in the Government offices there.

The Attorney-General : But what is this ?

Mr. Waddy : It is an official report published by the English authorities at Hyderabad, and circulated all over India by the Government of India, and seen by everybody.

The Attorney-General : That may be a privileged communication ; but supposing it is not true ?

Mr. Waddy : I then come to my next point, that I could prove in India—the facts upon which the report is founded. They know that I can prove it in India ; they know I cannot prove it here. They know that in a civil action I could prove it, because we could obtain a commission for the purpose. They know I can get no commission in a criminal case. If it were a civil action we could send out a commission and examine witnesses at Hyderabad, and have the proofs brought to this country, when they could be admissible as evidence. But they know perfectly well that the things which it is necessary for me to prove in order to substantiate my plea of justification in this particular matter I cannot prove in a criminal trial,

because I cannot have a commission. For instance, it would be necessary to take the evidence of Sir Salar Jung ; how can I get him here ? I cannot. Supposing *he* was even willing to come, or supposing that any of the other witnesses whom it will be necessary to subpoena from the highest places in India were required to give evidence, your subpoena does not run in India. Take it step by step, and you will find there is not an inch of ground upon which we are not met with difficulties, not one of which would arise in a civil action, on which account alone this oppressive course has been taken. You cannot run your subpoena in India ; and if you did you could not compel the witnesses to come ; while if you did compel them it would require I am afraid to say how many thousands of pounds to bring them. We cannot, therefore, possibly get to this country the witnesses who are necessary to prove that which is, every tittle of it, perfectly true and perfectly capable of proof. While, on the one hand, they can get all they want, if they are honest, by a civil action, and try the truth or falsehood of this matter ; on the other, they know perfectly well that by a criminal action the truth cannot be brought before the Court. I say that they cannot justify the course they have taken in bringing a criminal action, for there is no possibility of a breach of the peace : therefore they cannot justify it on that ground ; neither can they justify it on the ground that this is not a matter of public interest, for it obviously is. There is no ground, therefore, whatever upon which they can claim the right to bring a criminal indictment instead of a civil action ; while there is every ground for a civil action instead of a criminal indictment. But that is not all. I have pointed out that, even if you could get these people over, the costs would be so frightful (I was going to say they would amount to £20,000, but it is impossible to estimate the sum) that they know well Mr. Knight would be unable to bear the expenditure. There is something else, as I have already pointed out, in this case. If it were a matter of public concern, the prosecution should have been taken up by the Government itself. But who is it that has taken it up ? Nominally we know, and I may say that really we know, although, of course, we cannot prove it ; but I suppose nobody in his senses believes that this prosecution is really moved by the policeman and the solicitor's clerk. Yet they give us no other names ; they give us no security for costs, nor can we get any. There is no means by which we can.

Mr. Gorst : You did not ask for it.

Mr. Waddy : We did not ask for it, because I say we cannot get it, and I say that this is another reason why this form of procedure has been chosen.

Mr. Gorst : If you did not ask for it, do not say that we will not give it you.

Mr. Waddy : I say you will not, because you know we cannot ask for it ; and I say that you have chosen this procedure on that very ground, and that this is the reason why you have set up a policeman and your solicitor's clerk, whom, of course, we do not ask, because they cannot give any security for costs. On the other hand, you get security for costs from us, to the extent already of £600, and then, having done that, whereas we cannot get any, we are in this position : suppose we were to prove our case, from whom are we to get our costs ? I have been pointing out that the costs would be positively frightful. Where are we to get them from in a criminal action ? We cannot get them from anybody, and so somebody or other is fighting against us from behind a hedge.

Mr. Gorst : I do not know whether it will relieve my friend at all if I say that these proceedings have been directed by the Ameer-i-Kabeer himself, through his Indian solicitors. I can prove that, if necessary.

Mr. Waddy : Forgive me ; there is a very grave doubt about that ; and forgive me also for saying that until I have that on affidavit I do not believe it, nor does anybody else.

The Attorney-General : You must not say that, because I am sure Mr. Gorst does.

Mr. Waddy : Yes, I dare say they have persuaded him, but nobody else who has not the sweet and trusting nature of my friend would believe it for a moment. In point of fact it is not the fact, as we believe ; but if it be the fact look how much worse that makes it. I will take it that the Ameer is the real prosecutor.

Is he coming over here to be cross-examined ? Does any human being believe that he will come ? Does my friend Mr. Gorst undertake to produce him ?

Mr. Gorst : I am surprised, but I will not interrupt you.

Mr. Waddy : The idea that he will come here to be cross-examined with regard to these charges is preposterous. He is Co-Regent of Hyderabad. He will not come over here, and we cannot compel him to come, and shall never see him. But if we had a civil action we should be able to do two things. We should know who our opponent really was, and we could compel him to give security for costs. That is one thing we could do, and that is just. The second thing, which is bare justice to us, is that we should be able to have our commission go out to examine him and our own witnesses, and to bring our documents and to get our defence in order, and when that is done we are safe, and they know it.

There is no precedent, Sir, for such a case as this. There is no attempt here to instigate the subjects of this Ameer-i-Kabeer to revolt against him, because there are two of them Co-Regents, and Sir Salar Jung is the senior of the two, and is spoken of in terms of the highest praise in the article. With regard to the bad character of this other man we shall do him no harm here, because there is not a word in the article that has not been printed throughout India, and we do not provoke a popular disturbance against him, so that that does not meet the point of law.

On these grounds we say, Sir, that you ought to interfere, in the exercise of your discretion and authority. We say that the name of the Crown is being used for oppression and to stifle justice. We say there is not a single thing that can be got by this criminal suit which could not be got by means of a civil action. But it is impossible for the case to be tried upon the lines upon which they are now endeavouring to fight it, and I only ask that you should refer them to their proper remedy, not for the purpose of stopping the proceedings (although I believe it will have that effect, as they will not go on when we can fight them fairly), but solely for the purpose of enabling us to get before the Court, whichever it may be, that shall try this case, the whole of the facts, for the purpose of substantiating the truth of every word in this article.

The Attorney-General : This is a case in which I think the defendant ought to have an opportunity of pleading justification, and of proving his plea if he can. Now if a civil action were brought he could, and he could get a commission issued. But with an indictment he cannot. What is in my mind is that by taking one course you deprive the defendant of all practical opportunity of proving his plea; taking the other, you afford him a reasonable, though expensive, mode of doing it. Will you direct your observations to this point: what is the advantage of the indictment over the action?

Mr. Gorst : Very well, Sir. My friend says, why do you not bring an action? My answer is, it will give us no redress. We cannot get damages from Mr. Knight. We do not want damages.

The Attorney-General : I suppose the Ameer does not want revenge?

Mr. Gorst : No ; what he wants is to put a stop to the repeated publication in a journal, like this *Statesman*, of libels which he believes are calculated to produce a breach of the peace in India.

The Attorney-General : But surely if Mr. Knight had a verdict given against him in an action and had to bear the costs they would be in themselves a tremendous fine in an action of this kind. How do you say he could prove the truth of his libel in this case in an indictment, asking you, of course hypothetically, to assume the possibility of proving it ? where are the means ?

Mr. Gorst : There are two principal allegations in this libel. One is an allegation that the Ameer was guilty of procuring an attempted assassination : that is to be found at page 461. Mr. Knight says : "On the 15th of March 1859, as Colonel Davidson, the Resident, was leaving the Nizam's durbar arm in arm with the Nawab Salar Jung, a Rohilla named Jehangeer Khan discharged a carbine loaded with slugs at one of them, fortunately without effect on either the one or the other, though one of the Minister's retinue was wounded, and then rushed forward with a drawn sword. Captain (now Colonel) Hastings Fraser, one of the Resident's

assistants, drew his sword and threw himself in front of Colonel Davidson, but the assassin was almost immediately cut down by the Nizam's guards. As he was killed on the spot his secret perished with him. All that was known about him was that he was a retainer of the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra. In this case nothing more can be said than was expressed by the Viceroy, Lord Canning, in the message of serious admonition which he conveyed to the Nizam in a letter to the Resident dated the 2nd of April 1859, No. 1511 : 'The criminal is beyond the reach of justice. It may be that he was a single fanatic, without instigators or accomplices.' It may be so."

Now take that example. The defendant says, "I will prove that ; I will prove it with the insinuation contained in the indictment."

The Attorney-General : Yes, assuming that it means all that.

Mr. Gorst : Assuming that it insinuates that he incited this fanatic to murder the Resident, the defendant says, "I can prove that," and he has put a plea of justification on the record. Colonel Hastings Fraser, who was present and probably can give as good evidence as anybody upon the subject, is in England and could be called and if called I venture to say he would absolutely prove the falsehood of that statement.

Mr. Waddy : Yes ; but supposing the defendant says, Yes, but all that I have said is that he was a retainer of the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra? Colonel Hastings Fraser does not know anything at all about that. We should have to prove that by the person who employed him. I do not know that Mr. Fraser would know that the dead man was a retainer of Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra.

Mr. Gorst : As a matter of fact he was not a retainer of the Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra. He was a retainer of his son. He was not a retainer of the Wikar's at all. All these facts are set out in official documents accessible to Mr. Knight, and which, if Mr. Knight had read before he wrote this article, he would have known that what he was about to say was false.

The Attorney-General : But look at the position I am placed in. Of course your view is that these statements are untrue. On the other hand, the defendant has a right to assume the other view, and to say, "I wish to have a chance of proving my innocence, and of proving therefore that these statements are true." I think you will admit that is his right, although he may fail ; and on reading through this article there appeared to me some things of which the proof only could come from India. How is he to prove his case then ?

Mr. Gorst : Ought he, then, to write these things that he is not in a position to prove ?

The Attorney-General : But what is in my mind is that he is, or may be, in a position to prove them if you would give him the legal means of proving them. You have said that Mr. Waddy's application is exceptional, but you must please recollect it is a very exceptional thing for a Sovereign to go to a Police Court and put a man on a criminal charge. I am sure it would be repugnant to your mind that a man should not have an opportunity of proving his innocence in consequence of the method of procedure. I agree, on the other hand, it is a strong thing to stop a prosecution.

Mr. Gorst : Supposing he found himself in that position when this prosecution was preferred against him, ought he not to have thought of all this before he put on the record a plea of justification ?

The Attorney-General : No, because on the hypothesis he thinks it is true. He would admit moral guilt if he said, "I admit this is untrue," and he says, "If I do not say it is true I shall admit it to be false." You would scarcely expect any man, however wanting in morality, to do that ; and you are assuming against the defendant that he is a person who would take that course. I rather appeal to your sense of justice to assume that he is an enthusiastic man who has written a political article and who says, "I think it is true, and I will undertake to prove it." Then a criminal charge is brought, and then he says, "Now I am prevented from proving my plea, because I can have no commission ; nor can I have any subpoena which will enable me to bring the witness by which I say I can prove my plea of justification."

Mr. Gorst : My idea is that no commission would be of any service even in a civil action, because you could not enforce any subjects of the Nizam of Hyderabad to obey a commission from any of the English Courts.

The Attorney-General : Yes, but the commission could go to India, and could, of course, examine any European and volunteer witness.

Mr. Gorst : But how can you get the evidence of any subject of the Nizam of Hyderabad to give evidence ? and, still less, how can you get the Ameer himself ? they are completely outside the jurisdiction of the Court.

The Attorney-General : I do not know that, if the Ameer was a party on the record, because the Court would not permit the action to go on if he refused to give evidence.

Mr. Gorst : Possibly. However, the Ameer says that these articles are absolute falsehoods.

The Attorney-General : Although there is a reporter present I am speaking very frankly to you and telling you what is in my mind. I am very unwilling, on the one hand, to exercise a power which is almost an arbitrary power, and one involving great responsibility ; but, on the other hand, I am almost appealing to you whether you would wish to deprive the defendant of any fair opportunity of proving his case, and for this reason : What is the victory to the Ameer in a case of this kind if the result is that you take a course in which there is no possibility of raising the issue fairly on the part of the defendant ?

Mr. Gorst : Quite so ; and I am most anxious, in any way that could be pointed out, to remove that difficulty. I would, on behalf of the Ameer, give the defendant that opportunity if I could, but then I think it is a defect in the English criminal law which cannot be avoided. I am sorry for it, but how can I help it ? If I could allow official reports to be read that would be another matter, but I cannot.

The Attorney-General : May I make the peace almost between you in this way, although I have no power to carry it into effect ? Supposing the defendant here gives an undertaking which will amount to that which you have said is your object, namely, to stop these articles being written—if he gives you an undertaking that he will not write any more of these articles until any action that you think right to bring is tried, will you undertake to bring a civil action ?

Mr. Gorst : I do not think the Ameer would consent to bring any civil action, from what I know of him.

The Attorney-General : I mean, what is the difference between that and going into a Police Court ? Why not agree to bring a civil action ?

Mr. Gorst : I do not think there is any precedent for your exercising a jurisdiction of the kind that you are asked to exercise in this case. I find the general reason for *nolle prosequi*'s being entered is that there is a civil action pending for the same case, and then the Attorney-General does not enter the *nolle prosequi* without calling the parties before him and putting them to their election as to whether they will go on with the civil action or the criminal action. There are also cases where the Attorney-General has entered a *nolle prosequi* because it is clear that the indictment is not sustainable against a particular defendant. As, for example, indicting a surgeon for refusing to be a constable ; also where repeated vexatious indictments for the same cause have been brought by the same prosecutor against the same defendant. There was a case in Sir William Blackstone, page 545, which was a prosecution by a French ambassador.

The Attorney-General : But do you not find in the books the general statement that *ex debito justitiæ* the Attorney-General has the power, if he thinks injustice would be done by employing the criminal law, to enter a *nolle prosequi* ?

Mr. Gorst : I think he has almost absolute discretion, but I do not think there is any precedent for such a use of that discretion as this in principle. The Attorney-General's discretion is absolute. You might enter a *nolle prosequi* even in the case of a murderer who was sent for trial to the Central Criminal Court, and nobody could prevent it.

The Attorney-General : Yes ; but although that is possible, still that is not an exercise of the discretion in the sense of what is within the bounds of propriety.

I should like to have the authorities brought before me, if you could search for them (if not, I will search for them), with regard to what the principle is upon which the Attorney-General, with propriety, can proceed to enter a *nolle prosequi*; No doubt Mr. Gorst is right that the Attorney-General is lord of the position, and that even in a case of an attempt to murder the Queen he could enter a *nolle prosequi*, but that is not a practicable exercise of the power. I myself think that the Attorney-General has the power whenever he believes that it would be a violation of justice to allow the criminal proceedings to proceed. Then what is the difference in causing parties to be put to their election between criminal proceedings or civil action, and saying, "I find you have a remedy by civil action which is a just, and that the remedy by indictment, is an unjust one?"

Mr. Gorst : I do not think there is any precedent for it. The principle upon which *nolle prosequi* is entered is that it is vexatious to pursue a man by two different remedies at the same time. Then the Attorney-General cannot stop the civil action, but he can stop the criminal one, and therefore he does so. I must say that, so far from being an abuse of the criminal process, I think the Ameer has proceeded strictly according to the law of England, and if there be a hardship about it it is not brought about by the Ameer, but by the law itself.

The Attorney-General : I do not know how the law is to blame. How can the law issue a commission in a foreign country in any criminal case?

Mr. Gorst : There are cases in the books where a person has been prosecuted for libelling the Emperor of Russia, and in another case for a libel on Marie Antoinette. Lord George Gordon died in prison for that.

The Attorney-General : Yes, poor fellow, he did ; but it was a cruel murder—he was eight years in prison.

Mr. Gorst : He was, and he died there. Then the Editor of the *Courier* newspaper had a fine of £100 and six months' imprisonment for libelling the Emperor of Russia.

The Attorney-General : But were not all those cases commenced with the sanction of the Government?

Mr. Waddy : Was it not an incitement to assassination?

The Attorney-General : Was not that done in vindication of an alliance between one Government and another? I think you will find that the case of Lord George Gordon was.

Mr. Besley : In this case, looking at the depositions, I find that the only summons before Sir James Ingham was for an ordinary charge of libel.

The Attorney-General : My impression is that in these cases where the head of a foreign State is concerned the indictments have always been instituted at the instigation of the Government.

Mr. Waddy : And this case differs from them all, because it is conceded that the same publication has taken place in the Ameer's own country in India, and the Ameer does not proceed in his own country.

Mr. Gorst : That is not conceded. It is not conceded that Mr. Knight has published this in India.

Mr. Besley : I thought you said just now that you had a telegram directing this prosecution, in consequence of the arrival of *The Statesman* in India, and its publication there.

Mr. Gorst : I think it has been said before : Why do not we prosecute in India? My answer to that is : How can we prosecute Mr. Knight in India when he is residing in this country?

Mr. Waddy : No ; but you said the object of the Ameer in instituting this prosecution was to stop the publication of this libel in India.

Mr. Gorst : No. We say we want to stop this libel, and to punish the man who wrote it.

The Attorney-General : Well, I believe I understand what both you gentlemen say, but I shall be glad if you can, in writing, give me a little assistance as to the precedents—I mean where this duty on the part of the Attorney-General has been recognized. I think, if you will look at those cases you have mentioned, you

will find they were all instituted on the part of the Government. If you can find any case where, I will not say a Sovereign, but any one at the head of the State, or any one in high political position, has ever proceeded by way of indictment on his own motion in an English Court, I shall be glad to see it. Then, I think, we must take it that what Mr. Waddy says is true. By Lord Campbell's Act, the person who supports a charge of libel has to give security for costs.

Mr. Gorst : He has to pay costs.

Mr. Besley : If he is a foreigner he has to give security.

Mr. Gorst : If that is so, if Mr. Besley will take out a summons for security for costs we will give security the next day.

Mr. Waddy : How can we do that? we have nobody before us.

Mr. Gorst : As far as the question of costs goes, if anybody will point out how he is to do it, the Ameer will give the most abundant security for any amount of costs. If my learned friend will only point out any way in which it can be satisfactorily done, the Ameer will give any amount of security for costs in the event of your being acquitted.

The Attorney-General : Why were these persons bound over to prosecute—the policeman and the others?

Mr. Gorst : It was done by the people at the Police Court. They must bind over somebody, and there was no one else they could get hold of.

Mr. Waddy : And so bound over a man, the solicitor's own clerk, who, upon cross-examination, said : " I know nothing as to who inspires this matter."

Mr. Waddy : I find the only ground on which this indictment was granted was nothing at all with regard to stirring up war, but simply that it was a false and defamatory libel.

The Attorney-General : What is that you are reading from?

Mr. Waddy : The recognizances. And the prosecution has really imported all this about stirring up war since they were before Sir James Ingham.

Mr. Gorst : I can tell my friend that he is totally wrong. I was there myself and I raised this point.

The Attorney-General : If it is a committal on the ground of stirring up war, I should be more disposed to grant a *nolle prosequi* than if it were not, because if it is for stirring up war a private person should not proceed for that purpose, but the responsibility of such an indictment as that should rest upon the Government. Therefore I should argue against you both in that sense.

Mr. Besley : But here is the charge on the indictment. There is the record, and on the record they have put in that for which they got the committal, and then they add to it a count for which the Government alone can interfere.

Mr. Gorst : Then I will strike out that if the Attorney-General likes.

The Attorney-General : I have told you what is in my mind, namely, that it is exceptional to put a defendant in the position where he cannot call those witnesses who reasonably would be supposed to be necessary in order to support his case. The consequence would be this, that directly the jury came to the conclusion that it is a libel he would be placed in this position, that he must be found guilty. If you, gentlemen, would kindly give me in writing any precedents on the matter, I will endeavour to give my decision upon it. I can only say it is a responsibility I wish I had not to bear.

STATESMAN (London), July 1, 1881.—*The Attorney-General's Writ in the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division, The Queen v. Robert Knight.*

Whereas, on the 12th day of January 1881, a Bill of Indictment was preferred against Robert Knight, of No. 11, Haroldstone Road, Earl's Court, and No. 332, Strand, both in the County of Middlesex, Journalist, for having, on the 1st day of October 1880, unlawfully and maliciously written, printed, and published, or caused and procured to be written, printed, and published, in a certain publication called *The Statesman*, a certain scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel, entitled "Restitution of Berar," containing in a certain part thereof divers scandalous, malicious, and defamatory matters and things of and concerning Wikar-ool-Oomra,

Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad, a certain independent Indian 'State in friendship and union with our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and under her protection as Empress of India ;

And whereas, on the 12th day of February 1881, the said indictment was ordered to be removed by *certiorari* from the Central Criminal Court into the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice ;

And whereas the defendant has prayed me to exercise the discretion vested in me by law of directing a *nolle prosequi* to be entered upon the said indictment ;

And whereas I have been attended by counsel for the parties who have caused the indictment to be preferred, and by counsel for the defendant, and having duly considered the various documents and matters which have been laid before me, it appears to me not to be necessary for the ends of justice to continue the prosecution ;

These are, therefore, to authorize and require you forthwith to enter, or cause to be entered, a *nolle prosequi* in my name upon the said indictment, in order to discharge all further proceedings thereupon against the said Robert Knight, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Dated this 3rd day of June 1881.

(Signed) HENRY JAMES, Attorney-General.

To F. COCKBURN, Esq., Her Majesty's Coroner and Attorney in the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice.

STATESMAN (London), *September 30, 1881*.—The following characteristic paragraph appeared in the *Times* of the 5th inst., in the letter it publishes every Monday morning from its Calcutta correspondent:—

"Some attention appears to have been attracted in England by an allegation in the London *Statesman* for July that a message was conveyed to Sir Salar Jung in 1877 threatening him with deportation, and that he undoubtedly believed this to be intended. I am in a position to state that Sir Salar Jung has informed the Resident at Hyderabad that neither directly nor indirectly did he receive *from the Residency* any threat of deportation, and he has authorized the publication of this statement."

We say that the paragraph is characteristic. For years past the Calcutta letters of the *Times* have either been semi-official apologies for the courses pursued by the Indian Government, or eulogistic comments upon whatever it does. Throughout the Afghan War, from its inception, the home public were assured every Monday morning in these letters that never was war more justifiable than that most wanton aggression, and never Viceroy more exactly suited to the needs of India than Lord Lytton. Let what statements might appear to the contrary in the public press of this country, in particular if they were damaging either to Lord Lytton's personal character or to his administration, the writer was always "in a position to state," as he is now, that there was no foundation for them whatever, and that he was "authorized" to make this declaration. The letters were the theme of incessant ridicule in India itself, Lord Lytton's own hand therein, or immediate connection with them, being known everywhere. We do not blame the *Times* for resolving that its Calcutta correspondent shall always be on the Governmental side. It is apparently a principle of the journal to support our rulers for the time being, whether Lord Beaconsfield or Mr. Gladstone is Prime Minister in England, or Lord Lytton or Lord Ripon is Viceroy of India; and if the rôle were but frankly avowed no one would perhaps have any cause of complaint.

We do not presume to unveil the personality of the Calcutta correspondent who denies *The Statesman's* charges in this one special particular, but we say that no importance whatever can be attached to the denial. We have italicized three words in the denial, as the reader will observe ; for we never said that Sir Salar Jung received the threat of deportation *from the Residency*. We were careful what we did say, and our statement was as follows :—

"When one of these master-strokes of 'political' cajolery or coercion is undertaken, the communication is always verbal if possible, or, if anything must be

written, a private and familiar note from an inferior hand is chosen, and the official form avoided. We are not, therefore, in a position to give absolute proof of the authenticity or authority of this disgraceful threat, the reality of which was widely talked of in Hyderabad ; but although we do not believe the actual perpetration of the outrage to have been intended Sir Salar Jung himself undoubtedly believed it. Having already been told that a man of the character and antecedents of Wikarool-Oomra would be installed, in defiance of the Durbar, without pretext or warrant, he no doubt assumed that the Resident had full permission to proceed to any extremities, and may well have argued that his duty now lay in submission ; for if he resisted until he was made a prisoner the administrative independence of the State would be utterly destroyed, and the reign of unrestrained reaction and corruption instituted."

It is noticeable that of the many far graver charges made by us against the Resident and against the Ameer-i-Kabeer no denial whatever is attempted. We might, without impropriety perhaps, construe this challenge of a single fact in our indictment into a tacit admission that our charges, as a whole, are true. And they are true. Neither Sir Richard Meade nor the Ameer-i-Kabeer dare meet us in the Civil Courts of Law to submit themselves to cross-examination. As little dare the Calcutta officials of the Foreign Department do so. Lord Hartington is compelled by official courtesy and custom to refer our charges for report to the Government of India, whose servants are implicated so deeply therein, and who will now be asked to "report" upon them. This farce will have, of necessity, to be gone through before the matter again comes before Parliament. Every effort will be made to persuade Lord Hartington that nothing but ruin to the Indian Empire will follow upon any disclosure of what has been going on for years past at Hyderabad. The danger is that Lord Hartington may succumb to these influences, and once more assure the House, as he did a month ago, that the papers are of "so highly confidential" a nature that they cannot possibly be produced. Does any reasonable being doubt what that assurance means ? Until Lord Hartington has finally dealt with this scandal we refuse to believe that he will allow it to be hushed up by a whole year's continued assurances of the Calcutta correspondent that he is "in a position to state" that our charges are not true. They *are* true. Give us the opportunity of putting Lord Lytton and Sir Richard Meade, with or without their tool the Ameer-i-Kabeer, into the witness-box, and then Sir Salar Jung, before Her Majesty's Judges, and we will *show* that the charges are true. Has Sir Richard Meade not abundant ground to go upon ? He prefers to commit the vindication of his character to the hands of the Government of India, and with singular wisdom ; but it is a very old device.

Nine months ago, when we were stopped on the threshold of these exposures, by the Ameer being wisely counselled to enter a criminal suit against us, that effectually shut our mouth until the Attorney-General's fiat again opened it, Sir George Yule, C.B., himself formerly Resident at Hyderabad, sent us the following letter:—

30, CLANRICARDE GARDENS, BAYSWATER,
February 22nd, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is, I think, of very great importance that the suit which has been brought against you by the Ameer-i-Kabeer, Wikarool-Oomra, Co-Regent of Hyderabad, should go to trial. It would be a public misfortune were it to be compromised ; for, in common with many others who know the facts, I have long been anxious to see the treatment which Salar Jung has of late years received at the hands of the Government of India (particularly in the appointment of Wikarool-Oomra as Co-Regent with him) brought to the notice of the Home Government in such a way as to compel it to make a full inquiry.

I have often thought of addressing the Secretary of State myself on the subject, but have been deterred from doing so by several reasons, of which I need mention only two. (1st) The certainty that any inquiry conducted in the usual

way, by "officials" of the Government of India, would be abortive, and could result only in making Salar Jung's position worse, if that be possible, than it now is. To be thorough and effectual the inquiry must be entrusted to men of high standing wholly unconnected with the Calcutta Foreign Office; and it is for this reason that I so earnestly hope that the libel suit against you may prove the occasion of showing, in open court, before Her Majesty's Judges, the true character of the Ameer's appointment, and the long course of oppression and insult to which Salar Jung has been subjected by the Government of India for years past. (2nd) My second reason is that it would be hopeless to look for any assistance from Salar Jung himself. Without entering into the general question of the position of Native Princes and their Ministers, it is not too much to say that Salar Jung, from hard experience and especially from his treatment of late years, must have lost all faith even in his right to remonstrate against any proceedings of the Resident, and all hope of his representations being regarded as of any weight by the Government of India. His natural caution and modesty have, under the treatment he has received, become developed, I fear, into absolute fault; and anything like co-operation from him, in these circumstances, is not, I am persuaded, to be looked for.

When, therefore, I saw in the *Times* a brief report of the prosecution entered against yourself by the Ameer, I rejoiced at it as an opening that might lead to the exposure of Salar Jung's wrongs without implicating him, and I resolved to offer you such help as I might feel justified in giving towards exposing the character of the Co-Regent, regarding whom you have, to the best of my knowledge and belief, said in your article nothing but the truth, and even less than you would have been justified in saying. In spite of Sir Salar Jung's repeated remonstrances, we have forced upon him, as his colleague, a man who was notoriously his personal enemy, a man who had heavily bribed others in scandalous intrigues against him, and whose servant had openly tried to murder him. What wonder that there should be "no longer any justice in Hyderabad"? as I also have heard in common with yourself.

Although I have not referred in this letter to the other matters discussed in your two articles on the Restoration of Berar I may say that I believe every word in them to be true, and that the main facts are susceptible of complete proof from the reports of our own officers.

(Signed) G. U. YULE,
Ex-Resident at Hyderabad.

To R. KNIGHT, Esq.,
"Statesman" Office.

If any man is "in a position to state" what has been going on for years past at Hyderabad it is the writer of this very important letter. Whom, then, will the public trust on the general issue—Sir George Yule, C.B., or the official apologist who, veiled as the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, has been "in a position to state" so much in the last few years that has betrayed the interests of both countries?

Further interpellations as to the charges made in the July number of this journal against the Government of India and Sir Richard Meade were made in the House of Commons on the 15th inst., and replied to by the Secretary of State as follows:—

"Sir G. Balfour asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would cause a selection of papers for a long series of years connected with the Government of the Nizam to be laid before Parliament, in order that the real state of the relations of that State with the Government of India might be made known, and that the animadversions on the honour and character of the Indian Government and of Indian officers might be cleared away or substantiated by the publication of these official documents.

Mr. Onslow asked whether the noble lord or the Indian Government thought there was the slightest foundation for the allegations against Sir R. Meade.

The Marquis of Hartington said that with regard to the question of the hon. member for Guildford he could not add anything to the statement he made on

Thursday last. In reply to a question which his hon. and gallant friend put to him on Thursday he said that the largest part of these papers were of a confidential character, and that it was perfectly impossible in the public interest to lay them on the table. Further examination convinced him that that was the case, and although it would be possible to produce some of them the great bulk and the most important of them could not be produced. It was, however, the intention of the Government to look at the correspondence, and they might think proper to make some statement with regard to the animadversions on Sir R. Meade."

Mr. Onslow is, we hope, pleased with the answer which his inquiry elicited. Lord Hartington declined, very wisely, to say whether "the Government thought" *The Statesman's* charges well founded or not. Mr. Onslow is very well remembered in India as Sir Richard Temple's private secretary, and what he wanted Lord Hartington to say was what Sir Richard Temple would have been *sure* to say had he been Secretary of State instead of Lord Hartington. Sir George Balfour, on the other hand, honestly desires to know the truth. It is noticeable that the Government has not thought proper to make any further statement with regard to our animadversions on Sir Richard Meade. The truth is that Englishmen have to-day a Government that makes a conscience of its work, a Government that will gladly give Sir Richard Meade a full acquittal, at the right time, if entitled to one, and not else.

If not always consistent with itself, the *Bombay Gazette* is entitled to the praise of being one of the most independent of the Anglo-Indian papers, and in its issue of 6th September it notices the charges made against Sir Richard Meade in our July number, as follows:—

"The Editor of *The Statesman* is no anonymous slanderer, and the passionate conviction that speaks in every line of his paper suggests the welcome thought that he has allowed his zeal to get the better of his discretion. . . . But if Mr. Knight is no anonymous slanderer, Sir Richard Meade, on the other hand, is all that the Marquis of Hartington claimed for him—a very distinguished officer, hitherto of unblemished character; and it must be obvious that while the charges, if sustained, will undoubtedly affect Sir Richard Meade personally, the gravamen of the indictment, in everything but the charge of personal corruption, which Mr. Knight ought not, in our opinion, to have referred to if he was not prepared to vouch for it or disclaim it, lies against the high officials from whom Sir Richard Meade took his orders. Sir Richard Meade must not be permitted to be made the scapegoat of a policy which he did not initiate, and for which he cannot be held personally responsible. With this proviso we confess we think it for the public interests that the charges against the Calcutta Foreign Office which underlie the whole of this article should receive a full and open investigation. The Marquis of Hartington, in reply to the question put to him by Mr. Richard stated that Sir Richard Meade, who was on the Continent, had informed him that with regard to the charges made against himself he thought his proper course would be to place himself in the hands of the Government of India, desiring them to take such steps as they might think proper to ascertain what grounds there were for the imputations that had been made against him. . . . The line thus marked out for himself by Sir Richard Meade is, of course, from his point of view the proper one. . . . We have, however, excellent authority for stating that when the reference to the Government of India has been completed the Secretary of State, whether that step may be recommended by the Indian Government or not, will permit or invite Sir Richard Meade to take the whole matter into a public court of justice, by bringing an action for libel against Mr. Knight. Every facility—including what sanction may be required for the issue of a commission to take evidence in Hyderabad itself—will be given to the two parties to the suit. We shall hope to find that Mr. Knight—as indeed he admits may be the case—has fallen unwittingly into error, and more especially in those parts of his statement of which Sir Richard Meade has most reason to complain. . . . But, whatever the issue to Sir Richard Meade and Lord Lytton may be of the proceedings which are in contemplation, the public interests, whether of the Paramount Power or of the Hyderabad State, must be

advantaged by a full disclosure of all the facts of this long, bitter, and most unfortunate controversy.

We need hardly say that our determination to give publicity to the charges made against Sir Richard Meade, and to the rumours that are everywhere current in Hyderabad concerning his administration, was not arrived at without very great anxiety and long deliberation. Rightly or wrongly, and we believe rightly, we resolved to present them in a shape that could not possibly be ignored by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India. One of the gravest of the charges, in our own eyes, was our statement that under Sir Richard Meade's administration the young Nizam had been utterly ruined, by the management of the palace having been handed over to the Amcer-i-Kabeer (Wikar-ool-Oomra), and by the enforced retirement of the Minister, Sir Salar Jung, from all influence and control in the administration of affairs. Let the reader now observe how some "hanger-on" or other at the Residency justifies every word we wrote as to the fact of the young Prince having been completely debauched under Sir Richard Meade's rule, and then note further the attempt made in the following letter, published in the *Bombay Gazette* of 30th of August, to suggest that it is neither Sir Richard Meade nor the Amcer that is to blame, but Sir Salar Jung!

"HYDERABAD, August 21.—His Highness the Nizam is now enjoying excellent health and strength, and is more lively than he has been for a long time past. The weakness was owing, not to any feebleness of constitution, but to the want of careful supervision over His Highness's domestic habits on the part of those to whose guardianship the young Nizam's mental, moral, and physical training was entrusted. In consequence of this neglect, and through the influence of evil associates, the youthful Prince had, unfortunately, acquired some dissipated habits. Free access to the zenana and a *penchant* for the wine cup in a lad of fifteen years of age necessarily did great mischief to a constitution not naturally robust; and the result was such a change for the worse in the appearance of the young Nizam that it was noticed by the late Resident, Sir Richard Meade, and others, at a public entertainment. The Resident made careful inquiry into the causes of such physical deterioration, and having found them out reported the matter to the Government of India, by whom it was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State.

"Such laxity of supervision on the part of His Highness's guardians was certainly without excuse, and most reprehensible, when it is remembered that besides their Excellencies Sir Salar Jung and the Amcer-i-Kabeer (who, I believe, are his chief guardians, the latter noble being also nearly related to His Highness) there is a very highly paid staff of Englishmen in the Government employ who are retained for the special superintendence of His Highness's moral and physical training, as well as for his scholastic advancement. There are a Superintendent of Education on Rs. 3,000 a month, a Tutor on Rs. 1,200, and a host of learned *Moulvies* on high salaries; yet with such a staff of supervision, so great had been the laxness of all concerned that had it not been for the prompt action taken by Sir Richard Meade, so soon as the feeble condition of His Highness had come to his knowledge, it is not too much to say that His Highness's health might soon have been so much shattered, that recovery would have been almost hopeless. Fortunately Sir Richard dealt with the case very summarily; he insisted on the young Nizam's immediate removal to a separate palace far removed from the zenana, and saw that efficient arrangements were made for the proper care and training of His Highness at his present residence, the 'Poorana Havailee.' The Government, having thus been aroused to a sense of their duty, bestirred themselves, and the male and female servants who had surreptitiously supplied the Prince with intoxicating liquors were sent away twenty-eight miles from Hyderabad, and imprisoned in the fortress of Boughere.

"To these salutary measures on the part of Sir Richard Meade must be attributed the wonderful change in His Highness's health I have noted above. His Excellency the Minister relieved himself of some of the onus of the charge of laxness by throwing a portion of the responsibility upon the Co-Regent, the Amcer-i-Kabeer, who, it is stated, in times past, had more than once placed obstacles in

the way of carrying out arrangements proposed by the Minister for the better training of His Highness. Had Lord Lytton still governed India the severest notice would doubtless have been taken of the great injury done to the young Nizam by the gross laxness of his guardians. As matters stand, however, the Minister and all connected with His Highness's training have been taught a lesson which it is hoped they will not readily forget. Both the Marquis of Hartington and Lord Ripon have expressed to the Hyderabad Government their grave displeasure at what has happened, and have further observed that, as the Minister and all concerned seem at last to have been aroused to the responsibilities of their duties in regard to the care of the young Prince, the Supreme Government would refrain from inquiring too strictly into past neglects, but they gave a warning that any future dereliction of duty would not be so easily overlooked."

At the critical age of twelve years Sir Richard Meade handed the Prince over, practically, to the Ameer-i-Kaboor, and woke up alarmed—when too late—to the knowledge of what he had accomplished. In their fixed determination to punish Sir Salar Jung for his fidelity to the young Nizam's interests, our officials have committed this terrible crime against the Nizam's subjects—that they have ruined the young Prince who is to be their future ruler; and the blame is now laid upon his tutors and upon Sir Salar Jung.

From "*Indian Problems for English Consideration: a Letter to the Council of the National Liberal Federation*," by William Digby, C.I.E., &c., &c.—There now

Indian Statesmen. remains one other class of Indians whom I wish especially to mention. A knowledge of them, and an acquaintance with their work, cannot fail to deepen the respect which the English people should cherish for their fellow-subjects in India. I refer to the statesmen who, in peculiar positions, and with many restraints, have given evidence of the possession of wonderful faculties and marvellous ability. Sir Salar Jung has regenerated the Nizam's dominions; Sir Madhava Rao has changed decay and chaos in Travancore to prosperity and order, and in Baroda has done equally good work, amid difficulties that were stupendous; Sir Dinkur Rao; Mr. Raghunath Rao, Minister to the Maharajah Holkar; and many others who might be named, have displayed the administrative ability of the Indian in no common degree. The capacity of this group of statesmen, taken singly, may be gauged by a brief recital of what Sir Salar Jung has done in the Deccan—first, for the country whose affairs he has administered in time of plenty and in time of famine; and, second, in the prudence and patience he has shown in the face of difficulties innumerable, and of insults well-nigh unbearable. Sir Salar Jung's career has been that of a great Reformer, great in the sense in which Englishmen are apt to regard the work of Mr. Gladstone during the late session of Parliament (1881) as great, viz., in masterly and masterful dealing with complicated land questions which strike at the root of the well-being of society.

This is not the place in which to—nor is it necessary for the purposes of this letter that I should—take a survey of all Sir Salar Jung's good work as a Reformer. It will suffice if I show what he has done in relation to Land Reform, chiefly because that is the great rock ahead in Indian administration. That is the feature respecting which, from the time of Lord Cornwallis's gigantic blunder in creating landlords (in the English sense of the term) and in making a permanent settlement, we, as rulers, have been most helpless and most unsuccessful; and also because, from the intricacies of the subject, from the local knowledge required certitude and satisfaction on this important matter will only be obtained by, and through, Indian statesmen. Sir Salar Jung assumed charge of the government of His Highness the Nizam's dominions in 1853. As soon as he had made himself master of the facts, he took in hand the improvement of the land revenue. He found abuses in plenty existing. Revenue farmers stood between the Government and the peasantry, and became extortioners of the worst class. They invented pretexts for levying taxes which were illegal, and ground down the peasantry almost to powder. The Prime Minister of the Nizam

grappled with this evil and conquered it. A measure of his far-sightedness and courage may be gathered when I state that, twenty years after revenue farming had been abolished in the Native State he administered, that infamous system flourished in the colony of Ceylon, which is ruled from Downing-street, and for whose righteous government the English people are directly responsible. Fortunately, a change for the better in some slight degree has been brought about in Ceylon by the adoption of such means as this letter is intended to call forth., viz., constitutional agitation through the British Parliament.

The difficulties in the way of Sir Salar Jung were stupendous, but he overcame them. Probably, dry details respecting the Sarbastedari system, the Zemindary system, or the Ryotwari principle, are unnecessary. It may suffice if I state that, after the most careful investigation, the Minister decided not to follow Lord Cornwallis's bad example,

Right in the soil
conferred on tenants.

and create a new class of landlords, though the advantage to an administration of such a class was not overlooked. The decision which Sir Salar came to was in favour of direct communication between the Government and the tenants, the latter obtaining rights in the soil they cultivated, rights at the mention of which many members of the British House of Commons would stand aghast, and the contemplation of which would drive Mr. Henry Chaplin to frenzy. In the direction towards which land legislation in Ireland is tending, Sir Salar Jung laboured, with the result that the prosperity of the inhabitants of the Deccan is vastly increased, the State revenues are enormously larger, exactions and impositions are reduced to a minimum, and a degree of general contentment marks His Highness's dominions, which is not to be found in the larger portion of the British-ruled territory by which those dominions are surrounded. There is no honour in the keeping of the British Crown too great for the man who performed this task—(if the next Garter that falls vacant were sent to Hyderabad a right step would be taken); but, instead of receiving honour, because Sir Salar Jung, through too great devotion to his country, is out of favour with the Calcutta Foreign Office, he has been subjected to contumely and insult of a petty and discreditable kind. The story of his treatment, however, cannot find a place here.

Sir Salar Jung's third reform in connection with the land was the abolition of payment in kind. This is a system vicious in many ways, and objectionable both to the State and to the cultivator. Exact knowledge by the State of the area of the land or of the producibility of the soil is not, under payment in kind, a prerequisite, and is not possessed; all that the State cares about is the quantity of grain produced, of which it claims its portion. Sir Salar Jung's description of the evils of the old mode, contained in a State paper which he furnished to the Famine Commissioners in 1879, is complete in showing the necessity for doing away with that system. The adaptability of native officials to administrative work of a high order was proved by the thorough manner in which a change so great as this and so difficult was simultaneously and peacefully introduced throughout the territory affected. Well-considered rules and energetic effort speedily overcame the obstacles which at first sight appeared insurmountable.

These facts, described in barest form, from a wealth of material available, will serve to show the capacity of the Indian mind, and indicate the excellent material which is ready for English thoughtfulness to take in hand, and shape for higher and better things than the mere "hewing of wood and drawing of water," in which all but a very small portion of that material is now employed. A wider field, larger opportunities, are imperatively needed for the educated and able men of India.

Forty millions
starving.

I.—Forty millions of people are in a chronic state of starvation.

Nine millions died
from want of food.

II.—During the past twenty years over nine millions of people have died from want of food.

III.—In twenty years, i.e., during the period, between 1858 and 1879, India has been under the direct rule of Great Britain, we have trebled the public debt, raising it from between fifty and sixty millions to between one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty millions.

Great increase of
public d. bt.

So far as the mass of the inhabitants are concerned, all this time—as I have already shown, and shall show in fresh detail—life has been made increasingly hard to them : their struggle for existence has become fiercer, their life far less worth living. It has happened

British rule worse than native in time of calamity.

that precisely in accord with the prevalence of the more complete English mode of rule (save and except, under Lord Northbrook, in Behar in 1874) in time of calamity the suffering of the people has been greatest : where native administration has had sway the conditions have been easier and better for the sufferers.

Native administration in famine times.

This was strikingly manifested during the famine of 1876-77. Mysore and the Nizam's dominions are both Native States. The first-named State at that time was under the special control of the Government of India, and was administered by a strong force of English officials. To say nothing of the money-loss involved in crop-failure, the destruction in other respects was frightful ; one-fourth of the population was swept away. In the latter State, where an able Indian statesman holds the reins of power, the distress was grappled with in a masterly manner in the earlier stages of the calamity, and the death-rate was only slightly above the average. The Nizam's dominions had practically recovered from the famine within a year or two of the height of the distress. It will take Mysore a generation, or may be a century, to completely recover itself. Comparison between Sir Salar Jung's districts and those in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, again under British control, exhibits the same features as would a

Comparison favourable to native administration.

comparison between the two Native States. In the Nizam's dominions you have the English system of administration thoroughly grasped by an Indian statesman, modified so much as might be necessary to meet existing circumstances, and carried out by Indian agency. The result is far superior to what can be accomplished where English ideas are carried out by English officials who are aliens and foreigners—who do not thoroughly understand either country or people, and, what is worse, in too many instances, do not care to try to understand them. Herein lies the radical defect of our present arrangements in India, and until a change is made neither will India be so well ruled as it ought to be, nor will justice be done to the country and its inhabitants.

India is in a worse condition than it would have been had our countrymen relied less upon their own theories, and trusted more to the experience stored in native minds, which experience was available to them, had they cared to seek it. The fact need hardly be stated—

Indian experience not sufficiently availed of.

it is so patent—that Indians, while not unmindful of certain benefits which have accrued to their country from British supremacy (indeed, the leaders of Indian opinion are always ready to pay the sincerest homage to such good as has been accomplished) would be reluctant to admit that our rule, on the whole, has been all that could be desired, or has made for the lasting good of the land. But because their attitude towards us must be hostile it does not at all follow that their opinions are valueless. On the contrary, and it is noteworthy, the worst the Indians say about their country, and its decadence in some respects, is more than borne out by independent observers. For instance, the memorandum prepared and published by Mr. J. Caird, C.B., after his visit to India in connection with the Famine Commission is a serious indictment of the manner in which the country is administered. Special apologists, such as Mr. Justice Cunningham, of the High Court of Justice. Calcutta, and others, against their will and in spite of their denials, are compelled to

Justice Cunningham's admissions.

support the views of outside observers. Mr. Cunningham has recently produced a work, "British India and its Rulers." Like Sir Richard Temple's "India in 1880," it is intended as a glorification of our rule. Yet the Judge is compelled to state that the old native manufactures have died out, or have been superseded by European fabrics. He also admits that famines have occurred with great regularity, and with terrible effect. Since the beginning of this century there have been eleven great famines, which have affected large provinces. Some part of India suffers from famine two years in every nine ; a famine of some sort or other may be expected every eleven or twelve years ; and a great famine—

such as that which devastated Madras in 1876-77, or Bengal in 1774—may come twice in a century.*

The Prime Minister of the Maharajah Holkar, in a memorandum on famines in India, does not hesitate to assert that in his opinion, and in the opinion of those who, like him, have special and full knowledge, great decadence has accompanied our administration. "In the fourteenth century," says Mr. Raghunath Rao, "there was only one famine in India. In the fifteenth century it was the same. In the seventeenth century there were two famines. In the eighteenth there were eight famines. In seventy-seven years of the nineteenth century there were more than twelve famines; I am told there have been eighteen famines." There may be unintentional exaggeration here, as local severe scarcities in the present century are probably counted as famines; in past centuries they would most likely have passed away unrecorded. The very able and exhaustive report on the famine in the Nizam's dominions, prepared by Maulvi Mahdi Ali, Revenue Secretary at Hyderabad, however, gives evidence which goes entirely to support the position taken by the Maharajah Holkar's Minister.

DECCAN TIMES, May 28, 1881.—*Nawab Mukaram-ud-Dowlah*.—The interest excited in England some few years back by the visit of Sir Salar Jung is likely to be renewed in some degree by the visit of Sir Salar's nephew, who starts for Europe by to-morrow's mail steamer. Nawab Mukaram-ud-Dowlah Bahadur, the Revenue Minister of H. H. the Nizam's Government, or the Suddur-ul-Mohum Mal, as he is called in Hyderabad, is the son-in-law as well as the nephew of Sir Salar; and remembering the absurd mistakes that were made in the English and more especially the French journals concerning his uncle's position in India it may be well to anticipate possible errors of the same kind in the present instance, and to give our English readers a short account of their new Indian visitor. Nawab Mukaram-ud-Dowla, though he will, like the Third Napoleon, be chiefly regarded as the 'nephew of his uncle,' is a man of parts and ability. He was trained directly under the Minister's own supervision, and though he can scarcely lay claim to the title of scholar he is nevertheless the most accomplished of the young nobles at Hyderabad. Without possessing the extreme suavity of manner that distinguishes his uncle he has the dignified bearing of the best school of Mahomedan gentlemen, and without the incessant energy and ripe experience of Sir Salar he is nevertheless quick and resolute in action. He belongs to a school that does not affect English dress and manners, but having been thoroughly grounded in English etiquette by his uncle he is at his ease in English society, and reads and writes English as well as he speaks it. He is an ardent Mahomedan, but like many of the best of the modern followers of the Prophet, he is very tolerant of the religious views of others. He belongs to the reform party in State matters, and has thoroughly identified himself with the policy of Sir Salar. At the outset of his career he was employed by the Minister, after the fashion of young politicians at home, as a private secretary, and all orders were issued under his signature. For the last ten years he has filled the office of Revenue Minister; for the last three he has been entrusted with the additional duties of Revenue Minister; and under his administration, which embraced the trying period of the famine, the revenues of the State have greatly prospered. He wrote the first Financial Statement of Hyderabad, to which we have had occasion to refer more than once—an able document summing up the financial history of the past as well as the position in the current year; and he is now engaged in the preparation of a voluminous *Gazetteer* of the Nizam's dominions, to match the *Gazetteers* published by the Government of India, and of an independent work, the 'History of the Deccan.' On the two occasions when Sir Salar quitted Hyderabad for tour through India and a visit to Europe Nawab Mukaram-ud-Dowlah officiated as Minister of Hyderabad, the most important Native State in India, and

* The *Saturday Review* is constrained to say of Mr. Justice Cunningham's optimism, "With all these averages and uncertainties, it seems idle to dilate on the happiness of Indian proprietorship."

kept the turbulent population of Rohillas and Arabs so well in check that there was not a single disturbance. Some five years since, he travelled over the whole of Northern India, and he has spent two years in personally inspecting the different districts of the Hyderabad State. He is now anxious to add to experience by an extended course of European travel. He was originally invited to accompany Sir Richard Meade, who, in spite of the complications of Hyderabad politics, always preserved a warm regard for him, and he has now, we believe, arranged to meet Sir Richard in England. A political colouring will of course be given to his visit by native politicians, but he goes, like any other traveller, for the interest to be found in the journey and the pleasure of incessant change. If indeed he can be said to form any special object in his visit, it is connected with educational matters and the prosperity of an important school that, with the assistance of the Government and the nobility, he has just started at Hyderabad. With this object in view he will visit Oxford and Cambridge. Unlike most native noblemen, he travels without a host of retainers, his retinue being limited to a companion, a doctor, a munshee, and a few servants.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *July 12, 1881*.—From our Roving Correspondent in the Nizam's dominions,* dated Kadeemnabad, June 20.—*No. VII. — The Village Patel.*

Of all the members of the village community I respect and esteem the Patel the most. I always approach him with a feeling of reverence, for he can generally show a much longer pedigree than many of the bluest blood of the land can boast of. When civilization had hardly dawned over Europe; when blind Homer wrote and sung; when Alexander invaded India; then the ancestors of most of the present Patels ruled over their little villages, and carried on their multifarious duties in pretty much the same way as their descendants do now.

In my long wanderings over the country I have met with three distinct classes of Patels. First on the list comes the martial-looking Mahratha, bewhiskered, bedecked, and bejewelled; attired in costly raiments; armed with sword and spear; and gaily caracoling on a richly-caparisoned Deccan horse. Next in order, there is the prosperous Kunbi Patel of a market town, with his gold and silver ornaments; his costly turban, with its brocade end stuck up in a conspicuous manner; his linen *anghurka* and silk-bordered *dhoti*. As he rides demurely on his tall mare to market, he looks on his person and attire with complacent satisfaction, convinced that the dark-eyed Kunbi beauties who pass him on the road regard him with no unfavourable eye. Lastly comes the poverty-stricken Patel of a humble village, looking in his coarse-spun and homely garments like any ordinary *raiat*, and with a demeanour meek and modest, trudging on foot to the next market-town.

The Patel of Kadeemnabad is one with whom I can claim a long acquaintance. He is a Kunbi by caste, is prosperous in his circumstances, and is popular amongst his people. He is intelligent, shrewd, and well-informed, and is learned in the Mahrathi language. He is blessed with three wives and five children; he holds five hundred acres of land, and owns three brood mares, as many milch-cows, a buffalo, and twenty head of cattle. He has a large and comfortable house, and I always find hospitable welcome whenever I enter it. It was but yesterday evening that, sitting on a carpet spread on the *chabutra* of the Patel's house, chewing his *pansupari*, and smoking his *chillum*, I had a long talk with him on a subject dear to his heart, and that is—the dignity of his office.

"Ah!" said Haibuth Rao (for that is the name of my friend), "our office is a very ancient institution. We are the *Girām adhikaris* mentioned in the honoured code of our lawgiver Manu, and the Patels of modern times. Centuries have rolled on; the Hindu, the Mahomedan, and the English have in their turn ruled the country, but, in spite of time and changes, our institutions have been preserved to us almost intact. And yet we are not now what we were once. There was a time when the Patels commanded great respect among the people, and were honoured by

* Since contributing his No. VI., in June of last year, your Roving Correspondent, who is stricken in years, has been laid up on a sick bed by an attack of rheumatism, which brought his peregrination, and very nearly himself, to an end. Thanks to a merciful Providence, he is recovered now, and is once more abroad on his pilgrimage.

Government ; they were the mouthpiece of the *raiyats*, and represented them in the Council of Government ; they were in truth the conciliators between the rulers and the ruled. All these things are now changed ; the dignity of our office is departed ; our influence is gone ; and the munificent perquisites we once received are now cut down to a mere trifle."

"What you say interests me much," said I. "Will you tell me what the duties of a Patel were in the olden days, and what were his emoluments?"

"That would be a difficult question to answer," replied Haibuth Rao, "for, truth to tell, no one can now afford accurate information on this subject. Tradition has it that we were very powerful and wealthy at one time, but beyond traditionary accounts of a vague and uncertain nature we have nothing substantial to go upon. But we know what the Patel was a century or two ago. Then he was the Governor of his village ; he gave out lands, collected the revenues, decided petty magisterial cases and all village disputes, looked after the police duties of the village, and raised voluntary subscriptions from the *raiyats* for the construction or repairs of the town-wall or public buildings, such as chaodis, dhurramsals, and temples. The Patel was at the head of the *Punchayet* (the village council of elders), and as such he had great influence over his people. Then there were certain privileges (*man pan*, as we call them) enjoyed by the Patel, which he fondly cherished, and took an honest pride in. On the *Pola* day they were the Patel's oxen which headed the procession ; on the *Dasera* feast he took precedence of all in worshipping the *Apta* tree ; on the *Holee* he was the first to worship and fire the sacred pile of fuel ; and on *Sirulsett* day he took precedence in the procession in which the image of Bhooloba was carried. When a marriage occurred in the village the *kunkoo* (vermilion) was first sent to the Patel, and at feasts the senior woman in the Patel's household took precedence of all. Most of these privileges are in existence at the present day. Then we had our *huks*, or dues. Each *bania* (grocer) presented us with a seer of salt on *Pola* day, and with five dried cocoanuts on the *Holee* feast. Besides this, we received on every market-day a *supari* (areca nut) from each grocer's shop. The *tayli* (oil-presser) gave us five seers of oil on the *Pola* feast. The *koshti* (weaver) presented us with a piece of cotton stuff on *Dasera* day, and with a reel of cotton thread on *Pola* day. The *tamboli* supplied us with 25 *pans* (betel-leaves) every week, and the *dhungur* gave us a sheep and a *kumbli* (coarse woollen blanket) at the *Dasera* feast. On the same day the *chambar* presented us with a pair of shoes. Then, again, we had our *Ghoogri* dues : thus for every *chaoor* (about 100 acres) of land cultivated we received an annual present of two maunds of grain, and for every field sown with hemp we received five seers of the crop raised. Besides this, the Government paid us five per cent. on the revenues we collected from the village. All our perquisites are stopped now ; the Enam lands held by us on rent-free tenure have been confiscated ; and our emoluments are now simply limited to about five per cent. on the revenues we collect. At the same time I must admit that our duties have now been considerably lightened ; responsible officers have been appointed over us ; and abuses that existed when our powers were undefined have now been put a stop to. So what we get now are fairly good wages, and we are thankful for small mercies."

We then talked over different matters. In the course of conversation I had occasion to mention the name of a Mahratha Patel I knew. My friend smiled.

"Some fifty years ago," said he, "that man's father was nothing better than a dacoit. He was a free lance, and kept some fifty or sixty armed retainers, whom he employed in plundering villages and travellers. The Government of the day could not do anything against him, for he resided in a fortified *gadi*, and from his safe retreat he laughed at the efforts of the police to capture him. In this way he amassed considerable wealth, which he bequeathed to his son on his death. In days gone by five out of a hundred Patels lived by plunder and rapine."

The shades of night had now begun to close round the village. The storm which had been brewing for some time now burst overhead. The thunder growled, the lightning flashed, and the "big rain came dancing to the earth." So I wished the *Giram adhikari* of Manu a hasty *Ram, Ram*, and hurried home through the gathering darkness and storm.

TIMES OF INDIA, July 20, 1881.—The Nawab Mukaram-ud-Dowla Bahadur of Hyderabad has been received with notable distinction by the English public; and everywhere the hope is expressed that he is but the herald of other native nobles, who may make the grand tour. His Excellency has been promptly elected an honorary member of the East India and United Service and the Army and Navy Clubs. On Monday, accompanied by Mr. Seymour FitzGerald, Aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India, Major-General Thornhill, C.B., and his Secretary, Dr. Ahmed Hussein, he spent the day in the inspection of the docks and shipping of Liverpool, the tender *Vigilant* being placed at his disposal. The Mayor was absent from the town, and the duty fell to the Deputy Mayor (Mr. Alderman Hall) to entertain the Nawab at luncheon in the Town Hall, where a number of leading merchants of Liverpool made up the company. Next day His Excellency visited Manchester, where the Mayor received him in the Town Hall, and escorted him to the Exchange and other local "sights," and afterwards, when the whole party had lunched, visits were paid to Messrs. Jardine's mill, where the process of spinning cotton was fully explained. I believe it was intended that the party should go on to Birmingham and other leading centres of industry and population, but the Nawab Mukaram being slightly unwell postponed the rest of his journey and came back to London, where the engagements pressed upon him are startling to a novice in the life of a London season at high tide. He attended the State concert at Buckingham Palace on Wednesday.

TIMES OF INDIA, August 3, 1881.—The Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury entertained the Nawab Mukurram-ud-Dowla, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Miss Tait, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis and Marchioness of Exeter and Lady Isabel Cecil, Count de Carnota, the Earl and Countess of Carnarvon, the Earl and Countess of Courtown, the Earl and Countess of Longford, the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lady Edith Ashley, Viscount and Viscountess Bury, Viscount Curzon, Lord and Lady Clinton, Mr. Marwood Tucker, Mr. Holland, Miss Alderson, Mr. E. Clarke, and Mr. FitzGerald, at dinner at the family residence in Arlington-street, Piccadilly, on Wednesday evening, July 13. Later Lady Salisbury had a reception, which was very numerously attended.

TIMES OF INDIA, August 9, 1881.—The Nawab Mukurram-ud-Dowla has been presented to the Queen at Windsor Castle by Earl Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

TIMES OF INDIA, August 9, 1881.—*Political and Parliamentary Gossip.*—The following is from our Political Correspondent, dated London, 22nd July 1881:—

"You will not have forgotten that some six months ago Mr. Robert Knight of the *Statesman* was summoned to the Bow Street police court on a charge of libel on the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad. Mr. Knight was committed for trial, a process for which under the present law there is no option. But the suit was removed from the Central Criminal Court by *certiorari* to the Court of Queen's Bench, surprise being expressed at the time by the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Bowen that a criminal suit should be filed in the case at all, as the prosecutor was residing abroad and out of the jurisdiction of the court. Thereupon Mr. Knight memorialized the Attorney-General to stop the proceedings by a writ of *nolle prosequi*, and thus compel resort to a civil action if any legal process at all. The case was decided in favour of the Editor of the *Statesman*, the Attorney-General pointing out that unless he granted the writ 'the defendant would be put in a position where he could not call those witnesses necessary in order to support his case, and the consequence would be this, that directly the jury came to the conclusion that it is a libel—in the legal sense—he would be placed in this position, that he must be found guilty.' The action of the Ameer-i-Kabeer of Hyderabad would therefore appear to have received its quietus. But a new and even more serious chapter in the rather checkered journalistic career of Mr. Knight is now opened by the publication (fully three weeks behind the nominal date) of

the July number of the *Statesman* with a long and startling story of the wrongs of the Nizam. This is not the place to enter fully into the subject of the grave accusations which are fiercely launched; but I may be allowed to express my own personal regret that a writer of such talent and unique experience cannot deal with any topic relative to India without overflowing with sesquipedalian indignation. Who it is that Mr. Knight chiefly thunders at and defies to take his remedy in a court of justice will be seen by the following sentences in the article:—"The instigator and author of the suit was himself the foremost actor in the transactions of the last four years at Hyderabad. * * * We lay our hands upon him unfalteringly. * * * We let the Ameer go. He is not worthy of further pursuit. The true offender is our own officer, Sir Richard Meade, now in England. * * * With Sir Richard Meade in London, we demand that these heavy charges against him should be inquired into, for the honour of the nation and the reform of our Indian administration.' "

DELHI GAZETTE, August 13, 1881.—*The Knight and "the Great Lord."*—The July number of the *Statesman*, just to hand, fully explains how it was brought about that the criminal prosecution—persecution?—in the High Court of London of the doughty Knight Robert was forbidden. Our readers were made aware some time ago that the case had been stopped by a fiat of *nolle prosequi* issued by the Attorney General. The *Statesman* furnishes a full report of the arguments of counsel that led to that result. Suffice it to say here that it did not appear to the Attorney General "to be necessary for the ends of justice to continue the prosecution," and it was therefore ordered to be struck off the file—"quashed" is the better word. And forthwith the Knight resumes his armour, springs on to the back of his horse (*Hobby, by Conceit, out of Self*), and couching his keen lance rides full speed at—Sir Richard Meade and Major Euan Smith! If those gentlemen could accept the challenge—but we do not at present see how they can do so—the combat would be severe and remarkable.

Mr. Knight says:—"The *Statesman* is the first systematic attempt that has been made to reveal to the nation the dark and unknown places of our Indian administration; and the Indian bureaucracy is well aware that these places will not bear to have light let in on them. If the conductors of this paper were ignorant slanderers, the secret promoters of this prosecution were sufficiently astute to understand that by a statement of the truth its slanders would be made impotent for evil. But they knew that it had spoken but the truth; and therefore it was that, instead of fair discussion, the law was invoked in order, if possible, to close our lips. It was not merely an attempt to gag the Press, but an effort to hide from the nation facts which it is of the utmost importance it should know. In so far as the Ameer was concerned the case is over, to our own disappointment and that of the large body of gentlemen—some of them in India, and others in this country—who knew or gravely suspected the truth of our allegations, and that we had not disclosed the worst aspects of the case. The Attorney-General having stopped the prosecution, we considered carefully what we should do, and at last made up our minds. The real prosecutor in the case was never disclosed. He kept carefully in the background. It was not the Ameer with whom we had to fight. We knew that all along. It was a more powerful foe. It was the man who had forced the Ameer upon Sir Salar Jung, as Co-Regent and colleague, to reduce the Minister to submission and silence. The instigator and author of the suit was himself the foremost actor in the transactions of the last four years at Hyderabad, which will be found described in the latter part of our article on Berar in the present number, and was no other than the ex-British-Resident. We lay our hand upon him unfalteringly, as having, by his proceedings, made the British name an infamy in Southern India. These are heavy charges to bring against an old officer of the State, and we know well their gravity. We let the Ameer go. He is not worthy of further pursuit. The true offender is our own officer, Sir Richard Meade, now here in England. His deputy in the task of forcing the Ameer as a colleague upon the Minister, and his demoralizing presence upon the young Nizam, was Major Euan

Smith, also in England. We appeal solemnly to the nation to insist on the cause between us and these men being adjudged with the gravity that such an impeachment calls for. Were the occasion not one of overwhelming importance both to this country and the people and Princes of India, we should have allowed it to pass away. As it is, we can do no other than what we have now done, and we await the result. In the mean time let our readers peruse attentively the tale of shame we have narrated further on in this issue."

We must leave our readers, if they be sufficiently interested in the subject, to read the really able, but not so utterly unanswerable, article, entitled "Restitution of Berar—III. A Tale of Shame," from the columns of the *Statesman* itself. Our present bounden duty, and very laudable purpose, is to enter a solemn protest, even from the dark backwoods of generally benighted India, against the cruel treatment to which Mr. Knight has been subjected. He tells the public, and the public will believe him of course, that the wanton interference of the Attorney-General in the pending criminal prosecution has been to himself and a "large body" of others the cause of grievous "disappointment." We turn to the report in the same number of the *Statesman* to find that an individual named "Waddy, Q. C.," and another named "Besley," "instructed by Messrs. Shaen, Roscoe, and Co.," had the audacity, on the 2nd April 1881, to go before one "Henry James" described as "Attorney-General," and declare that they represented Mr. Knight and came there to speak on his behalf. At any rate "Waddy" said:—"I appear, Sir, in this case in support of a memorial presented to you by the defendant" [Regina v. Knight], "a copy of which I believe has already been sent to you." We are bound to believe either that Mr. Knight knew nothing of any memorial, nor of the parties professing to represent him, or that he was not disappointed at the result of his memorial; unless he wishes us to understand that he signed and presented the said memorial against his own judgment and will. Reading the words "The Attorney-General having stopped the prosecution, we considered carefully what we should do, and at last made up our minds," apart from the report of the proceedings before the Attorney-General, one would be led to think that Mr. Knight was heartily desirous that the prosecution should proceed, but that the A. G., to shield his opponents, had most unjustly intervened the exceptional power he holds. Then he says:—"We let the Ameer go. He is not worthy of further pursuit," when the fact is he shook himself out of the grasp of the Ameer with some difficulty—and immediately fastens upon Sir Richard Meade and Major Euan Smith, men who were at the time in the service of Government, and acting under its instructions, and who dare not defend themselves against Mr. Knight's onslaught without permission and without having free access to public records.

We cannot, we must confess, understand how a public prosecution can by any reflecting mind be considered the most appropriate manner of either "gagging the Press" or of hiding "from the nation facts which it is of the utmost importance it should know." Mr. Knight evidently thinks so, and yet when referring to his attack upon Sir Richard Meade and Major Smith he "solemnly appeals to the nation to insist upon the cause between" him "and these men being adjudged with the gravity that such an impeachment calls for."

A good cause may be considerably injured, and may even be lost, by want of tact and judgment, and by that description of advocacy known as "unjustifiably violent." Mr. Knight may or may not be correct in the statement that his journal is "the first systematic attempt that has been made to reveal to the nation the dark and unknown places of our Indian administration," but quite sure are we it will not be the first failure in the attempt to awaken attention to faults not beyond remedy, and to convert a nation to the necessity of inquiry, by the wholesale condemnation of a body of officials who have difficulties almost paralyzing to contend with, and the violent abuse of individuals who, whatever their failings, strive to do their duty in that position of life in which "a paternal despotism" hampered by the vilest passions of the human race may place them. If Mr. Knight, the self-commissioned Champion of India, were actuated by any other than selfish motives, he would not be so violent, and would not so persistently near a good cause by his ill-judged advocacy. We cannot avoid the conclusion that it is not

India to which he is devoting his time and talents, but Robert Knight. Evidently he believes in himself, and has fully realized the fact that if *he* were appointed Viceroy India would be a flourishing Eden, and the people would be protected from the persuasive powers of any serpent that might invade the sacred enclosure—our own idea being, at the same time, that he would soon create a howling wilderness inhabited by a race rivalling the unhappy occupants of Pandemonium.

He had a good opportunity of doing India a service which would have won for himself a name in history. He has lost it by a too free indulgence in self-glorification, and the display of a much too keen desire to sacrifice everything and everybody to personal conceit.

DECCAN TIMES, *August 17, 1881.*—*The Nawab Mookroom-ood-Dowlah.*—The Nawab Mookroom-ood-Dowlah Bahadur, Revenue Minister, returned from England yesterday evening. He was accompanied by Mr. Moulvi Mahdee Ali, Mr. Ruttonjee Dustoor, and Mr. Syed Mahomed. The Nawab was met at the station by His Excellency Sir Salar Jung's two sons and several city noblemen. He seems to have benefited much by his trip. Mr. Syed Mahomed is the gentleman attached to the Indian Civil Service whose services have been applied for by His Highness's Government for special duty here.

TIMES OF INDIA, *August 23, 1881.*—Mr. O'Donnell has figured largely this week as a questioner regarding Indian affairs, and in other ways shows that he watches the business of India with an attention which it would be well for many English members to imitate. Of course he overdoes it, and starts into a Sadler's Wells frenzy upon the slightest provocation. There was, for instance, a wrangle in the House on Monday regarding the order of business, in the course of which Sir George Balfour asked when the Indian Budget was to come on, and whether the assistance to be given to India would be given in instalments or in a lump sum. Mr. Gladstone replied that he had nothing to add to what had been said before regarding the Indian subvention, viz., that India would be put under an obligation to repay the £2,000,000 advanced, and that the remainder of the subvention would be made in a certain number of annual instalments. No reply was given to the question regarding the Indian Budget; and thereupon Mr. O'Donnell interposed with the gibe that if the Liberal Party had been in opposition and such incidents were brought forward as wholesale murder in Indian gaols—for the charges on that matter amount to nothing less—the Liberal Party would be in a ferment of generous indignation on the subject. "I do not belong to the Liberal Party," exclaimed the elect of Dungarvan, "and I hope that Heaven may spare me from that final fall; but I think that the Government should give the House the opportunity of discussing the affairs of the people of India, who, like the Irish people, are deprived of every form of constitutional liberty. When the Prime Minister was in opposition he took from my hands a motion on the enslavement of thought and opinion in India by the Vernacular Press Act. That was two years ago; but nothing has since been done in the matter." There is no telling how much further Mr. O'Donnell would have gone in this line if the speaker had not gently reminded him that the question of the Vernacular Press of India was not now before the House. I should explain that Mr. O'Donnell's opening allusion was to a question he had asked at the earlier part of the sitting. He asked whether it was a fact that an outbreak had occurred in the gaol of Gulburga, in which a large number of native prisoners and sepoys had been killed and wounded, and whether the Secretary for India could state the exact number of casualties, and what steps were being taken to ascertain the causes of the outbreak. Lord Hartington replied that it was a fact that an outbreak of a serious character had taken place in the gaol named, which is in the Nizam's territory. He could not give the exact number of casualties, inasmuch as the Nizam was the proper authority to inquire into the matter.

Then Mr. O'Donnell reads his *Statesman*, and threatens to ask some delicate questions with regard to Sir Salar Jung and his treatment by great officials in India.

Meantime he gives that very outspoken and extraordinarily irregular magazine the benefit of a free advertisement by asking Lord Hartington "whether it is the fact, as stated in the *Statesman* of July last, that during the year 1878-9 more than £3,000,000 were paid from the revenues of India as annuities and furlough pay; and whether the Government will take any steps to diminish that annual drain on the Indian tax-payers." Lord Hartington admitted that the sum mentioned was accurate; but he pointed out that in the case of covenanted servants a large portion of the pensions had been paid by the persons who received them, in the shape of a percentage of 4 per cent. upon their income during the whole period of their service. The whole question of these charges had been referred to a Committee of Council for investigation and report; but it was found that it was not possible materially to reduce this "annual drain" on the resources of India. The only way in which such charges could be reduced was by the employment in important positions of the natives of India. Several suggestions on the subject had been made from time to time by the Home Government to the Government of India, and no opportunity would be lost of pressing it upon the attention of the Government of India in the future.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *August 27, 1881.—Outbreak in India.*—The following is from our own correspondent, dated Hyderabad, 21st August :—

"Mr. O'Donnell asked the Secretary of State for India whether it was a fact that an outbreak had occurred in the gaol, Gulburga, in which a large number of native prisoners and sepoys had been killed and wounded; and whether he could state the exact number of casualties, and what steps were being taken to ascertain the causes of the outbreak.

"The Marquis of Hartington said he had received information of the outbreak, but he could not give information as to the exact number of the casualties, inasmuch as the account had not been directly furnished by the Government of India."

PIONEER, *September 16, 1881.*—The case between the Amir-i-Kabir at Hyderabad and Mr. Knight is embittered by the action of the said Amir-i-Kabir in prosecuting Mr. Knight criminally for certain articles about him which he considered to be malicious libels. However slanderous and clumsy these may have been, of course the Hyderabad Minister was very ill advised in making them the subject of a criminal prosecution. No language can be strong enough to condemn the idiocy of the law as it stands at present, and permits angry men who conceive themselves offended by some libellous statement to be themselves the judges as to whether they shall proceed against their enemy by civil process or by criminal indictment. The Amir-i-Kabir blundered into the choice of the most offensive mode of defence offered by the law; and in so doing he naturally enlisted on the side of Mr. Knight a great deal of sympathy, which the merits of the case would not have secured him. The affair has been complicated, since by various misunderstandings Mr. Knight appears to be possessed by the belief that the Government of India instigated the Amir-i-Kabir to undertake his prosecution. This impression we believe to be quite erroneous. The Co-Regent consulted legal advisers on his own account, and got from them the terribly bad advice which led him to undertake the criminal prosecution. Now, of course, his assailant has been embittered against him to an extraordinary degree, hence no doubt the trouble which began the other day in Parliament, and will be certainly on again next session. Nor is the case one in which the Amir-i-Kabir can expect to come off with altogether flying colours. Probably every specific statement which Mr. Knight has made about him is wrong. Mr. Knight is a man who appears constitutionally incapable of accuracy in his public statements. But it can be shown, and no doubt it will be shown, in the course of future discussions and wrangling over papers which have been demanded, and are now, we believe, in course of preparation by the Indian Government, that the Co-Regent was for a time under a cloud, officially, in connection with certain old attempts at bribery. He is said to have been the victim of a curious swindle in this affair. However, it would be premature to go into the details till exact information is available. All that

we need emphasize at present is that a great quantity of old mud has been unnecessarily stirred, and will be presently flung about with renewed violence, all because—to pay due attention to indirect causes—the law of libel is so stupid that the Nizam's Co-Regent was beguiled into prosecuting Mr. Knight by indictment. We have never heard a man of sense dispute the position, so often taken up in these columns on this subject, that the criminal prosecution for libel should only be allowed to be undertaken with the sanction of a public law officer, or, as would perhaps be better still, with the regular sanction, on an *ex-parte* statement, of a superior court. Such sanction would naturally be denied except in cases where the existence of serious private malice, and of very serious consequence to the person slandered, could be established beforehand. In all other cases the civil process affords the sufferer by a slander ample facilities for obtaining redress. Had the Amir-i-Kabir, in the case which suggests these remarks, laid an action for damages against Mr. Knight, he might very likely have gained a victory; and he would at all events have remained in possession of public sympathy if he had been able to show that Mr. Knight had been attacking him unjustly. As it is, what has happened? His mode of attack appeared so shamefully vindictive to every impartial bystander that nobody cared to ask whether Mr. Knight's charges were right or wrong. The proceedings are finally stifled, the Amir-i-Kabir is left without any redress; and bystanders are glad, all things considered, that he has been worsted.

TIMES OF INDIA, *September 20, 1881*.—There was a Parliamentary election the other day at Edinburgh, and, as at Elgin, there was something like a split in the Liberal ranks. In the *Edinburgh Daily Review* of the 20th ult. there is a telegraphic message from their daily Parliamentary correspondent to the following effect:—"There is another candidate willing if the Edinburgh constituency is prepared to say 'yes.' He is Mr. Seymour Keay, a native of Edinburgh, and an alumnus of the University. Mr. Keay, who is a comparatively young man, has been engaged in commercial pursuits in India. He is described as an advanced Radical. Mr. Keay was in the lobby of the House of Commons this evening, and may possibly visit Edinburgh if he receives any local encouragement to do so."

The London correspondent of the *Calcutta Statesman* says:—

"I am told that, but for very inopportune disablement for a week by a smart attack of something like jungle-fever, this candidature would have been a serious one, and would have been, from assurances of Ministerial support and of the Rosebery influence in one influential quarter, undertaken under very encouraging circumstances."

Older hands will probably think that Mr. Seymour Keay has about as little chance of being returned for Edinburgh as Mr. Maclean has of becoming member for the Elgin Burghs, despite the divisions of the local wire-pullers.

TIMES OF INDIA, *December 13, 1881*.—II. II. Shums-ool-Oomrah, Ameer-i-Kabeer, Co-Regent of Hyderabad, died yesterday. He was seventy-five years old and had been ailing for some time. Three months ago he was a familiar figure in Bombay, whither he had come in search of medical assistance. Since then the wasting disease under which he suffered had reduced him to a mere skeleton, and a few days before his death he is said to have weighed only four and a half stone. His family had long been intimately connected with that of the Nizam, and one of its members had, indeed, generally occupied the post of Chief Minister, while they were all identified with the Anti-English or Old Hyderabad party. He himself, however, had but a stormy youth, and was, until long after middle age, in disgrace with the Government of India, and consequently debarred from officially visiting either the Court or the Residency. A ludicrous effort to bribe the wife of one of the Residents led to his political extinction for a time, and was none the less serious when it transpired that the woman who received the money in her carriage was a clever adventuress who had merely personated the Resident's wife. The attempt to assassinate Sir Salar Jung was also traced to one of his servants, though his own complicity was never established. When, however, Lord Lytton's Government suddenly

reversed our policy towards Sir Salar, they thought it would be well to cripple his power by appointing his old rival to share his authority as Co-Regent. Shums-ool-Oomrah, then over seventy, and then, as ever, a man of mean parts, did not care to take any share in the administration of the State. He used his new power for his private ends, and as a first step deprived his two nephews of the large estates bequeathed them by his uncle, the last Co-Regent. How he succeeded was told in our columns at the time when we described the "Great Hyderabad Case," which has since become notorious through the attacks brought against the Co-Regent and Sir Richard Meade in the columns of the *London Statesman*. The inquiry that was to have taken place on account of these attacks will, of course, fall to the ground with his death, but this is of very minor extent when compared with the question as to who will succeed in this high office. The claim of Shums-ool-Oomrah's son is not so good as that of his one surviving nephew, and the nomination will be watched with especial interest as affording an indication of the policy of Lord Ripon's Government towards Sir Salar Jung. Shums-ool-Oomrah's death was, however, not unexpected. He had been ill for some months, and on account of the gravity of his situation the Nizam's tour had been interrupted. It is probable, therefore, that this very important question has been already discounted by Government.

DECCAN TIMES, *December 14, 1881.*—*The late Co-Regent.*—A gloom was cast over the city of Hyderabad last Monday afternoon when the melancholy tidings, which spread like wildfire, was made known that the head of the Shums-ool-Oomra house had breathed his last. The deceased nobleman had long been ailing, and for months past the state of his health was the cause of anxiety, although at first such a sad ending was not anticipated. He had the best medical advice in the place, both European and Native, but no permanent improvement could be afforded, and he grew weaker and weaker every day, until about a month ago, when his condition was so serious that but very slight hopes were entertained of his recovery. He became emaciated to a degree, and so enfeebled that for some days previous to dissolution he was entirely confined to his bed, in which he could not even sit up. His intellect, however, was clear to the last, and up to the last moment almost, conscious of his approaching end, he was not unmindful of his affairs. He sent for the Officiating Resident, who paid him a visit on Saturday last accompanied by Major Trevor, and to them he spoke about his affairs, and even on the day of his death he expressed his wishes concerning them to those who were permitted to remain with him. He died about two o'clock on the very day on which he completed his 69th year of age, and was buried in the family burial-place, Burrancee Saib's Durga, about 10 o'clock. His funeral was attended by the whole of the Pagah troops, of which he was the Chief, and nearly the whole of the nobles of the city, and a very large concourse of people from all parts of the city and its suburbs. Minute guns to the number of 69, corresponding to the three-score years and ten less one allotted to him, were fired as the mortal remains of the premier noble of Hyderabad passed to its last resting-place, where they were laid in the presence of a sorrowing multitude of both friends and foes. Thus passed away one of the great men of the land, whose chequered life will fill up no insignificant place on the scroll of the history of these dominions, and of whose actions posterity perhaps will be the best judges. Born to fill one of the highest positions in the country, his whole years were full of sorrow, and none more so than his declining ones, when, after realizing his most sanguine wishes, he found that all was trouble, and vexation of spirit. Foes he had—and who has not?—but he numbered among his friends nearly one-half of the city, and friends and foes alike will mourn for the good old man who has passed from among their midst, while thousands will miss the princely charities bestowed by the bountiful hand which was ever open. A salute of 17 guns from the Mud Battery at noon yesterday announced the sad event in Cantonment. The Ziarut or third day's funeral ceremony was performed yesterday. It should really have been performed to-day; but as Wednesday is deemed an inauspicious day by Mahomedans the ceremony took place on the

earlier day. We are glad to learn that the breach hitherto existing between the families of the late Amir-i-Kabeer and Nawab Busheer-ud-Dowlah was bridged over yesterday, for immediately after the conclusion of the Ziarut the Nawab Busheer-ud-Dowlah cordially embraced his two cousins, Nawabs Koorshed Jah and Ekbal-ud-Dowlah, the two sons of the late Amir, and it is to be hoped that a friendship revived under such circumstances will be lasting.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *December 14, 1881.*—The news of the death of the Amir-i-Kabir will sadden Mr. Robert Knight, when in the course of a few days he lands upon these shores. The removal of the aged Co-Regent of Hyderabad from this earthly scene will have the effect of averting the washing of a great deal of dirty linen in public. We are inclined to think that it would have been to the public advantage, as well as to that of Government, had the washing gone on. One or two reputations might have suffered, but on the other hand one or two would very certainly have been cleansed from imputations which were freely spattered upon them. No doubt the duel between the restless publicist whom we have just named and the Amir-i-Kabir may yet be merged in one between the same writer and the late Resident of Hyderabad, Sir Richard Meade. Mr. Knight regarded it as a special dispensation of Providence in his favour that the Home Secretary some months ago authorized, or was understood to have authorized, Sir Richard Meade to bring a civil action against him in vindication of his character. But we have heard nothing of these proceedings since. It was supposed that the paper war against the Co-Regent would be resumed when Mr. Knight arrived in India, so that the legal proceedings which were abortive in England might be renewed here, where witnesses and documents are within easy access of the law courts. The removal of Shums-ool-Oomra puts an end, of course, to this prospect; and now if Sir Richard Meade does not pursue the matter further, in so far as it concerns him, there will no doubt be an end to the affair. The lawyers will lose some very handsome fees, and the public possibly some very piquant disclosures. The Government of Lord Lytton would have been saved the discredit of a more than questionable appointment had it pleased Heaven to take to itself Shums-ool-Oomra before he was made Co-Regent of Hyderabad. How Lord Lytton could have chosen a man of such antecedents for the Co-Regency would pass understanding had we not other evidences that His Lordship, gifted and high-minded as he undoubtedly was, could be led by advisers, who were not particularly gifted or conspicuously high-minded, to take most extraordinary and fatal steps, in the full belief that he was throwing all past Viceroys into the shade, and setting a shining example to those to come. Shums-ool-Oomra was not only a disreputable fellow who had been for years forbidden the Residency on account of his known character, but was a man of no capacity. He was so ignorant that he did not know Persian, although that is the second language of all persons of any education in Hyderabad. He was singled out for the position of Co-Regent simply to humiliate Sir Salar Jung. His presence in the Government very nearly demoralized the administration, he himself setting an example of flagrant disregard of law and equity. Had Sir Salar Jung shown greater firmness, and put down with a strong hand the lawless violence resorted to on several occasions by the followers of his colleague, no doubt the evil would have been minimized; but it is an Oriental failing to submit to fate, and Sir Salar having once been mastered by the Residency, obeying the secret orders of the Foreign Department of the Government of India, he could not bring himself to resist the influences which were paralyzing the Nizam's Government. Lord Ripon, it is to be hoped, will have due regard to the interests of the Hyderabad State, as well as to the harmonious working of the relations between that Government and the Government of India, when deciding what course shall be taken in regard to the appointment of the Co-Regent's successor, if successor there is to be. The late Government excused itself for making Shums-ool-Oomra into a Co-Regent by the plea that there was really no one else at all fitted for the post. If this were really the case it is not easy to see how another Co-Regent can be manufactured for the occasion now that Shums-ool-Oomra is dead.

TIMES OF INDIA, December 14, 1881.—The death of His Highness Shums-ool-Oomrah, Ameer-i-Kabeer, the “Son of Ameer,” “the Premier Nobleman,” and Co-Regent of Hyderabad, which we chronicled yesterday, is likely to make a considerable change in Hyderabad politics. He was a weak scion of an illustrious family, and, like most of our own hereditary noblemen, owed his proud position entirely to his ancestors. Just as the founders of many of the great English houses came over with the Conqueror, so the founder of his family came from Delhi with the Nizam-ool-Moolk, the founder of the Nizam, in the early part of the last century, and shared the fortunes of his chieftain. He was rewarded with the title of “Premier Nobleman” of Hyderabad, with the command of the Pagah or household troops, and with gifts and grants of land which made him by far the wealthiest noble in the kingdom, and are said to have yielded an annual income of half a million sterling. These grants were generally bestowed in the shape of jagheers for military service, very much after the manner of the feudal system introduced by William the Conqueror into England, with the view of interesting the great barons in the permanency of the conquest. To a certain extent they were not only hereditary, but might be bequeathed by the jagheerdar to any member of his own family. For this reason his eldest son, the second Shums-ool-Oomrah, only came into about half the family estate, the rest going to his brothers, but the possession of twenty-five lakhs of rupees a year and the command of the Pagah troops made him still the most important personage in the Nizam after the Nizam himself. He it was who during the Mutiny “lent all his family influence to thwarting the plans of the seditious,” and though the rivalry between his family and that of Sir Salar Jung had long been in existence they united in supporting the Resident at a time when he was actually besieged under the walls of Hyderabad by all the turbulent scoundrels in the city. He was the first Ameer-i-Kabeer, and left three sons behind him. The first son, the third Shums-ool-Oomrah, succeeded to all his titles, and proved one of the most honest statesmen Hyderabad has ever produced. Upon the death of the late Nizam in 1869 he was appointed Co-Regent with Sir Salar Jung, and occupied that important post until his own death in 1877. The second son left two boys behind him, who were adopted by the eldest brother, who had no children of his own, and who subsequently became known as the “Nephews” in the “Great Hyderabad Case.” The third son was the fourth Shums-ool-Oomrah, whose death we noted yesterday. Colonel Hastings Fraser, in his book on “Our Faithful Ally the Nizam,” styles him “illegitimate.” But no matter what his origin may or may not have been, he was certainly very unlike the rest of the family; he was avoided by his brother; he took no interest in his fatherless nephews; and, though married to a daughter of the Nizam, he was perpetually in trouble and disgrace.

Wikar-ool-Oomra, to give him the name he bore in his father's lifetime, was, moreover, possessed of more ambition than brains. He first made himself notorious in 1858 by a very clumsy attempt to bribe the Resident, Colonel Davidson, to procure him the position of Minister, then, as now, occupied by Sir Salar Jung. He believed that Mrs. Davidson was willing to lend herself to this scheme, and entered, as he thought, into communication with her, through an intermediary. Finally he received a lady at his residence, placed a lakh of rupees in her carriage, and obtained a receipt for the money and a promise of the appointment. He had, however, been cruelly hoaxed, for the loot was carried off by Mrs. Murray, the wife of a local apothecary, who had contrived to personate Mrs. Davidson very cleverly. The matter was taken up by Colonel Davidson, and a report forwarded to the Supreme Government. Lord Elgin directed that by way of punishment the Resident should no longer invite him to the Residency, and the Resident was further instructed to see that Wikar-ool-Oomra was never present at the Nizam's Court when he himself attended. This sentence, which was still in force ten years afterwards, when Mr. Saunders wrote his Administration Report for 1869-70, amounted, as he says, “to one of complete political extinction.” In 1859 as Colonel Davidson was leaving the Nizam's durbar arm in arm with Sir Salar Jung a Rohilla discharged a carbine at them, but fortunately only wounded a follower.

The man was struck down, but his secret perished with him, though it was ascertained that he was a favourite retainer of Wikar-ool-Oomra. "The criminal," wrote Lord Canning in a letter of admonition, "is beyond the reach of justice. It may be that he was a single fanatic without instigators or accomplices." Perhaps so, but not without successors, for in January 1868 as Sir Salar was proceeding through the streets of Hyderabad in a State palanquin he was again shot at by an Arab mercenary, who was also identified as one of Wikar-ool-Oomra's sentries. This attempt, like the other, took place, oddly enough, after a second and unsuccessful attempt to oust Sir Salar from the post of Minister.

This was the man, then, Sir Salar's hereditary rival and his bitter personal enemy, whom Lord Lytton's Government selected for the appointment of Co-Regent with Sir Salar in 1877, when the Minister's efforts for the restitution of the Berars seemed to afford an opportunity for the infliction of some personal indignity. They did not succeed, as it seems to have been expected at the time, in driving Sir Salar Jung to resign, but they made him feel the weight of their displeasure, and so curtailed his usefulness and authority. For they deprived him at once of his English Secretary, Mr. Oliphant, and they forced upon him, as a colleague, the one man in Hyderabad who was most bitterly opposed to him, though the elder son of the elder brother—the elder of the two "Nephews," that is, to whom we have referred before—should naturally have received the appointment, as he did receive the bulk of the family estates. Sir Salar, with Oriental sagacity, accepted the situation, and allowed those who were responsible for the appointment to be responsible also for the misdeeds of his colleagues. Shums-ool-Oomra the Fourth, as Wikar-ool-Oomra had become, now that so far from being in disgrace he was one of the two men who ruled the State, and the nominee of a Resident and a Governor-General with whom his colleague was in disgrace, at once began to turn his authority to account. He requested his nephews to furnish supplies for the proper maintenance of the head of their house, and he closed the Court to them till they consented. They agreed at last that if he would carefully abstain from all further demands they would give him five lakhs in ready cash, jagheers worth Rs. 2,54,000 per annum, and the famous Jehaunmat gardens, "The World's Delight," as an appanage of his title. The money was paid down. The estates were handed over, and Sir Richard Meade and Major Euan Smith, who had assisted at the negotiations, exclaimed, as well they might, that "Allah is great." Four days later fresh claims were put in, armed troops were employed, and four jagheers were seized by force. In the short space of eighteen months the nephews were deprived of estates worth seven lakhs or seventy thousand pounds a year. Sir Salar held aloof from the dispute, the Resident refused to interfere, while Lord Lytton's Government postponed any sort of action. This "Great Hyderabad Case," which was fully reported in our columns at the time, was recently revived by the *Statesman*, and was the real cause of the charges brought by Mr. Knight against Shums-ool-Oomra and Sir Richard Meade. It is interesting at all events, as showing the high-handed action of the man whom it was the policy of the late Government to thrust upon Sir Salar Jung. It remains to be seen how the present Government will act in nominating a successor. Sir Salar is no longer in disgrace, and it may not be necessary to appoint a Co-Regent at all. The two local claimants will be the younger of the two "Nephews," who still survives, and the eldest son of the late Shums-ool-Oomra. But if rumour be true a native statesman, almost as widely known as Sir Salar himself, is very anxious to co-operate in the administration of Hyderabad affairs.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, December 20, 1881.—*The late Amir-i-Kabir of Hyderabad.*—The following is from our own correspondent, dated Secunderabad, 15th December :—

"The death of the Amir-i-Kabir, Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra, and the probabilities about a successor to the Co-Regency are the most absorbing items of conversation at the messes just now. The late Amir's death was by no means unexpected. He had been more or less of an invalid for the past twelve months ; indeed,

just prior to his visit to Bombay last hot weather his recovery was a very moot point. His constitution had completely broken down, and, moreover, he was a great opium-eater. I have heard the average amount of opium which he consumed daily stated at so high a quantity that I hesitate to name it. For some time prior to his decease he was under the treatment of Dr. Colvin Smith, and when that officer left the station his method of treatment was continued by the medical men who succeeded him. Several days before his death his recovery was declared to be hopeless, and he was aware of it, for he devoted the last few days of his life to setting his affairs in order and making his will. He died, as you are aware, about 2 o'clock on Monday afternoon. News of his decease was immediately sent to the Residency and to the Government of India. His remains were interred at midnight, in the presence of his sons and near relations, in the family burial-place, a few miles outside the city.

"It would be untrue to say that he is regretted, except perhaps by those who are likely to suffer personally and pecuniarily by his death. The late Amir owed the somewhat anomalous position which he had of late years occupied in Hyderabad affairs exclusively to Lord Lytton, who, as everybody knows, selected Wikar-ool-Oomra as a fit and willing instrument to punish Sir Salar Jung for his obduracy in endeavouring to recover what he considered to be his master's property. Wikar-ool-Oomra was not fit, either intellectually or morally, to occupy the high position which Lord Lytton's animosity towards the Minister foisted upon him. His proceedings subsequent to his appointment leave no doubt whatever on that point. His instructions were to hamper the Minister as much as possible; and most admirably did he fulfil them. However, the Minister continued to outlive all the worry and persecution, which virtually took its departure with the late Resident, but has utterly disappeared with the death of the Amir-i-Kabir. It is not necessary for me to endeavour to recapitulate the many questionable concerns in which the late nobleman engaged, both before and after his appointment to the Co-Regency. The articles of the London *Statesman* have covered the whole of the ground in this direction. The much-talked-of commission of inquiry demanded by Sir Richard Meade is likely to vanish into the clouds with the Amir's death, as there is nobody here now who is interested in its success. I hear, moreover, that the late Resident has been told that the Government do not particularly desire that he should press the question of his vindication from Mr. Robert Knight's aspersions: there are said to be reasons of State which render it undesirable that old official records and recollections should be stirred up too much. I give this statement for what it is worth. However, Mr. Knight is coming to India, and I dare say we shall soon know all about it.

"As regards the question of the appointment of a new Co-Regent, I believe I am correct in saying it is very improbable that any nomination will be made to the vacant office. I have reason to believe that as soon as the late Amir's recovery was known to be hopeless the question of the appointment of a successor was the subject of various communications between the Acting Resident and the Foreign Office. No definite decision was aimed at, pending the return of Sir Steuart Bayley from Europe, but it is understood that the inclination of the Viceroy is to allow the office to remain vacant, and to entrust the sole administration of the State to Sir Salar Jung. Such a decision would, I feel sure, be received with the liveliest satisfaction here. The general feeling is that the Government of India owe some sort of reparation to the Minister for the unhandsome treatment he received at the hands of the late Viceroy. Lord Ripon could not signify his approval and confidence in Sir Salar in a more graceful manner than by allowing him to retain sole charge of the State, whose fortunes he has virtually guided for the last seven-and-twenty years. The young Nizam will be of age in less than three years, and if unhampered during the intervening period the Minister will be able to repair much of the evil brought about by the dual administration of the last four years. Your contemporary's surmise that the Dewan of Baroda is anxious to obtain the vacant Co-Regency may, I think, be dismissed without a thought, because, firstly, Sir Madhav Rao occupies a much better position where he is, and secondly, he would be so manifestly out of

place as Co-Regent of the largest Mahomedan State in India that the thought is unlikely to find utterance anywhere outside of your contemporary's eight pages.

"Nawab Wikar-ool-Oomra left two sons—Koorshid Jah and Ikbal-ood-Dowlah—between whom his property is to be equally divided. I hear, however, that there is already some dispute regarding it. It appears that Koorshid Jah, the eldest son, had some property left to him by a deceased relative some years since. This property was taken from him by his father, and the latter before his death willed that it should be included in the general estate for division amongst the two brothers. To this plan Koorshid Jah not unnaturally objects. The younger son was his father's favourite, and the jealousy which was kept in check during the father's lifetime may, if prompt measures are not taken, lead to a disagreeable result. But I believe there is a chance of some amicable settlement being arrived at. Nawab Bushir-ood-Dowlah, the nephew of the deceased nobleman, succeeds, by virtue of his position as eldest surviving member of the family, to the title of Amir-i-Kabir. Three years since, his uncle took forcible possession of estates yielding a revenue of something like seven lakhs of rupees per annum belonging to Bushir-ood-Dowlah and his brother (since dead), Mootashum-ood-Dowlah. These estates are included in the property which the late Amir-i-Kabir has divided amongst his sons. The question therefore arises, will they be allowed to retain possession of them? The matter, as you are doubtless aware, has been before the Government of India for some time. The death of the usurper ought to hasten their decision in the question. If the estates are once divided endless complications will arise.

"The Resident, Sir Stuart Bayley, returned from Europe on Wednesday. Mr. Jones, C.S., of Berar, who has been officiating, goes on a month's leave. During his tenure of office he has made himself most popular, and we shall miss him very much indeed. He is a gentleman of marked ability, and some day, I hope, we shall see him installed as pucca Resident. He has already officiated on three or four occasions.

"It may be worth mentioning that we have a son of your late Governor here—Lieutenant Temple. He is officiating as Judicial Commissioner of Railways, and bears unmistakeable impress of being his father's son. He is amiable, like Sir Richard. Like him also, he is Napoleonic in appearance and he is an admirable amateur painter. These are facts for which your Bombay hero-worshippers ought to be grateful to me. This is not the gentleman who discovered the brass helmet of Alexander the Great at Kabul—it was his brother of Bengal.

"Your sporting contemporary, the *Asian*, is misinformed about the settling over the Hyderabad Races. Except in two cases there is not likely to be any hitch about the ready. We are in the midst of our cold season. The weather is delightful, the public health good, and a pleasant Xmas time in perspective."

DECCAN TIMES, December 21, 1881.—*Kicking the Dead Lion*.—In conformity with that cautious policy of keeping out of harm's way which has been characteristic of the writings of the *Times of India* and of the *Bombay Gazette*, these journals have never ventured hitherto to give any frank and outspoken opinion, in the now famous Hyderabad Case, while the duel between Robert Knight and the Co-Regent of Hyderabad was in progress; their notices of the charges laid by the *Statesman* against Hyderabad notabilities, European and Native, were always mere weak generalizations, which any paper might with safety have indulged in; but no sooner is the Co-Regent dead than both papers boldly attempt to imitate the *Statesman* by publishing flaming leaders in abuse of the Ameer-i-Kabeer, which would certainly not have been penned had the fiery old Ameer been alive, and which, to say the least, is indecent in journals of the status of the *Bombay Gazette* and *Times of India*.

Now that it is safe to do so, without fear of the law in perspective—and presuming perhaps that it would be pleasing to H. E. the Minister, which we are aware it is not—the *Gazette* especially has begun to speak in coarsely disparaging terms of the late Co-Regent while his corpse is scarcely cold in its grave. Like the animal in the fable, our contemporary kicks at the dead lion by stating that "Shums-ool-Oomra was not only a disreputable fellow who had been for years

forbidden the Residency on account of his known character, but was a man of no capacity. He was so ignorant that he did not know Persian, although that is the second language of all persons of any education in Hyderabad." This abuse is a mere repetition of Mr. Knight's views, who has used all his high literary powers, guided by an inflamed imagination, in defence of Sir Salar Jung and his Government, and in denunciation of Sir R. Meade and the Co-Regent. His statements and arguments must therefore of necessity be one-sided; the *Gazette*, however, repeats Mr. Knight's severe remarks without giving any reason for the same. "The removal of the Co-Regent from this earthly scene," says the *Gazette*, "will have the effect of averting the washing of a great deal of dirty linen in public. We are inclined to think that it would have been to the public advantage, as well as to that of the Government, had the washing gone on." The public is aware that the defamatory remarks of the *Statesman* were taken up by the Ameer's lawyers in England, but owing to some legal quibble the case was thrown out of Court. When subsequently Sir R. Meade in self-defence called upon Lord Hartington and the Indian Government to make an official inquiry into the matter, it is well known, at Hyderabad at least, that no one was more desirous than the late Co-Regent that such an inquiry should be instituted, and we are at one with our Bombay contemporary so far, that we also hope that this inquiry may not fall through in consequence of the Ameer's death, but be carefully gone into, in justice to all parties, dead and alive. We are of opinion that without such inquiry being instituted by Government the true details of the whole wearisome case will never come to light.

As a rule, public journals have always taken up one side of the question or the other, and have never discussed calmly and without prejudice both sides of the subject, while we ourselves have been prevented from entering into the full merits of the case in all its bearings.

As an example of this prejudiced description of writing we would point to the article of the *Bombay Gazette* on which we are commenting, and to its issue of the 17th instant, in which, while extracting into its columns our notice of the death of the late Co-Regent, those sentences complimentary of the dead Ameer, showing the kindly feelings in which he was held by high and low in the city of Hyderabad, have been studiously left out.

The *Bombay Gazette* unfeelingly remarks that "the Government of Lord Lytton would have been saved the discredit of a more than questionable appointment had it pleased Heaven to take to itself Shums-ool-Oomra before he was made Co-Regent of Hyderabad. How Lord Lytton could have chosen a man of such antecedents for the Co-Regency would pass understanding had we not other evidences that His Lordship, gifted and highminded as he undoubtedly was, could be led by advisers, who were not particularly gifted or conspicuously highminded, to take most extraordinary and fatal steps, in the full belief that he was throwing all past Viceroys into the shade." Lord Lytton's official connection with India having ceased, we suppose the *Gazette* finds it as safe to kick at His Lordship as against the dead Ameer. We read also that "He (the Ameer) was singled out for the position of Co-Regent simply to humiliate Sir Salar Jung." As regards these statements, which again are re-echoes of the *Statesman's* views, we would simply observe that the public journals that have been discussing the Hyderabad case seem to have rather hazy ideas about it, and of the powers possessed by the Government of India over Native States. Had Lord Lytton's Government found reason to be displeased with Sir Salar Jung as Prime Minister of Hyderabad (which we do not believe it had), it is certain that the Supreme Government would plainly have communicated its views to His Excellency, without resorting to the trickery of appointing a Co-Regent who was not on amicable private terms with the Prime Minister, in order to be a thorn and vexation to him.

We have no party interests to advocate, but as regards the nomination of the deceased Shums-ool-Oomra as Co-Regent we must observe that the matter was a simple one. The Government of India had decided to have two Regents during the minority of the young Nizam. His Excellency Sir Salar Jung

was one, and the executive head of the Hyderabad Government as well; and Shums-ool-Oomra, from his high position as Premier Ameer of Hyderabad as well as a near relation of His Highness, was the only fit man for such an exalted position. The Co-Regent had no voice in the Executive Government, and "his ignorance of the Persian language," which the *Bombay Gazette* absurdly quotes as an objection, was perfectly immaterial so far as his position of Co-Regent was concerned. But, to show how utterly the *Gazette* is mistaken in its facts, we might mention that so far from the late Ameer being ignorant of Persian he was notoriously one of the best Persian scholars in the dominions, and, more, a very good Arabic one.

As we have already observed, we have no intention to enter into the merits of the case of the *Statesman* versus Sir R. Meade and the late Co-Regent, and we have at present no purpose to serve beyond noticing the audacity of the *Bombay Gazette* in venturing upon such remarks on the late Ameer-i-Kabeer when possessing no proper knowledge of the subject, and of pointing out the bad taste shown in abusing a great nobleman after his death, in language the *Gazette* was never wont to use, and dared not have used, when that nobleman was alive.

PIONEER, *March 28, 1882.*—*Sir Richard Meade.*—A year has nearly passed since Sir Richard Meade, who served in this country for the better part of half a century, left India for good. He first landed at Madras in 1837, and left Bombay in April last, after 44 years' continuous service with the exception of a few months' leave to Europe in 1869 and an occasional visit to the hills. After an honourable career of such a kind, he might reasonably have expected to be allowed to pass the evening of his days in peace; but, as our readers are aware, he has been made the object of injurious charges brought against him in the London magazine called the *Statesman*. Sir Richard, we hear, was most anxious to take legal proceedings, and was only induced to refrain at the express desire of Government. We are glad, under these circumstances, to see that the Marquis of Hartington has at last declared in the House of Commons that there was no truth whatever in the allegations of the *Statesman*, and that Sir Richard Meade acted while at Hyderabad entirely in accordance with the orders of the Government of India. This is as it should be; but to his friends the acknowledgment seems to have been made somewhat tardily and coldly.

Sir Richard commenced life as a cadet in the Bengal army, and during the earlier years of his stay in India saw little active service, though several important campaigns were in progress during that period. He took part, however, in the 2nd Burmese war in 1853-54; and at the outbreak of the Bengal mutiny in 1857 he was Brigade-Major to the Gwalior Contingent. This force mutinied in June, and Sir Richard (then Captain) Meade fled to Agra with the Resident and as many of the Europeans as could escape the fury of the mutineers. He took part in the defence of the Fort of Agra, and also in the actions under its walls. He subsequently raised a regiment of cavalry, well known as Meade's Horse, which now forms a portion of the present Central India Horse. With his regiment he took part in Sir Hugh Rose's campaign in Central India, and was present at the assault and capture of Gwalior, where his local knowledge was of the greatest value, and where he was able to render most important service to the Maharajah Scindia, for on reaching the palace it was found to be full of armed men bent on resistance. It would have been carried by assault, but before this took place Captain Meade asked and obtained permission to go forward alone and endeavour to induce the defenders to surrender without resistance. This he succeeded in doing, at imminent danger to himself, and thereby not only saved the palace from loot and plunder, but prevented the loss of many valuable lives. This the Maharajah has publicly acknowledged as one of those acts for which he is specially grateful to the British. Captain Meade had also the good fortune to capture the notorious Tantia Topee, the instigator and abettor of Nana Sahib in the atrocities at Cawnpore. This outlaw, after being pursued backwards and forwards all over Central India and the Central Provinces, fell at last into Captain Meade's hands, by whom he was tried and executed. Subsequently Captain (then Major) Meade was employed

in trying and punishing the mutineers who had murdered English women and children at Gwalior, and it was chiefly through his exertions that not one of those actually engaged in these murders eventually escaped the fate they deserved. To this point Sir R. Meade's career had been purely military. The post of Resident at Gwalior, however, becoming vacant soon after the final suppression of the Mutiny, Lord Canning appointed him to fill it, and on Sir R. Shakespeare's death, shortly afterwards, Major Meade was sent, as Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to Indore. Here he remained till the close of 1869, when, on his return from a hurried visit to England, he was sent to Mysore as Chief Commissioner. This appointment he held till the end of 1875, and during his tenure of it was twice employed at Baroda, first on a commission which in 1873 inquired into charges of misgovernment and oppression against the late Gaekwar Mulharrao, and subsequently, in 1875, as a member of the court by which the Gaekwar was deposed. Sir Richard was afterwards for a time Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda; and the arrangements for deporting the Gaekwar to Madras, the selection of the present chief, and the institution of that improved system which has recently culminated in the investiture of the young Gaekwar were made and carried out by him. Early in 1876 Sir Richard Meade was appointed Resident at Hyderabad, and held that appointment for five years.

This is not the time or place to dilate on the many difficulties against which Sir Richard had to contend at the Court of the Nizam. Hyderabad has been for years a hotbed of intrigue, and amid the struggles for power and influence between different parties the position of the British Resident is a most delicate one, and it is next to impossible for him to avoid making enemies. On the departure, then, of a Resident from Hyderabad, it would not be surprising if malicious and disappointed persons should, native fashion, set damaging rumours on foot, though it would indeed be surprising to find any intelligent European acquainted with natives and their ways who would put any faith in such idle tales. The closest inquiry has, however, failed to discover that even such intangible rumours regarding the late Resident ever existed at Hyderabad; and Mr. Robert Knight must therefore have evolved the whole story out of his inner consciousness, or must have been wilfully misinformed by some interested party, anxious to do the late Resident an injury. The libels against Sir Richard Meade have been widely circulated; they have appeared in all the Anglo-Indian papers, and have no doubt been translated into most of the vernacular journals. It is but right, therefore, that their refutation should be equally prominent, and it is to be hoped that the Government of India will not be backward in giving the widest circulation to Lord Hartington's statement removing the slur which has been allowed to rest, even for a time, on the honourable name of one who ever served his country wisely and well.

DECCAN TIMES, *June 1, 1882.*—*Sir Iqbal-ud-Dowlah, G.C.S.I.*—We were in error in supposing that the Nawab Iqbal-ud-Dowlah, who was appointed a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India in the last Queen's Birthday Gazette, was the youngest son of the late Co-Regent. The Nawab on whom this honour has been conferred formerly belonged to Oudh, and is at present a Resident of Bagdad. Under the circumstances it was a very natural mistake to make, and indeed it was shared in by a number of the city people, who, when the telegram was received announcing the birthday honours, fully believed that the Nawab Iqbal-ud-Dowlah mentioned belonged to Hyderabad. Strange, too, that inquiry by telegram to Bombay elicited a reply to the same effect. On the other hand, there were many of a contrary opinion, and in fact people's minds were very much exercised on the point, until the correct information was received, and set the matter at rest.

DECCAN TIMES, *June 15, 1882.*—*The Hyderabad Minister of Justice.*—His Excellency Nabob Basheer-ud-Dowlah Bahadur, Minister of Justice at Hyderabad and brother-in-law to His Highness the Nizam, proceeded to Covelong on Friday morning for the purpose of visiting the tomb of a Mahomedan prophet who is said to

have died in the thirteenth century, and whose remains were interred in the mosque. The Buckingham Canal Steam Navigation Company placed one of their steam launches and two budgerows at the disposal of His Excellency and suite. The Managing Director of the Company, Kazim Ally Nuky Sahib Khan Bahadur, and some of his employ  s accompanied the party. All arrangements were completed at 4 A.M., and His Excellency and suite, consisting of twelve personal attendants and twenty followers, with his Agent, a shrewd Parsee gentleman, started from the Marine Villa precisely at half-past four. On arriving at the lock a long delay ensued, as the canal was blocked by a large concourse of salt boats. After the passage was cleared the boat proceeded, arriving at Covelong at about 12 noon. Here the   lite of Covelong, consisting of a dozen or more Mahomedan merchants, a few Hindus and all the tagrag and bobtail of this ancient Dutch settlement assembled to welcome His Excellency. As soon as the party debarked it proceeded to a villa secured by the Managing Director of the Company. Here His Excellency and suite, after partaking of a sumptuous entertainment, proceeded to the mosque, and afterwards returned to the boats. At about half-past four in the afternoon the party started from Covelong. Frequent delays occurred on the return passage in consequence of the Canal route not being familiar to the native steersmen. On reaching Papanchawady His Excellency and Badsha Sahib Khan Bahadur and the Managing Director, with three or four other personal attendants, disembarked and got into their carriages and drove to the Marine Villa. The steam launches and budgerows proceeded on their homeward return with the remainder of the suite. The southern canal is certainly in a far better condition than the portion north of Madras, and quite navigable as far as Sadras [?], the depth being for the greater portion of the way from 3 to 6 feet. It is certainly very strange that the traffic on this side should be so very small. Covelong itself would prove a much more pleasant summer retreat than Pulicat, and it seems strange that people do not resort there in large numbers. I believe that His Excellency the Nabob has taken a great number of shares in the above Company.—*Madras Times*.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, June 21, 1882.—*Hyderabad, Deccan*.—The following is from a correspondent, dated Secunderabad, 17th June :—

“We are having rather unusual weather for this time of year; at the beginning of the month we had two days of continuous showery weather, but ever since there has been nothing but a strong south-westerly breeze, day and night, which drives away gathering clouds, so that we hardly know whether our monsoon has begun or not.

“H. E. Nawab Busheer-ud-Dowlah returned to Hyderabad last evening, after an absence of nearly two months in the Southern Presidency, mostly at Ootacamund, where he has been exchanging cordial hospitalities with Mr. Grant Duff, General Roberts, and others of the   lite of Madras. While at Madras ‘Marine Villa,’ appertaining to Government House, was placed at his disposal; and the Nawab visited all the places of note at the capital—the Club, the Penitentiary, the Gun-carriage Factory, the Pottery-works, &c., besides visiting some ancient Mahomedan shrines. Before leaving Madras the Nawab was magnificently entertained by Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Arcot. At Bangalore Busheer-ud-Dowlah enjoyed some pleasant days with His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, whose guest he was. He was also the guest of Sir Frederick Roberts at the Wellington Races, where he presented a cup and made a handsome donation to the race fund. On his homeward journey from Bangalore the Nawab paid Bombay a short visit, and thence proceeded to Goolburga, where he was received with much court ceremony and military parade. While at Goolburga the Nawab, in his official capacity of Minister of Justice, inspected the Jail and Law Court, and recorded his approval of the excellent working state in which he found both. At the Hyderabad station Sir Salar Jung, the Peshkar, the heads of the Government departments, most of the Hyderabad nobility, and an immense concourse of the city people received Nawab Busheer-ud-Dowlah, who is heartily pleased with his trip to Madras.

"The sanction of Government to the formation of the 'Hyderabad Volunteers' having arrived, the Volunteers are busy getting up their undress uniform, which Messrs. Badham, Pile & Co. have contracted to supply. The undress is simply a white drill suit with silver-plated buttons on the coat; the full dress is to be a dark grey, with red facings."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *July 13, 1882.—Hyderabad, Deccan.*—Major Dobbs, Judicial Superintendent of Railways, Hyderabad, having returned from furlough, Lieut. Temple, B.S.C., has proceeded on privilege leave for two months from the 28th ultimo. Mr. Temple was officiating 2nd Assistant Resident.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *July 13, 1882.—The Nizam's Revenue Survey.*—The Hyderabad Government is to be congratulated on the new appointment they have recently made. Major-General Glasford, for a long time in the Revenue Department in the Central Provinces, has been appointed head of the revenue survey in H. H. the Nizam's dominions.

From Colonel Meadows Taylor's *Story of my Life*, Chapter IV. :—

At the close of the year (1830) H. H. the Nizam expressed a desire to review the whole of the troops at Secunderabad and Bolarum. I had then charge of my regiment; and the unusual size of our men, and their steadiness, excited the envy of officers of the Madras corps. As the Prince passed slowly on his elephant we dropped our colours, which no other regiment had done; and he then learned, perhaps for the first time, that such troops belonged to him. After parade we were all to breakfast with His Highness. I was late, and could not easily find a seat, which the Resident observing offered me one close to himself. The Nizam, a fine-looking man over six feet in height, with a fair skin, ruddy complexion, and blue Tartar eyes, at once recognized me and inquired my name. "He has already done me a delicate but important service," he said to Colonel Stewart, "and I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking him. He will tell you what it was."

So I related how, one evening, my camp being pitched at the town of Kullianee, I was told that a lady of rank, attended by her secretary and a few followers, was without, in a palankeen, asking to see me. I went out at once, and my fair visitor told me that she was the youngest sister of the Nizam, married to the Lord of Kullianee, who had ill-used and even struck her; that she had left his fort, daring his people to molest her, and had come to my camp, where she was sure the English flag would protect her. Now she wanted an escort of police horse to conduct her to Hyderabad. This I gave her, and provided escorts from stage to stage until she reached Hyderabad.

"Did you report this?" asked the Resident.

"No," I replied; "the Begum especially desired the matter should be kept private. I have recorded it in my Mahratta diary, but it is not a circumstance I could report officially."

"You are right," he said; "and you see your service has not been forgotten."

The Nizam was quite at his ease, conversing with Colonel Stewart, and occasionally asking me various questions about the country and what I had done.

Shortly after this the Nizam's brother, Moobariz-oo-Dowlah, collected a number of Arabs and Afghans, strengthened his house in the city, and proceeded to press claims against his brother which could not be for one moment entertained. The case becoming serious, and disturbances being imminent, Colonel Stewart was called upon to repress the disorder by sending in a force from Bolarum. I was still in charge of my regiment, and, preceded by two guns, we marched into the city. Had there been any fighting we should have fared badly in those narrow streets lined with terraced houses all covered with armed men; but happily not a shot was fired, though the guns at the palace gates were unlimbered. The officer commanding the brigade had preceded us and induced the rebel to proceed according to orders to Golcondah, and to trust to his brother's generosity to settle all disputed claims; and so, for a time, there was a hollow peace patched up.

Moobariz-oo-Dowlah, however, could not rest content, and the Minister had overlooked the fact that in his personal retainers he possessed the means of doing much mischief. The treasury at the fort of Golcondah is one of the most ancient in the State, and at this time contained 100 lakhs, or a million sterling; and the Nizam, wishing to remove some of the money, sent his treasurer, with a small guard, for the purpose. Moobariz-oo-Dowlah refused admittance, and the others, being too weak to fight, placed a guard at the entrance. There was great consternation at Hyderabad. Five thousand Arabs, Rohillas, Sikhs, and other foreign levies, including some of the old French "*Ligne*," were marched out to Golcondah, and took up a position in the outer *enceinte*; but they made no impression on the Prince, and indeed were supposed to be well affected towards him. After days of useless negotiation, the Minister, on the part of the Nizam, requested the assistance of the Bolarum Contingent; so we all marched out on the 6th January 1831, and encamped opposite the north or Delhi gate, on the plain on which stand the noble mausoleums of the Kootub Shahy Kings. It was an absurd state of affairs. The interior was held by the rebel Prince, the outer *enceinte* by the Nizam's levies, who also treated us as enemies, not only refusing to allow us to enter, but threatening to fire on us, and training the fort guns on the wall so as to command our camp. I rode to the edge of the counter-scarp one morning, but was warned off. However, I managed to have a look at the ditch, and saw that it was wide and deep, and by dint of exchanging good-humoured "chaff" with the men escaped unharmed.

We remained inactive until the 15th February, when we were suddenly ordered into the fort, and the Nizam's troops at the same time ordered to leave it. We took up a position not far from the Prince's palace, between it and the treasury, and pickets were immediately posted. I held the advanced pickets with two guns and four companies. I had my guns loaded with a double charge of grape each, and as the Prince's men were watching us very closely they must have seen that we were in earnest.

The Nizam's people began removing the treasure, but it was slow work, and for four days and nights I had not even time to change my clothes; the weather, too, was very hot. I believe mine was the post of honour, as it would have been of danger had any fighting occurred. But it was annoying to be kept there perpetually on the stretch, with constant alarms that the Arabs were coming to attack us, and with the sound of their peculiar drum and their war-songs constantly in our ears.

I was not sorry when on the fifth morning one of the staff rode up and told me I might withdraw my men, for the Prince had agreed to send away his levies and keep only his immediate retainers.

The force was to return to cantonments, but the request of the Nizam was complied with that six companies should remain in charge of the fort, and I was appointed to take command. I was to see that no levies joined the Prince, and I was to be the medium of communication between the Prince and the Resident. "You can read Persian," the Resident said to me, as he gave me my orders, "and you are to open and read all letters the Prince sends you, whether to the Nizam, the Minister, or me: what he has hitherto written are so insolent in tone that if the others are like them you need not forward them. If you can make up this quarrel between the brothers do so, and I shall be obliged to you; but on no account make it worse."

So I remained at my post, and for a few days no notice was taken. I sent for my boat, and used to sail about on the fine tank which washed the walls of the fort, and see the Prince spying at me through a telescope. At length his Moonshee came out, and I offered him a sail one evening. In return, dishes arrived for breakfast and dinner, delightfully cooked, and I reported this friendly intercourse to the Resident. At last letters were sent—one to the Resident, another to the Nizam, very violent in tone, which I returned; others followed daily for more than a fortnight, gradually improving in tone, but not right yet. "You've hooked your fish, Taylor," said the Resident, laughing, "but he is too strong to land yet; I'll not help you or interfere at all;" and I was very glad he did not.

By-and-by my friend grew sulky, but this did not last long ; and one evening the Moonshee arrived with some extra good dishes for me, and food for the whole detachment. "Would I be pleased to draft a letter that would satisfy all parties—his honour was in my hands," this was the message delivered by the Moonshee. I did draft a letter, and the Prince flew into a violent rage over it, and abused me for having so small an idea of his dignity. We wrangled over it for a week, and he ended by placing his case unreservedly in my hands, and writing what I dictated. I made the draft in English so as to be sure of my meaning, and it was afterwards translated by me into Oordoo with my own hand, to assure the Prince that it was really mine. The letters were brought to me the next afternoon ; and as the Moonshee and I sailed about the Prince waved a white flag by way of salute, which we answered from the "Zora" with twelve shots from her little pieces.

I took the letters next morning to the Residency. That to the Nizam was forwarded at once, and was pronounced very satisfactory. He would send his mother directly to Golcondah with his assurances, and would make proper arrangements for his brother's return. When I returned to Golcondah I found the old Begum Sahib had already arrived, and two female servants were sent to my tent to report that she and her son had fallen on each other's necks and wept much ; and in a day or two Moobariz-oo-Dowlah was escorted to the city with all possible respect.

I received the thanks of the Nizam for having "for the second time rendered a service to his family."

Moobariz-oo-Dowlah sent his secretary to me afterwards, when my intended marriage was announced, with a "Fard" or memorandum in Persian, which was presented on a silver salver covered with a napkin of cloth-of-gold. He hoped I would accept for my future wife the articles mentioned in the list, as a mark of the gratitude he felt for the services I had rendered him. The presents he wished to give were very valuable, including shawls, necklaces, ornaments for the head, bracelets of diamonds and other gems, a zone of gold set with precious stones, and a necklace of seven rows of pearls with diamond pendant, the aggregate value about 20,000 rupees ; but, alas ! I could only thank him for his kindness, and tell him I was not permitted to accept his gifts. He afterwards got into trouble by his connection with the Wahabee conspiracy of 1839, and eventually died a state prisoner at Golcondah. During my stay I was only once permitted to ascend the hill whereon the fort stands, and I wrote my name in the mosque, now disused ; but I never could even enter the gates afterwards, nor since the temporary occupation of the place in 1831 has any Englishman ever been allowed to enter its precincts.

BOMBAY REVIEW, September 13, 1879.—*Peasantry of Aurungabad.*—Mr. Furdoonji Jamshedji's Notes on the Agriculturists of Aurungabad in the Dominions of H. H. the Nizam are full of interest. The agricultural population of the district is composed of about 90 per cent. of Kunbis, the rest being Mussulmans, Purdasis, Binjaris, Bheels, &c. The municipal classes connected with the land, however, are four in number. The first consists of those who are simply holders of land. They take no part in the actual cultivation of the soil. These are Brahmans, well-to-do Marathas, Patels, &c., who generally let their lands to farmers or cultivators. The second class consists generally of Patels, Kunbis, &c., who, though not themselves actually working in the fields, superintend the work done by their families and hired labourers. The third class consists of Kunbis or Ryots proper, who devote their whole time and energies to the cultivation of land, and are entirely dependent for their living on its produce. The fourth class is of those who, like Dhungurs, Malis, Mahars, Mangs, &c., till small areas of land they take on lease with hired bullocks, and who in the event of a bad season are the first to suffer. By habits, the Kunbi, the *de facto* cultivator, is simple and innocent, kind to his family and honest in his dealings, has a strong love for his *watan*, or holding, and its rights. He is a stranger to drunkenness. His life is one of continued toil and exposure. He is assisted in his work by the members of his

family, who, besides attending to domestic wants, go to fields and fetch therefrom a load of fuel or grass for sale at the village market. From the proceeds of sale of dairy produce purchases are made of salt, oil and other necessities of life. The eldest woman of the family regulates the domestic economy of the household. The cultivators generally take their meals thrice a day—breakfast at about nine in the morning, midday meal between twelve and one o'clock, and supper at night. Their food consists chiefly of hot jowari or bajri cakes, a dish of milk curds, and the indispensable *chutney*. The brinjal is one of the favourite vegetables of the kunbi. The first and second class cultivators live comfortably, while the diet of the third class is tolerably good, and sufficient in quantity. In regard to dress also the relative situation is just the same. On festive occasions, however, there is greater show of dress. The principal festivals are the Holi, the Pola, the Nagpunchami, the Dussera, the Dewali, the Guddi-Padwa, Akhatrij, and Sankranti. The marriage expenses of the third class of kunbis average from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500. Amongst the last class the expenses range from Rs. 75 to Rs. 180. The gods the kunbis worship are generally Khandoba, Maruti, Gunputti, Mahadev, Devi, Massoba and Vithoba. The occupants of land are all registered. They pay the assessment to Government. If they find their holdings too large for them to cultivate, they take in a *Surkutti* or co-sharer, who bears his share of the costs of cultivation and the providing of bullocks. The *Surkutti's* share depends upon the number of bullocks he is able to supply, the total pairs of bullocks being so many shares. This is the *Surkut* or partnership holding. Other modes are the *Aug-wata*, where the kunbi obtains the assistance of a Sowkar to lend him money, or bullocks with which to cultivate the land, and share half the gross produce; the *batta* or payment-in-kind system, the *Pote Vahivatdar*, where the tenant holding from a registered occupant on lease for a term of years, pays Government assessment, and over and above that a reasonable amount in each kind; and *Khand-wata*, whereby a poor ryot obtains the loan of a pair of bullocks from another ryot or Sowkar, and agrees to pay him two pullas or 450lb of grain and 200 bundles of straw, the cultivator undertaking to feed the bullocks while they are in his charge. The agricultural labourers form about 15 per cent. of the landed classes, and receive their wages either in money or grain. Those paid by the year receive Rs. 12 to Rs. 30 with food, or from Rs. 45 to Rs. 55 without food. Those employed on monthly wages receive Rs. 4 to Rs. 6, and have to find their own food and clothes, while the day labourer gets from two to three annas per diem.

The relations between the ryot and the Sowkar do not appear to be so bad in the Nizam's Dominions as in the British Deccan. The action of the State has tended to diminish but not destroy the credit enjoyed by the cultivators. The rules which regulate the relations between the cultivator and the money-lender are that no Civil Court is to pass an *ex-parte* decree against a debtor until the creditor has proved, by his books or otherwise, to the satisfaction of the Court, that the bond was passed for true and fair consideration; that the Court has power to reduce the amount of interest to a reasonable rate, and the Hindu law of *dam-dupat* is to have full force. In case of the debtor's inability to pay the amount in one lump sum the Court orders it to be paid by instalments. In case of attachment issued against a cultivator's property, his house, agricultural implements, his cattle, and a supply of grain enough to last him till next harvest are exempt from execution. No judgment debtor is imprisoned for debt unless convicted of fraudulent concealment of property. These provisions work satisfactorily. Mr. Jamshedji mentions the different modes in which loans are raised by the ryots. The most ordinary mode is for the Sowkar to pay the Government assessment direct to the Patel and Patwari in Halli Sicca rupees and recover the same in British rupees. The difference in the two currencies, which varies, according to the rate of exchange, from 14 to 22 per cent., makes up the Sowkar's profit. The other mode is for the ryot to pass a bond to the Sowkar to repay the amount in a year by two instalments, the first being due at the time of the kharif, and the second at the time of the rabi harvest. The bond is executed for a sum which is

twenty-five per cent. over and above the actual money paid. Loans of seed grain are made on condition of repaying at harvest time with fifty per cent. over the quantity lent, and sometimes with double the quantity advanced when prices of grain are high. When the cultivator breaks down entirely, the way a settlement is effected is this : The debtor passes an agreement whereby he binds himself to till for a certain number of years a portion of his holding, and after sowing it at his own cost makes it over to the Sowkar, who takes charge of it, and reaps the crops when they mature. The Sowkar thus gets a part of the produce of the cultivator's fields, and is enabled to get back what would have been entirely lost to him. Mr. Jamshedji considers six maunds of grain per acre as a fair average for valuation of a ryot's income. As to expenses he says that in ordinary years the outturn of fifty acres of dry crop land ought not only to maintain a family of five tolerably well, but leave something as a surplus for savings. Mr. Jamshedji puts down the proportion which the Government demand bears to the total produce as one-eleventh. Accordingly the surplus grain in the district available for exportation is 160,198 tons, valued at Rs. 71,76,800. He estimates the total value of the entire outturn from land at about Rs. 1,47,79,306. From this must be deducted the Government demand, amounting to Rs. 15,81,981, and ten per cent. of the entire outturn as expenses of cultivation, leaving a balance of Rs. 1,13,53,580 as the profit left to the agriculturist. Spreading this amount over 32,842 registered occupants, the amount left to each is about Rs. 345. We trust each of our District Collectors will thus take the trouble of estimating the net profit from cultivation that falls to the average occupant of soil in British territory. The task is a hard one, but, in the interests of the general community, it is one that deserves to be attempted. After a few years of trial we suppose it would not be hard to arrive at a fairly reliable estimate of the net profit to the occupant in British territory.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *October 18, 1879.*—*Rural Statistics in the Deccan.*—In our article on the "Peasantry of Aurungabad" (No. 41, September 13th) we gave a concise summary of the principal facts comprised in Mr. Furdoonji Jamshedji's work on that subject. On turning to the little volume again it seems well worth while to draw attention to the distinctive character of the work, and on that ground to suggest that it may fairly claim to find appreciative readers not only in the remoter provinces of this country, but amongst European students of social economy. The treatise deals with one section of the natural history of the Indian peasant. True, it is only small—being comprised in 118 pages of large print—but the writer is exemplary in keeping to his own business, as he steadily avoids being tempted into the bypaths of theory or opinative comment. Mr. Furdoonji takes the cultivator (the *kunbi*) of the (Nizam's) Deccan as he finds him, and in the most simple direct way describes the ryot, his family, his small farm, his crops. He sets before us the outturn and results of the ryot's tillage and thrift, and puts these facts into figures, which—though the author disclaims complete accuracy for them—are far more trustworthy than could be obtained by Arthur Young and the earlier writers on agricultural statistics in Europe. This mention of that name reminds one that the kind of success attained by the writer of these Aurungabad notes is the result of his possessing the qualities or enjoying the opportunities required for one side of that great field of inquiry, and, as we think—because mainly from his experience as a Survey Superintendent—from his having at least some clear perceptions of the elements of the outer and larger division of the subject. Arthur Young's estimate of the scope of these inquiries may be briefly expressed thus—"Very curious are the inquiries how far are the power and resources of a country founded on the permanent basis of an enlightened agriculture? How far on the more insecure support of manufactures and commerce?" And he thus sets out the differing qualifications for this task of the mere agriculturist and the theoretic politician :—

"A man who is not practically acquainted with agriculture knows not how to make those inquiries; he scarcely knows how to discriminate the circumstances productive of misery from those which generate the felicity of a people—an

assertion that will not appear paradoxical to those who have attended closely to these subjects. At the same time, the mere agriculturist who makes such journeys sees little or nothing of the connection between the practice in the fields and the resources of the empire, of combinations that take place between operations apparently unimportant and the general interest of the State, combinations so curious as to convert, in some cases, well-cultivated fields into scenes of misery, and accuracy of husbandry into the parent of national weakness. These are subjects that never will be understood from the speculations of the mere farmer, or the mere politician ; they demand a mixture of both, and the investigation of a mind free from prejudice, particularly national prejudice, from the love of system and of the vain theories that are to be found in the closets of speculators alone."

This practical knowledge of agriculture and of rural economy displayed by Mr. Furdoonji he has in common with many experienced Indian land revenue men and district officers ; all we are claiming now is that this little book is an admirable compendium of information on that side of the field of inquiry. Apart from several of Young's chapters of detail, such as that on the Nivernois, this work will remind readers in Europe of special portions of Laing's *Notes of a Traveller*, such as his account of the Swiss diary-keeping parishes, as in Chapter X., and his contrast between the kail-yards of Scotland and the olive-tree and maize cultivation of the then impoverished Italians. Again, if we could imagine Cobbett's writings on rural affairs without his all-pervading individuality, this work on the tillage and rustic customs of the north-eastern Deccan would remind us of the sturdy farmer-political who was a power in the State in our grandfather's time. But, as few persons read Cobbett now-a-days, a more familiar and apt comparison of the contents and objects of Mr. Furdoonji's book is to be found in that record of the Rev. Braham Zinke's observations whilst living with the family of a French peasant of Limousin which were so pleasingly recorded in the *Fortnightly Review* in course of last year. There is in this little Indian book no pretension to the literary skill with which that author lightens up his detailed and graphic sketches of peasant proprietor economy ; but the aim and scope of this work closely correspond to that of the author just named. While for those who will bring to the perusal of this sketch of village life in the Deccan any of the poetry they may have in their own souls it will not be too much to say that the chapters on "Kunbi" life and manners, and the ryots' "working calendar for the year" may remind them—though with an Oriental difference—of Bloomfield's "Farmer's Boy" and Clare's "Shepherd's Calendar."

To readers on this side of India these notes on the Aurangabad peasantry will at once recall Green's "Ryots of the Deccan," though that is a work that deals much more with what we have spoken of as the outer and broader side of agricultural statics. Thus we could not suggest a better text for any writer on this subject, in the *Calcutta Review* for instance, than these two books, which afford points of comparison between the eras 1849 and 1878. We would propose inserting between the two the Report of the Commissioner on the Deccan Ryots of 1875, but that portentous collection might well scare even a quarterly reviewer in these hurrying days when 'light articles' are what editors and readers demand.

Though we have described Mr. Furdoonji's small book as one that deals chiefly with the inner and detailed side of the Indian agricultural problem, it is only fair to point out that it affords data for those who desire to study the larger and broader aspect of the matter. Its statistics, though not obtruded, are compendious and inclusive, as would be apparent from our former notice of the work. He classifies the population, states the elements and results of production, and describes distinctly the incidence of the land revenue. In these latter respects his chapter V. leaves nothing to be desired so far as the large district (nearly 4,000 square miles) dealt with is concerned. Again, the essay may be regarded as of special interest in affording a *via media* between the extreme estimate of peasant proprietorship on one hand, and that perfection of the English plutocratic system which Earl Beaconsfield has recently made such an ingenious, if desperate, effort to vindicate. These notes indicate very clearly the special

position of the Indian ryot—for which there is no definition in the formal systems of political economy. He is not a proprietor, neither is he a tenant-at-will; but when his status as a beneficiary-occupier has fair play, as it seems to have in this portion of H. H. the Nizam's dominions, it may be seen that it is consonant in a remarkable way with the special condition of tropical agriculture, and offers one of the best instances in the world of the law of natural selection applied to social statics.

DECCAN TIMES, October 22, 1879.—Mr. Furdoonji Jamshedji, Superintendent Revenue Survey and Assessment, in his *Notes on the Agriculturists of the District of Aurungabad*, a pamphlet which has been lying on our table for some days, gives a very interesting description of rural life, as it presents itself in one portion at least of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions—all the more interesting that it tells, in the words of soberness and truth, the state of things actually existing. There is such a tendency on the part of everybody in any way connected with this Government to give highly coloured pictures of everything regarding the people and the country that we despaired of ever learning the real condition of the agricultural classes, who form the great bulk of the population. Many contend that the people are far more contented and happy under native rule than they are under British. Although never inclined to this belief, we have nothing positive to urge against it, as so very little is known of the people under their own form of government. Only the other day we had occasion to remark upon the highly flattering picture of these dominions portrayed by Moulvie Mahdi Ali, the Secretary to the Government in the Revenue Department, in his replies to the questions of the Famine Commission. It was therefore with no little pleasure that we perused Mr. Furdoonji Jamshedji's pamphlet, since he seems to be well up in his subject and is in a position to supply trustworthy information. He has been in the district about which he writes nine years, and may be supposed to know something of the people. "The Kunbi," he tells us, "is a harmless, inoffensive creature, simple in his habits, kindly by disposition, and unambitious by nature. He is honest, and altogether ignorant of the ways of the world. He knows little of the value of money, and when he happens to save any he does not know how to keep it. Like Charles the Second's sailor, he makes his money like a horse and spends it egggregiously like an ass. He is satisfied with very little, and is contented with his lot, however humble. His passions are not strong, he is apathetic and takes things easily—is never elated with success, nor is he readily prostrated by misfortune. He is a thorough Conservative, and has a sincere hatred of innovations. He cherishes a strong love for his *watan* (hereditary holdings and rights), and whenever any trivial dispute arises in connection with them he will fight it out to the very last. He will often suffer great wrongs with patience and resignation, but his indignation is aroused if the least encroachment be made upon his personal *watandari* rights, though they may yield him no profit, but happen on the contrary to be a tax upon his purse. If the regulated place be not assigned to his bullocks when they walk in procession at the *Pola* feast, or if he has been wrongfully preceded by another party in offering libations to the pile of fuel that is to be fired at the *Holi*, the Kunbi at once imagines that a cruel wrong has been done him, and his peace of mind is disturbed. He will haunt the courts of the taluq and district officials for redress, and, neglecting his fields, will pursue his object with a perseverance worthy of a better cause." His domestic life is cheerful and happy, he is an affectionate father and husband, is not addicted to drinking, and in fact is not intemperate in anything. He is kind and hospitable and charitable, and on the whole possesses many virtues and few vices. But he is wanting in energy. Industrious he undoubtedly is, and will work from morning till night like a horse, but he works without intelligence, vigourless, and with not the least spirit of emulation in him. This is the manner of man that tills the ground, and makes the earth bring forth her increase in Aurungabad; and who will not recognize him as the type of the cultivators of the soil all over India? Here, as elsewhere, he is only happy and prosperous when plenty smiles over the land, and if he is not in

possession of so much liberty as those under British rule he certainly enjoys greater privileges in one respect at least. The State steps in to protect him from the Soucar, who, here as elsewhere, is ever ready to get him into his clutches. To the credit of the Nizam's Government it must be said that the law between debtor and creditor is far more favourable for the poor cultivator than it is in British territory, and it is to this point that we would particularly draw attention. In the Nizam's dominions "no *ex parte* decree can be passed by a Civil Court against any debtor until the creditor should have proved, by his books or otherwise, to the satisfaction of the Court, that the bond was executed for veritable and fair consideration." No usurious rate of interest can be charged, and the amount of interest can never exceed the amount of principal. When the cultivator is unable to pay at once the amount of a decree passed against him, the Court can order it to be paid by reasonable instalments, and, if interest be allowed to run on, only one per cent. per annum is claimable until the debt be liquidated. When attachment is issued against a cultivator's property, his house, his agricultural implements, his cattle, and a supply of grain enough to support him and his family till next harvest is exempted from execution. No judgment debtor is imprisoned for debt unless suspected of having concealed his property to evade payment. These wise provisions are said to work satisfactorily, and it must be said that the cultivator here has the advantage of his brother elsewhere in this respect, even if he has it in no other.

DECCAN TIMES, *February 21, 1880.*—*Irish Relief Fund Collections at Hyderabad.*—The liberal and handsome manner in which His Highness the young Nizam, His Excellency the Minister, His Excellency the Nawab Shumsool Comrao, and nearly the whole of the noblemen of Hyderabad contributed to the Irish Relief Fund, at the meeting at the Residency on Tuesday last, exhibits very prominently the cordial sympathies of the Mahomedan community at Hyderabad in the distress of the Irish people. The Mogli Government has frequently been very practical in matters of this nature. When the recent wave of famine swept over the Deccan, hundreds of miserable children, whose parents had died of want, were left stranded on the barren shoals of destitution; these were at once taken charge of by the Mogli Government and fed and clothed for many months, until, we believe, they eventually were either found suitable employment, or were taken up by private families as adopted children or servants.

That nearly half a lakh of rupees was subscribed at a single meeting for the Irish Fund is very creditable to all concerned, and we hope that this will be an example for other Native States to imitate, and that it will stir them up to "go and do likewise."

DECCAN TIMES, *February 21, 1880.*—*Hyderabad Affairs.*—The following is from Secundrabad, dated 11th instant :—

"The Resident returned to Hyderabad last Sunday evening, and was received at the station by the Assistant Resident, and the other Residency officers, Sir Salar Jung, the Co-Regent, and his sons, and a large number of noblemen and native officials.

"The result of the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University has just been published, and I am glad to observe that four of the five students sent up by the Hyderabad High School have passed the Entrance Examination, one in the first grade and three in the second. This reflects great credit on Dr. Chattergia, the Principal of the school, and Mr. Schaffter, the Head Master; and I hope the Nizam's Government will give a cordial assent to the proposal put forward to form a College class in connection with the Madras University, more especially as it will not entail any extra expense on the part of the Government, there being already a very efficient staff of masters employed in the High School. The Principal took his degree of Doctor of Sciences at the Edinburgh University, having previously been a student at the University of Bonn, in Germany, for a couple of years. The Head Master, Mr. Schaffter, received his education in England, and an Assistant Master is a graduate of the Calcutta University, besides

which Mr. Nundy, scholar of Sidney (Sussex) College, Cambridge, is expected shortly to arrive in Hyderabad to join the Educational Department. The new college would therefore have an exceptionally strong staff of teachers, and as a dozen boys have already promised to join the F. A. class I hope the Government will give its consent to affiliate the school with the Madras University.

"It was with much regret I heard that the Superintendent of St. George's Grammar School, Chaddarghat, who is also Chaplain of the station, has severed his connection with the school, and that under rather painful circumstances. The high state of efficiency which the school had attained was solely due to his exertions, which are generally acknowledged by the community, but as between a minister and his congregation I must admit that I never before noticed such a want of harmony as there exists in Chaddarghat. Mutual recriminations have frequently taken place, which cannot under any circumstances be edifying. According to the minister a portion of his congregation consists of old residents of the station whose knowledge of the world is limited to within ten miles of Hyderabad, and these he accuses as being too ignorant and narrow-minded for him to be able to pull along with. On the other hand, the bred-and-born Chadderghatites exclaim, 'Our chaplain and his family belong to our own class, up till recently they were content with our society, as are others of their relatives elsewhere; why then should they, living amongst us, ignore our very existence, and restrict their society to those who have an *entrée* at the Residency?' Thus the war has been raging for some time, and has just ended in a complete rupture. I must confess it seems to me rather silly to suppose when a minister takes charge of a congregation he not only engages to give his own services, but those of his wife and family; and on the other hand the exercise of a little charity and tact on the part of the minister and his family might go a good way to win the good will of a congregation, however narrow-minded and ignorant. However, as matters stand at present, the school has lost its Superintendent, and I much fear it will not long retain its present state of efficiency.

"One of the foremost among the Hindoostanees engaged by Sir Salar Jung died at Hyderabad about a week ago. Mr. Fedha Hussein Khan was a pleader of some repute of the High Court of Allahabad, and was at first brought here to frame rules and regulations for the guidance of the Nizam's Courts, but was afterwards appointed Chief Justice of the High Court. As such he instituted many excellent reforms, some of which gave great offence to the orthodox and old-fashioned Moulvies. There is a good deal of agitation as to who is to succeed him. As complaints, whether rightly or wrongly, are being made that the higher appointments in the service are given away to Hindoostanees, I think it would be advisable to soothe the irritated minds of the people by giving the post to a Hyderabad man if he be suitable for the post. Such a person may be found in Moulvie Mahomed Sideek, the senior Justice of the High Court, who was associated with the late Chief Justice in carrying out reforms. He is an able and intelligent officer, has a fair knowledge of English, and has already served the Government with credit for a number of years. His claim seems to me to be indisputable, and many would be glad to see him appointed to the vacant post."

DECCAN TIMES, May 5, 1880.—*An Exhibition for Hyderabad.*—*A propos of* the Melbourne Exhibition, to which articles from various parts of India have been sent, including some fine specimens of fancy manufactures from His Highness the Nizam's country, we would suggest to the Hyderabad Government the opening of an Exhibition at Hyderabad, chiefly for the purpose of exhibiting the natural, artistic and scientific productions of the provinces under the rule of His Highness the Nizam. The natural productions of the country are varied, valuable and boundless. Since centuries past the mineral resources of His Highness's territory have been always considered to be extremely rich, and since the Government have created a Geological Department that department would be able to contribute to the *Hyderabad Exhibition* we propose samples of different ores of gold, silver, copper, iron, quicksilver—together with specimens of geological

strata where precious stones are likely to be found, and all these we believe are obtainable in the Nizam's country. Then the Forest Department would be able to send to the Exhibition various descriptions of timber, of which we are assured there are some rare kinds, as also forest productions in the form of gums, fibres, vegetable dyes, &c. Perhaps the learned Doctor Aghorenath, who has made botany a special study, would be induced to contribute samples of rare plants, and herbs, medicinal, aromatic and poisonous, ferns, grasses and such like, as also various scents and perfumed essences that are produced in His Highness's dominions. Professional or amateur shikarries, of which there are plenty, would send in specimen skins and skeletons of the fauna of the country, carnivorous and herbivorous, with an account of their habits and habitat. Disciples of Izaak Walton could furnish stuffed specimens of the fishes and crustacea with which the tanks and rivers of the Deccan abound. Ornithologists would supply living and dead specimens of the innumerable beautiful birds that have their habitation in hill, plain, valley, river, lake and jungle. The Revenue Department would doubtless supply the cereals and seeds that are grown in different districts of the Moglai country—the different oils that are expressed—sugar and salts that are manufactured—dried or preserved fruits, vegetables, nuts and roots, with a description of their several uses. Taluqdars would be glad to exhibit the manufactures carried on in their respective Taluqas—the famous ware of Beder—the carpets of Wurrungal and Bheer—the beautiful silk embroidery of Aurungabad—the celebrated paper of Dowlutabad—the gold cloth of Goolburga—the elegant tracery in paper and mica of the city of Hyderabad used in the construction of the Mohurru *Taboots*—would all find an allotted place in the Hyderabad Exhibition, as well as the commoner kinds of cloth—*sarees*, *pagrees*, *dhotees*, *khadees*, *dosootees*, &c., &c., which are commonly manufactured and worn by the poorer population of the country ; together with articles manufactured in His Highness's jails. The black *Sheshum* furniture of the Kamam Taluqa would not be forgotten, nor the brass, copper and iron utensils that are turned out in the Nizam's territory. Entomologists would exhibit the wonders of the insect world, and some one interested in the subject would contribute stuffed or preserved specimens of the snakes and other reptiles peculiar to the Deccan.

Specimens such as these we have briefly referred to, and a thousand other natural and artificial products of H. H. the Nizam's dominions, there is little doubt could easily be obtained, should the local Exhibition we advocate be once started. Such an Exhibition, we opine, should not be a temporary one for the brief delectation of a few sight-seers, but should be a permanent institution of Hyderabad, which in course of time would gradually enlarge into august proportions as contributions flowed in. The offer of rewards periodically by the Government, and by other supporters of the institution, for the best manufactures, would stir up a spirit of emulation amongst mechanics and artizans which is much to be desired among the working population of the Hyderabad territory.

Then, again, the Exhibition could have a section set apart for antiquarian exhibits—such as ancient coins, vessels and implements ; Scythian, Buddhistic and ancient Hindoo architectural remains, inscriptions and figures, with which the Hyderabad Districts are said to abound. As fresh discoveries would be made, additions would from time to time be made, and this department of the Exhibition would in time be invaluable to antiquarians, as well as being interesting and instructive to the general observer.

It is not possible in a general notice like this of the interesting subject to particularize the various advantages that would be derived by high and low, learned and unlearned, by the opening of a permanent Exhibition at Hyderabad, such as we have endeavoured to give a mere rough outline of, and a hundred advantages may suggest themselves to our readers in connection with the establishment of such a Temple for the exhibition of the Arts and Manufactures of the Hyderabad country of the present day and of past times, and we will gladly lend our columns for any suggestions or opinions bearing on this very engaging question.

We commend the subject to the notice of His Highness the Nizam, of their Excellencies Shums-ool-Oomra and Sir Salar Jung, as well as to all men of "light and leading," both native and European, in His Highness's Dominions, and we shall be happy if the suggestions we have put forth are taken up, and some practical outcome should result from our general remarks on the opening of an Exhibition at Hyderabad; and we might add that, should it be determined to have such an Exhibition, the preliminary—or in fact the entire—arrangements for its opening, &c., could not be entrusted into better hands than those of the energetic Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *October 30, 1880.*—A *forthcoming book.*—We understand that a valuable addition to modern Indian History may be expected in the publication of the papers of the late General James Stuart Fraser, of the Madras Army. This officer, after holding many high military appointments under the Madras Government, was placed in political charge of the Mysore Princes (the descendants of "the Tigers"). Subsequently he was selected as Commissioner for settling Danish disputes, and then transferred to Pondicherry as Commissioner for French affairs. He next became Military Commandant and Commissioner of Coorg; was British Resident at Mysore; afterwards at Travancore; and, lastly, at Hyderabad, where he remained during fourteen years.

Abundant matter in the shape of private correspondence, with Lords William Bentinck, Auckland, Ellenborough, Harding, Elphinstone, and Dalhousie, as well as with several members of the Court of Directors, and private letters to Residents at other Courts in India and with the Princes themselves, are to find place in the forthcoming work. These records will prove that the General had serious difficulties to contend with during his official career, the most notable being, in addition to the work at the several Courts to which he was accredited, the suppression of the Mutiny among the Madras troops at Secunderabad; also his assisting the Nizam against his own mutinous soldiery in the city of Hyderabad; the detection of the great Wahabee conspiracy; and, lastly, his final efforts to rescue the Nizam's country from utter ruin and preserve the independence of its sovereign. It is well known that at the period when General Fraser was at Hyderabad the disorganized state of affairs then nearly brought the State to ruin, and called for a certain amount of interference, which the Resident attempted to apply judiciously. It is an accepted fact of history, among those well versed in the affairs of that State, that the policy which has been pursued during the past twenty-five years, during the ministry of Salar Jung, was originally sketched out between the uncle of that Minister, Suraj-ool Moolk, and General Fraser. To preserve the Nizam's independence was the General's aim, and doubtless the work will make this apparent.

From a perusal of a book now before us, "Our Faithful Ally the Nizam," by Capt. Hastings Fraser (1865), we gather that the Nizam's country was at the period referred to fearfully oppressed with debt. The Irregular troops of H. H. were constantly mutinying for want of pay, while many thousands of them continued a useless burden to the State. These the Resident proposed to disband. A long-continued system of mismanagement had diminished the public revenue, which had formerly placed Hyderabad on a par with the most prosperous and richest States of India. Thus in the year 1839 the revenue was not enough for the current expenses of the State. Commerce was almost annihilated by the weight of taxes; roads and means of communication did not exist. The Minister at last selected by General Fraser—Socraj-ool-Mulk, uncle of the present one, Sir Salar Jung—entered with considerable zeal into General Fraser's views. Had he been properly supported, the measures then proposed would have obviated the excuse afterwards found by Lord Dalhousie of asking for an assignment of territory. It is very evident from official evidence, recently cited in the (London) *Statesman* and elsewhere, that General Fraser's proposals tended to the temporary management only of territory, under a very few European officers and for a limited period. That is, after a certain defined number of years he would have restored the districts at the expiration of the time to His Highness's own sovereign power.

BOMBAY REVIEW, *November 13, 1880.*—*Affairs in the Nizamate.*—The following is from Secunderabad, dated 7th instant, above the signature "Cosmopolite":—

"The crops are fairly good, more or less, over all the 80,000 square miles of the wide dominion owing allegiance to the great city over the way. The weather is fairly cool, fevers we have, but not much more than we hear of in Bombay itself. We have had no murders or sudden deaths nor any bad accidents of late (since that grievous suicide of the young officer); so how can I make you up a news-letter? There have been many passings to and fro in this cantonment—furlough, sick leave, and promotions; but otherwise the well-ordered state of this great standing camp maintains its even course. You would, I know, gladly have me tell you the result—report, verdict, sentence—in that ugly business of the Gulburga riot; but in ancient Hyderabad they do not hurry matters of that kind. They seem to think 'least said soonest mended,' 'more haste worse speed;' for I have no doubt the Moulvies can point the Ministers to passages in the Quran equivalent to such proverbial philosophy of the West. As to the 'nephews' case' they have appealed unto Caesar against the 'wicked uncle.' Let us see what they get.

"Now, as you see there is none of the ordinary material of which news-letters are made, I must perforce take a dip into our local politics. And as I happen to be one who has seen many men and many cities it is open to me to observe and to remark that these same local politics are really of far wider consequence than is perceived here on the spot, and that they raise issues which may go further than the actors themselves are aware. The graver gossip at present runs on the topic of Sir Richard Meade's late visit to Simla—what went he for, how fared he there, and in what frame of mind did he come away? According to some statements, which may have been derived from Sir Richard's own correspondence, or that part of it *not* meant to be kept too private, it would seem that nothing could have been happier, nothing more successful, than His Honour's visit to the cloud-capped seat of supreme power. If you apply to a certain Zoroastrian confidant of the Co-Regent he will give you a roseate account of the Resident's visit to Simla; and yet—and yet—were I a Scotchman—and there a few of that influential caste here—my pen would write 'I hae ma doots.' In plain English, it is said by others that Sir Richard did not carry all before him with the new Viceroy; that the new men, the Hon. Mr. Aitchison included, are inclined to hold their judgment in reserve on some important matters that have transpired at Hyderabad during the Lytton era, when Sir Richard had it all his own way, or, what was sometimes more convenient, allowed his major-domo to do as he liked, without troublesome questions being asked. And it does seem to be tolerably certain that the smiling and sanguine Sir Richard will be allowed to quietly retire when the term of his appointment shall be reached. The *Pioneer* tauntingly defies us to guess as to who shall be Sir Richard's successor. We are willing to oblige the occultist organ so far; first, because we have no clairvoyant here at present, and second because we follow the shrewd Artemus, who wrote—'never profesigh until you no.' But at the same time we are quite free to say what we should like. Our aspirations are humble in this direction. We could even be content without a belted knight. Even the Nabobs in the city would, I believe,—all but a few perhaps,—be very glad to have plain Mr. Commissioner Jones back again for good. Perhaps the star and garter folk at Simla may not understand how such plebeian taste can exist in so aristocratic a community as that of the great Mussulman city over the way. But so it is. The fact is the Hyderabadis like straightforwardness. They know, in their slow way, when the Government of India or its representative is treating their State and its Minister fairly and honourably. They see, too plainly for our British reputation, that these qualities have been at a discount of late years with the Simla Foreign Office or Residency, or both, in their dealings with the Nizam's Government—especially since 1876-7. They do not understand why this should have been so; but they know there is a right and a wrong way for the British authorities to act towards this State; and they see that the wrong way has been taken during all Lord Lytton's time and the latter part of Lord Northbrook's.

When I say 'they' you may make certain exceptions, and take some account of the minority of evil-disposed men, such as are to be found in all old societies where bad customs have prevailed and intrigue has been a habit. There are scheming fellows, high and low, in Hyderabad or Chudderghaut who have found their account in the tortuous policy, the cantankerous or repressive disposition shown by the Residency, almost ever since the time when, as I have heard said, Sir Peter Lumsden was sent to Hyderabad to thrust the Railway scheme down the throats of H. H.'s Government. But this is old news : so let me try a new stave.

"You have lately, I observe, been showing, from the financial statements drawn up under the Minister's direction by his able assistants, what amazing progress the Hyderabad State has made during the last fifteen years or so, and what immense improvement has been made in its administration. This is all true, and as I have seen many financial statements in my time, and know a good deal of what has been done in India since just before the Mutiny time, you may allow me to express the opinion that nothing equal to or exceeding this Hyderabad work has been done elsewhere in India. You give some credit of this to the British Government ; and, from what I hear, General Fraser gave the reform a start, and Colonel Davidson after him ; Mr. Udney Yule also encouraged the indefatigable Minister Sir Salar Jung all he could—with the fine results to which you point. Every one would suppose that the British authorities would desire to preserve and even improve on the progress made. Perhaps the Secretary of State and even the present Viceroy may dream that this disposition is being shown on their behalf, as, no doubt, they would wish it should be. But if so they are—pardon the vulgarity—under a 'confounded mistake.' Since coming this time I can see that the crooked policy followed by the Residency is producing the worst possible results—the Minister and the hardworking able officials he has drawn to his assistance are discouraged ; the bigoted, perverse, or corrupt classes are again lifting up their heads ; and the reformed systems of revenue, police and courts of justice are made to work heavily, so that there is great danger of the progress gained being imperilled, if not lost. And all this—allowing for the latent elements of evil sure to be existing in Hyderabad and some of the districts—is, so far as I can see, due to the influence of the Residency having been and still being exerted on the *wrong side*. This is not a spectacle to make an Anglo-Indian feel proud ; but as an independent observer I am bound to testify according to the evidence. Let me write down here what was said to me on this subject the other day by an intelligent Mussulman :—

"The administration is clogged by meddling, as before. Never since years has there been such demoralization and confusion as now. Every devil whom Sir Salar's wand had laid has been conjured up again by his rival the Co-Regent. How strange to think that an enlightened and powerful Government like the British should condescend to such low shifts in order to get over or hide the consequences of a robbery !"

"Probably this last remark had reference to the sore subject of the Berars ; but I did not care to follow that up, as the settled feeling on that topic amongst the Hyderabadis is one of despair and disgust—not so much at the refusal, but at the dogged obstinacy of the British authorities to discuss the proposals made by the Minister and the late Shums-ul-Omra, whatever those were. Anyhow the signs of reaction, which others besides myself observe, are *traceable to the Residency policy*.

"Here I must stop ; my communication has turned out rather unpleasant, but neither you nor I can help that. If this new Viceroy could ever look into these subjects for himself, without the tinted spectacles supplied by the Foreign Office, there might be more hope for Hyderabad affairs than there is just now. What has become of our old friend Arthur Oliphant, I wonder ? why has he been so silent ? how could he be so gagged ? Here is one little item of news to close with. Since poor Mr. Dowding's untimely decease Mr. H. Krohn (a son-in-law of Meadows Taylor's), Head Master of the Sirdars' School, has been acting as Tutor to the young Nizam, of whom I hear good accounts. His Highness's Superintendent or Guardian, Captain C. Clerk, left here, they tell me, some weeks ago, very sick. He may have stayed at or passed through Bombay, and it was hoped he might recover his health without having to proceed to England."

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS.

From *Index Geographicus Indicus*, by J. F. BANESS, pp. 95-98 :—
 Berar, or the Hyderabad Assigned Districts: comprising 2 Divisions or
 Commissionerships, embracing 6 Districts, with Hyderabad (the Nizam's
 Territory) or the Deccan. Under a Resident, Hyderabad, and Chief Commissioner.

1877-78.		WEST BERAR DIVISION.		DIVISION TOTALS.		EAST BERAR DIVISION.		DIVISION TOTALS.		LANGUAGES.	
6 DISTRICTS.		Basim.	Buldana.	Akola.	Amroli.	Ellichpur.	Var.	Chief Towns with Popn.	Chief Towns with Popn.	Chief Towns with Popn.	Chief Towns with Popn.
Lat. N. } of District capital to nearest Long. E. } minute.	20° 7' 77 11	20° 32' 16 11	21° 6' 77 6	20° 56' 77 49	21° 18' 77 33	20° 3' 79 0	21° 18' 77 33	20° 3' 79 0	21° 18' 77 33	20° 3' 79 0	21° 18' 77 33
Height in feet
District Statistics.		Area in square miles	2,936	2,904	2,680	8,422	2,759	2,623	3,307	9,289	4,399
Number of villages	930	1,010	1,109	3,150	1,374	1,460	1,565	4,399	4,399
Population	276,573	326,309	489,657	1,123,539	501,351	279,022	323,762	1,104,115	1,104,115
per square mile	94	130	180	133	182	146	83	129	129
Land Revenue Rs.		5,41,025	7,99,231	11,70,211	31,10,497	15,41,580	3,04,456	4,71,806	29,17,942	29,17,942
Average Rainfall in inches	31	28	25	25	32	27	30	30	30
Classification of Population.		Europeans	25	49	81	139	140	13	201	201	201
Christians { East Indians	15	62	72	14	79	20	143	143	143
Natives	37	170	207	28	6	34	34	34	34
Hindus	247,240	292,101	430,422	963,463	492,970	255,772	929,779	929,779	929,779
Mahomedans	14,423	25,499	39,531	79,753	35,439	55,173	88,530	88,530	88,530
Parsees, Buddhists and Jains	411	436	1,598	2,415	3,390	794	4,105	4,105	4,105
Aborigines	13,794	58,186	8,553	89,515	9,321	30,818	41,094	89,163	89,163
Total	276,573	326,309	489,657	1,123,539	501,351	279,022	323,762	1,104,115	1,104,115
<p>Basim 9,296. Mangrul-Pir 5,750. Risod 4,700. Damni, Umarhed 5,750. Sirpur 3,500. Ghroli, Pusad 3,500. Ansing, Jawalka, Nagardus.</p> <p>Buldana, Deulghat, Biswa, Borakhuri, Lonar, Deulgaon Raja 10,165. Amrapur, Malkapur 8,820. Mehkar, Sindkhed, Chikhli, Pimpalgaon Raja Futehkheda, Janephal, Nandura.</p> <p>Akola 15,920. Wadegaon 5,920. Barsi Takli 5,816. Jamod, Akot 15,260. Telhara, Balapur 13,786. Shegaon 8,129. Bargaon, Argaum, Jalamb, Bawanbir, Khamgaon 9,234. Jalgaon 9,552. Hiwarkhed 7,246. Pathoor 6,552. Andura, Pinjar 3,000.</p> <p>Amraoti 23,517. Hiwarkhed, Nandgaon, Kholapur, Ner, Salod, Badnera 6,876. Karanja 22,807. Kombargaon, Palla, Talagaon Fort height 1,051. Chandur, Mana, Tensa, Morsi, Kuram, Kurha, Murtazapur 3,900. Anjangaon Bari 3,123. Bhatkoti 2,150. Kolapur 6,170.</p> <p>Ellichpur City 30,298. Cantonment 12,319. Balragarh, Dargapur, Ranigohan, Surji, Gawilgarh, Amner, Anjangaon 9,418. Chikalda, Smtataram, Latitude 21° 24', Longitude 77° 23', Height 3,777 feet, Rainfall 55 to 60 inches. Budnera, Sirsagam, Bisurli, Dewa, Karnod, Barnr 7,100.</p> <p>Wnn 4,233. Yeotmal 2,636. Height of Fort 1,584. Chikni, Chicholi, Ner, Darwaha, Ram Amraoti, Nandura, Halegaon, Kota, Babulgaon Kalam, Bhain, Pandarkaura, Digras.</p>											

Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, and Telugu.

BRIEF GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Berar, Eastern and Western, known as the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, forms the northernmost portion of the Hyderabad Native State. This tract was assigned to the British Government, under the treaties of 1854 and 1861, in pledge for debts incurred by a former Nizam, during the early struggles for the sovereignty of the Deccan on the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and for the maintenance of the military force termed the Hyderabad or the Nizam's Contingent, raised in lieu of the troops which the Nizam had been previously bound to furnish on demand in time of war. This assigned portion is situated between longitudes $76^{\circ} 0'$ and $79^{\circ} 15'$ east, and latitudes $19^{\circ} 30'$ and $21^{\circ} 45'$ north, and is about 150 miles in length from north-west to south-east, and about 144 miles in breadth from north to south, with an area of 17,711 square miles, and a population of 2,227,654 souls, giving an average of 126 persons per square mile for the whole tract. Berar is bounded on the north and east by the districts of Nimar, Betul, Nagpur and Wardha of the Central Provinces, and on the south and west by the remainder of the Nizam's Dominions known as Hyderabad, and the district of Khandesh of the Bombay Presidency. Although entirely under British administration, the nominal sovereignty of the country is still retained by the Nizam.

The Ajanta range of hills intersects the whole province from west to east, and its steep ridge divides the interior geography of Berar into two systems. Setting aside the *Melghat* or *Gangra* mountain tract, of the Gawilgurh hills, as abnormal, we have two distinct sections of Berar, the *Payanghat* or lowland country, with an average height of 1,000 feet, bounded on the north by the Gawilgurh hills, and on the south by the outer scarps of the Ajanta range; and the *Balaghat*, or upland country above the Ajanta ridge, sloping down southward beyond the ghats or passes which lead up to it. The mass of the Gawilgurh hills or Melghat mountain tract, which may be said to wall in Berar on the north, attains elevations varying from 2,000 to upwards of 4,000 feet, the highest summit, Bairat, being 4,200 feet. It forms the outermost southern barrier of the Satpura range, and rises abruptly from the plain of Berar or the Payanghat. On these hills the plateau of Chikalda, the sanitarium of Berar, is situated. It is distant 20 miles from Ellichpur.

The principal rivers of Berar are the *Tapti* for a short section of its course, the *Wardha* skirting its eastern boundary, the *Penganga* skirting very nearly the whole of its southern boundary, and the *Purna*. There is but one lake in the whole province, the remarkable salt water lake of Lonar, situated on the most southerly plateau of the Buldana district. This lake presents the appearance of an enormous crater of an extinct volcano, and deserves mention as being one of the most prominent, curious and interesting physical features of Berar.

The population of this province is dense, its rainfall regular and copious, and its area almost entirely cultivated, the whole of the plain surface being covered over at harvest time by a sheet of crops. It possesses one of the richest and most extensive cotton fields in India, and several cotton marts of the very first calibre, and in respect to natural and material advantages it surpasses any tract in the Central Provinces. A group of beds of thick coal of fair quality has lately been found in the Wun district, and iron ore is very plentiful throughout large tracts on the eastern side, especially in the hills about Karinja, and among the low ranges close to Amraoti on the north-east.

The Resident at the court of Hyderabad stands in the position of Chief Commissioner of Berar, and is the head of the local administration, directly subordinate to the Government of India. For administrative purposes Berar is divided into two divisions, each controlled by a Commissioner. Subordinate to Commissioners are six Deputy Commissioners, each holding executive charge of a district, under whom are fifteen Assistant Commissioners, and eight Extra Assistant Commissioners, in executive charge of the twenty-two subdivisions of the six districts, the average area of each sub-division being about 810 square miles.

The last census of Berar was taken November 1867 ; the proportion of males to females is equal, and Mahomedans constitute only seven per cent. of the whole population, which is classified as follows :—Christians 841 ; Hindus 1,883,242 ; Mahomedans 168,283 ; Parsis, Buddhists and Jains 6,604 ; Aborigines 168,684. Total for the whole Province 2,227,654.

HYDERABAD (THE NIZAM'S TERRITORY) OR THE DECCAN.

The Nizam's Dominions, called also Hyderabad Native State, from the name of its capital, is the same as the Subhat of the Deccan of Mogal times, and forms by far the largest and most important of the protected native states of India. This territory occupies the central portion of the table land of the Deccan, a term which in its limited sense implies the tract of country in Southern India situated between the Nerbudda and Kistna rivers, and supported by the Eastern and Western Ghats. Hyderabad is situated between latitudes $15^{\circ} 10'$ and $21^{\circ} 45'$ North, and longitudes $74^{\circ} 40'$ and $81^{\circ} 32'$ East. It is about 475 miles in length from south-west to north-east, and about the same distance in breadth. The area is estimated at nearly 98,000 square miles, with a population of about 11 millions, giving an average of 112 souls to the square mile. The territory is bounded on the north and east by Berar and the Central Provinces, on the south by the territory subject to the Presidency of Madras, and on the west by the territory subject to the Presidency of Bombay, and is traversed and skirted by the river Godavari with its tributaries the Purna and Manjira ; by the Pranhita with its tributaries the Wardha and Penganga ; and by the Kistna with its tributaries the Bhima and Tungabhadra, all flowing from the Western Ghats eastwards into the Bay of Bengal. The whole territory is an elevated table land, in some parts rising to upwards of 2,500 feet above sea level, and is to a large extent covered with low brushwood and uncultivated, but where irrigated and cultivated the soil is fertile and produces large crops of cotton, wheat, the pulses, rice, and oil seeds, and date and palm trees are common everywhere.

The capital of the state stands on the southern or right bank of the river Musi, which flows between it and the Residency, and is fordable except when swollen by the rains. It is about a mile distant from the Residency, and five miles by the road from the cantonment of Secundrabad. The population of the city and suburbs has been estimated at about 400,000.

The revenue of this state is about £4,000,000 per annum, and the Nizam's forces number 720 guns and about 30,000 men, of whom upwards of 6,000 are Arabs, and there are altogether about 10,000 foreign mercenaries besides in his territory. The only feudatory of the Nizam is the Raja of Gudwal, who is not interfered with so long as he pays Rs. 1,15,000 a year into the Nizam's treasury.

The climate of Hyderabad is on the whole pleasant and healthy during a greater part of the year, the temperature is moderate, and is described as a delightful medium between the extremes of heat and cold experienced in the northern parts of India. In the cold season the thermometer stands at 74° , rising to 91° in the hot months, of which April and May are the most trying. The average rainfall is very small, not exceeding 32 inches for the whole country.

The Railway from Madras to Bombay runs through a portion of this state, a branch called the Nizam's State Railway, 121 miles in length, striking off from Wadi station to Hyderabad the capital, while the Great Indian Peninsula Railway from Bombay to Nagpur traverses the whole length of Berar from west to east.

The government of the native state of Hyderabad, or the Nizam's Dominions, is modelled after that of Madras. Each district or *Sircar* has its first, second, and third *Talukdar*, corresponding to Collector, Sub-Collector and Assistant Collector. Three districts united form a division under a *Suddar Talukdar* or Head Collector. The rural chiefs who are distributed throughout the interior of the country, under the names of *Deshmukhs*, *Deshpandias*, *Zamindars* and *Mannewars*, are associated in divers forms and degrees with the Revenue and Police administrations of their native districts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sircars or Districts in Hyderabad Native State (Nizam's Dominions).

No.	NAME AND CAPITAL.	Latitude N.	Longitude E.	No.	NAME AND CAPITAL.	Latitude N.	Longitude E.
		to nearest minute.				to nearest minute.	
1	Amrabad	16° 23'	78° 53'	20	Matkar	20° 10'	76° 40'
2	Balthalwadi	20 34	75 41	21	Meddak	17 41	78 18
3	Beda	17 67	77 39	22	Mudgal	16 1	76 30
4	Bhrlr.	19 0	75 40	23	Malkhaid	17 11	77 12
5	Bhongahr	17 30	75 56	24	Mallangur	18 18	79 23
6	Daolatabad	19 57	75 15	25	Nander	19 9	77 23
7	Darur	18 50	76 10	26	Nalgonda	17 3	79 20
8	Daverkonda	16 42	78 58	27	Naldrug	17 49	76 20
9	Elgundel	18 26	79 5	28	Pangul	16 15	78 9
10	Ghunapura	16 34	78 5	29	Patri	19 16	76 30
11	Godavari	.....	.....	30	Puralinda	18 16	75 20
12	Golkondah	17 22	78 27	31	Patton	19 29	75 26
13	Jalnab	19 51	75 56	32	Ratchor	16 12	77 24
14	Kolkonda	16 45	77 50	33	Rangir	18 38	79 39
15	Kulbarga	17 19	76 54	34	Rhababad	17 10	78 11
16	Kaulas	18 20	77 44	35	Suggur	16 37	76 51
17	Kallaut	17 52	76 59	36	Warangul	17 58	79 40
18	Kammammet	17 15	80 11	37	Yedaguri	16 46	77 11
19	Mahor	19 50	76 0				

Military Stations of the Hyderabad Contingent, and Subsidiary Force, under the orders of the Resident, Hyderabad (Nizam's Dominions), and Chief Commissioner, Berar.

No.	STATIONS.	Rainfall.	Lat. N.	Long. E.	Height.	No.	STATIONS.	Rainfall.	Lat. N.	Long. E.	Height.
			to nearest minute.						to nearest minute.		
					feet.						feet.
1	Aurangabad (Hd. Qrs.) ..	..	19° 53'	75° 21'	1,885	6	Lingsugur .....	..	16° 7'	76° 34'	..
2	Bolarum .....	..	17 32	78 34	..	7	Jaina .....	..	19 51	75 56	1,652
3	Ritichpur	27	21 18	77 33	1,377	8	Akola	25	21 6	77 6	829
4	Hingoli .....	..	19 43	77 11	1,495	9	Amraoti	32	20 56	77 49	1,202
5	Mozinabad .....	..	18 44	76 23	..	10	Hyderabad Residency ..	..	17 23	78 31	1,977
Secunderabad (Hd. Qrs. Subsidiary Force), Population 52,458											
									17 27	78 33	1,771

TIMES OF INDIA, December 14, 1880.—*The Conduct of Famine Relief.*—From “An Ex Famine Officer in the Nizam's Dominions” :—

“Referring to the letter signed ‘An Ex Special Famine Officer,’ published in your issue of the 6th instant, I may be allowed to say a few words. After careful inquiries and reports by officers specially appointed for famine duty, the Nizam's Government came to the conclusion, in January 1878, that the famine was practically over, and ordered the relief works and poor-houses to be closed accordingly. There may have been particular cases of suffering afterwards, but these would not justify the Government to continue the administration of relief, as no Government is expected or bound to relieve cases of individual hardship or trouble.

“If, however, the number of emigrants from a country be taken as a criterion of the administration of famine relief, ‘Ex Special Famine Officer’ will be astounded to hear that no less than 47,400 people migrated into H. H. the Nizam's territories from the adjoining British districts up to the spring of 1877 only. In the course of about two hours on the forenoon of the 9th November 1876 the correspondent of the *Times of India* encountered some 230 persons on the Begumpore road alone, who were all migrating to the Nizam's dominions, and had no knowledge whatever of the existence of relief works in their own territories. This, however, by no means proves the absence of relief works in the British districts, or the mismanagement thereon. It may be that these people migrated because works in their own territories were further from their homes than those in the foreign land, because they were ignorant of the existence of such works in their own country, or because they had friends elsewhere whom they expected to help them.”

PIONEER, August 19, 1881.—*An afternoon with Shums-ool-Oomra.* (From a correspondent.)—“Although every Englishman knows and respects the name of Sir Salar Jung, few besides the local minority are aware of the fact that his duties as Regent at Hyderabad are shared by a colleague, Shums-ool-Oomra, the highest of

the native noblemen in the city, and closely connected by marriage with the young Nizam. Shums-ool-Oomra, or the Amir-i-Kabir as he is most frequently called, represents the conservative spirit of native society in Hyderabad. Thus whilst entertainments to Europeans on the most munificent scale are frequent enough in the palace of Sir Salar Jung, they are of comparatively rare occurrence in that of the Co-Regent, and are never perhaps attended with the perfect *camaraderie* and freedom from constraint that distinguish the hospitalities of the Prime Minister. It was then with a certain amount of curiosity that, in accordance with his courteous invitation, I went last Wednesday (the 11th), with a limited number of officers and ladies from the Residency, the cantonments, and the Nizam's service, to witness the annual Hindoo festival of Nagapunchmee from the palace of the Amir-i-Kabir. The streets of the old city, always crowded with picturesque groupings of Arabs, Rohillas, Pathans, and Hyderabadees of all sorts, are more crowded than ever. It is a day of general holiday to the whole city, Mahomedan though the inhabitants for the most part are. Past the stately Char Minar down the narrow street leading to the Nizam's palace and the marketplace the crowd surges round our carriage in a fashion that recalls Lord Mayor's Day in the Strand. Our escort, composed partly of the Contingent forces, partly of the Amir-i-Kabir's personal guard, clatters behind us, with their lance pennons streaming. Every citizen of any title to respectability carries a knife of some sort, generally profusely ornamented, at his waistband. Weapons of every shape and device, from the heavy bell-mouthed blunderbuss to the crooked tulwar, are carried almost universally. We Europeans, as we rattle past in our open carriages, recognize the power of a great leader and master-spirit here, able to retain in such perfect quiet and order nationalities, creeds, and interests so strangely jumbled together, and at the same time provided with instruments of disorder generally so dangerous. Leaving the pretty public gardens by the marketplace behind us, we are compelled to move more slowly through the dense mass of human beings that pack this narrow and eminently Oriental street. We do not notice anything like insolence or dislike in the expression of most of the faces so near us. A curiosity and evident interest in the European ladies from the majority, an occasional appeal for alms from a fakir, and now and then the sullen, lowering visage of an Afghan dealer, one of whom shakes his stick at us, are all that arrest our attention specially as we move along.

"But here we are at the palace gates, and instantly a hurried rush of mace-bearers and sowars in front clears a lane for us, with scant ceremony and many buffets, through the throng to the flight of steps leading up to the grand hall of reception. Our host, a little, grey-haired, wizened, quiet old man, with gracious but self-contained manners, is waiting at the top to receive us, whilst one of his sons and a grandson conduct us up the broad stone steps. Most of the guests have already arrived, and are occupied in eating ices or drinking coffee, whilst others are watching the *tanasha* from the balustrade outside. The ices are perfect, and the cheroots that are carried round afterwards very fair; but the deference to European usages from so conservative an old nobleman is certainly remarkable, for every one knows how revolting to the old notions of courtesy and etiquette it is to smoke in the presence of one in the position of our host. However, we puff away and watch. Just below us, against the wall, are some ten or twelve of the Amazon Guard, in their little yellow caps, with black braid and red tassels. The young lady-warriors certainly look quite capable of holding their own, against other women at all events, as they joke with or repel the crowd all round them. There is a little naked infant held up for sale to us by the mother in a basket; and there are two or three more—not inviting objects for investment. Close by are a number of snake-charmers and conjurors, with cobras, boa constrictors, and other snakes, with little pots of milk at their sides. The explanation of this is that to-day is the great serpent festival, on which the snakes are made much of by their owners with tributes of milk. There is a story, too, in connection with the site of the present palace, in deference to which the old Mussulman nobleman opens his grounds to-day for the Hindoos to exercise their rites in. No doubt the custom is a remnant of the old snake-worship, once so prevalent all over the East. I must acknowledge that one

prestidigitateur has a peculiar method of showing his reverence for the reptile. Clothed in little more than the ordinary dhotee, he dances round with waving, open hands, and suddenly makes a dart with his hand upon the open ground, to lift it instantaneously with a cobra four feet long writhing in it. It is a marvellous sleight of hand, but at the fourth or fifth essay the cobra's back is bruised and cut, and the spine probably broken.

"We have been wondering what is going to be done with a long rope that stretches tautly from the palace roof at an easy slope to the ground. Just now two or three men appear on the roof, and one of them, whose body from the chest to the thighs is protected in front by some straw matting only, gradually creeps on to the rope from the roof with his face turned downwards, carefully drawing himself out upon it till but for the noose of rope by which he hangs on to the roof he would be lying flat out upon it. After a few moments of careful balancing he releases his foot from the noose, and with arms and legs spread out flies down like a diver to the ground, where he is received by some five or six men at the bottom, who thus save his skull from being smashed. It is one of the most daring and thrilling feats that I have ever witnessed, and one which would make the fortune of any enterprising Barnum at the Westminster Aquarium. All the time acrobats have been pirouetting and somersaulting, with swords in either hand, in front of the palace steps, in a manner sufficiently blood-curdling; whilst now a wretched creature proceeds apparently to impale his head upon a sharp iron spike, and, after thus effecting a sufficiently firm hold, to stand upright upon it; on descending, he is immediately seized by two or three of his companions, who in a marvellously short time heal the hole in his skull! Not far off are two or three of the inevitable nautch girls, swaying and swinging in a rather more graceful manner than usual. And beneath us is another group, more painful and disagreeable to European ideas than any others: a cluster of men in semi-feminine costume writhing in a hideous dance, and going through a series of gestures, with neck and body and legs all acting independently, and in opposition to all ordinary natural laws. A space is now cleared in front, and the fighting rams, grand beasts with gilded horns, are brought forward, each in the charge of two or three keepers. They are made to face one another at an interval of some twelve yards, and then with a rush they meet in the middle. The crash of the colliding skulls would lead one to suppose that nothing would be left for the keepers to do but to pick up the pieces. But no, they are brought back to have another turn, apparently little the worse for their encounter. Several pairs are thus matched, and though very few show anything like the white feather they do not appear to be really enjoying themselves. A little way off are some poor wretches, under the influence of bhang, beating and slashing at themselves till the blood pours down. Here, again, is an ill-omened-looking being, inserting a snake into his nostril, pushing it up, and drawing it out again, alive and cheerful, through his mouth. And all the time the *tom-toms* are beating in the distance, and banners of green and crimson with quaint devices of dragons and tigers, and fabulous monsters, are swaying over the surging crowd, and the constables, in many cases perhaps self-constituted ones, are banging and pushing the passive mob.

"We take a turn inside, and find, in addition to the ordinary cheap French prints of the seductive-looking and impossible European beauties, regular sets of first-rate electric and chemical apparatus arranged in cases against the wall. In the reception hall there is a very fine electric battery, over which the ridiculous old greybeards become children again in the suspense and terrors of the shock. Iced pegs are now offered to the gentlemen, and some of us move off to the garden to see the ostriches. There are two fine birds, but the young one that was born in the garden is moultingly and despondently hideous. We are given three or four eggs by the courteous Parsee gentleman who attends us, and return to make our departure. The crowd is hardly so thick now, as we descend the great steps, to receive the customary gift of attar-of-rose bottles, varying in number from five to nine, from the hands of our host. A shake of the hands, and once more we are being driven through the dense many-tinted waves of humanity to our respective homes."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *December 9, 1876.*—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 8th instant :—

The Nizam left at 9 A.M. to-day by special train, under a salute of 21 guns ; he was accompanied by Sir Salar Jung, the Nawabs Vickar-ool-Oomrah, Busheer-ool-Dowlah, the Peshkar, Captains Clerk and Trevor, and Dr. Law ; the Resident and Staff. Generals Macintire and Wrights, with other officers, awaited His Highness' arrival at the station, which was gaily decorated. The Resident leaves on Monday. Among the natives a general feeling of annoyance prevails and dissatisfaction with Sir Salar Jung. The Nizam is to arrive at Jubbulpore on 14th instant."

BOMBAY GAZETTE, *December 9, 1876.*—The Nizam has now fairly left his capital and is on his way to Delhi to take part in the Imperial Assemblage and recognize Queen Victoria as the supreme ruler of India. It would, therefore, be ungracious and ungenerous on our part not to do honour to Sir Salar Jung and Sir Richard Meade for the good service they have rendered to the State in prevailing upon the chief Mussulman prince in India to take a step so strongly opposed to the natural sentiment of Indian Mahomedans. The people of Hyderabad, who remember that the Nizam Asuph Jah, the founder of the dynasty, made himself in all but the name independent even of the house of Timour, cannot but see with disfavour their Sovereign appearing in public as merely the Soubah of the Deccan, and receiving investiture at the hands of the Viceroy of an English Empress. We are not surprised to hear that their dissatisfaction has found vent in open murmurs, for we have all along believed that the pressure of popular feeling at Hyderabad would be too strong for Salar Jung, and that the Minister, however genuine his desire to take the Nizam with him to Delhi, would be obliged to forego its gratification. But our conviction of the magnitude of the obstacles he had to overcome makes us admire all the more His Excellency's firmness in carrying out his own determination. We put aside the unworthy suspicion that the English Government can have been so base as to purchase the presence of the Nizam at Delhi by the promise of concessions which would be injurious to the interests of the Empire. Both Lord Salisbury and Lord Lytton would, we are sure, blush with indignation at the suggestion that they can possibly have made a bid for the homage the Nizam intends to pay to Queen Victoria on New Year's Day. It must have been the spontaneous wish of Sir Salar Jung that his Sovereign should go to Delhi—a wish prompted by his statesmanlike perception of the fact of English supremacy, by gratitude for the hearty welcome given to him in England, and by anxiety, in the present critical state of Eastern affairs, to give the English nation a striking proof of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Mussulman subjects in India. Sir Richard Meade, too, must have found it an arduous task, in supporting the Minister, to conciliate the principal personages of the Court and persuade them to let the Prince go, and, remembering past diplomatic mishaps at Hyderabad, we may frankly compliment him on his delicate and expert management of a very difficult piece of work. We wish the little Nizam a pleasant journey and a safe return to his own country.

TIMES OF INDIA, *August 9, 1882.*—*The Hyderabad Visitors to England.*—The Court Circular reports that the Nawab Vicar-ul-Oomra, attended by Mr. Seymour FitzGerald (Political), A.D.C., to the Secretary of State for India, and Mr. E. J. Lawder (in attendance upon the Nawab) was presented to Her Majesty by the Marquis of Hartington on the 14th ult. The Nawab Mir Laik Ali Khan Bahadur and the Nawab Mir Saadat Ali Khan Bahadur, sons of His Excellency Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., attended by Sirdar Dilar Jung Bahadur, C.I.E., were likewise presented to Her Majesty by the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. Seymour FitzGerald being present. On the 15th the Lord Mayor entertained a distinguished company at the Mansion House, amongst whom were the sons of His Excellency Sir Salar Jung.

The Lord Mayor, after the usual loyal toasts, proposed "The Health of Nawab

Mir Saith Ali Khan and Mir Saadat Ali Khan Bahadurs," sons of his Excellency Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, and said he had great pleasure in proposing the health of these noblemen, whose father's name was so well known in this country, and whose distinguished acts and conspicuous loyalty to the British Government were so highly appreciated, and who had done so much good for his country by his able administration.

Abdul Hati Sirdar Dilar Jung Bahadur, C.I.E., in responding, said :—I beg to thank you most cordially and sincerely for the hearty hospitality and kindness they have received at your hands, and for the handsome manner in which you have proposed their health. It is a matter of great satisfaction to the Nawabs to find in this far-away country that its people take such a deep interest in the welfare of Hyderabad and India in general, and it is also a matter of great gratification to them to think that the services of their father are so kindly remembered and appreciated. My lord, the hospitality you have shown us all will always be highly esteemed and ever held in remembrance. It is one of the great and leading virtues of the civilised world to treat strangers with kindness and consideration. (Here the Sirdar quoted a Persian poet, to the effect, "Treat strangers and foreigners with kindness, and they will carry your fame all over the world.") I must confess that I am greatly taken by surprise at being called upon at a moment's notice to respond to this toast. I never expected this honour to have fallen to my lot, but as the opportunity has offered, however unprepared I may be, I must not allow it to pass without a few observations. As his lordship has kindly alluded to India and its Government, I have to remind you that it cannot have been forgotten that only a hundred years ago every prince's hand was against his fellow prince in India, and despotism was the rule of the day. The same country now enjoys the benefits and advantages of law and justice, high courts and legislative councils, railways and telegraphs, and is so governed that, metaphorically speaking, the tiger and the lamb drink from the same well. You can go about with gold in your hands without fear and interference from any one. If you have grievance it is attended to not only by the highest authorities in India, but also by the House of Commons and House of Lords, and thus India enjoys the advantages of the excellent machinery of Western Government, though there may be defects in the machinery, as nothing in this world is perfect. Under such circumstances, Indian subjects cannot but be extremely devoted and loyal to her Majesty's Government in India : and to corroborate my humble view I need only allude to the recent occurrences in the Afghan war, where you remember how gallantly the native army fought against their co-religionists, fellow-brothers and countrymen. And I sincerely hope that if the Indian Army is landed in Egypt they will leave a further mark there of their unqualified loyalty and devotion to her Majesty in the restoration of peace in Egypt on behalf of the Khedive. We have in India Hindoos, Parsees, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and other classes, as you know, all equally enjoying the advantage of her Majesty's excellent Government without any distinction of caste or creed whatsoever. I quite share the Lord Mayor's opinion that India should govern itself, and a conclusive proof of that desire is vividly shown in the recent scheme of self-government lately introduced by Lord Ripon, our beloved Viceroy of India. His lordship has also alluded to his Excellency Sir Salar Jung's services to his country, and his conspicuous loyalty to the British Government. I have no doubt that this distinguished company will bear testimony to the Lord Mayor's expression, when I remind you how his Excellency's devotion to her Majesty's Government in India has ever been proved in times of emergency, and how extremely anxious he has always been to render services to her Majesty the Queen. It is a matter of extreme gratification to learn that these marks of his unshakable attachment to her Majesty have not been lost sight of by this great nation. I need hardly say that if there are many in India who are entirely devoted to her Majesty's Government, his Excellency Sir Salar Jung is one of them. And I have not the least doubt that you will bear me out in my statement when I refer you to his repeated hearty co-operation with the British Government at all times. Since he took in hand the reins of the Hyderabad State you will also notice the

rapid changes for the better which the State has undergone. The revenue of the State has increased from one to about four millions. Peace and order have been restored, law and justice have been established, railways and telegraphs, irrigation canals, and other great engineering works have been opened out, and every step taken to develop these improvements by taking advantage of Western advancement. In conclusion, my lord, I have to thank you once more on behalf of the Nawabs and myself for your hospitality, and for the opportunity of expressing my humble views.

On the 19th the Prince of Wales, attended by Lieutenant-General Sir Dighton Probyn and Colonel A. Ellis, dined with the Nawab Iqbal-ud-Dowlah, Vikar-ul-Oomra, at his residence, 1, Cadogan square.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, August 12, 1882.—The Nawab Vicar-ul-Oomra, attended by Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State for India, and Mr. E. J. Lawder (in attendance upon the Nawab), was presented to Her Majesty by the Marquis of Hartington on July 14. The Nawab Mir Laik Ali Khan Bahadur and the Nawab Mir Saadat Ali Khan Bahadur, sons of his Excellency Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., attended by Sirdar Dilar Jung Bahadur, C.I.E., were likewise presented to her Majesty by the Marquiss of Hartington, Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald being present.

TIMES OF INDIA, September 9, 1882.—*Destructive Floods at Hyderabad.*—The heavy fall of rain last Friday and Saturday caused great damage and loss of life in the city and its suburbs. In the city itself the streets were flooded, and near the Char Minar the water was running on Saturday almost waist-deep. A number of houses, says the *Deccan Times*, fell down and several lives were lost, how many, we have not yet been able to ascertain; but from the crowded state of the city it is to be feared that many were crushed to death by falling houses. In Chuddergaut much damage was done. The small tank in front of Mr. Seymour Keay's house overflowed, and the rush of the water carried away the front wall of his compound, through which it swept with great force. The whole of the stables and out-houses tumbled down, there only being just time to remove the horses and carriages. The torrent flowed along in the direction of Troop Bazaar, making its way through Rajah Cundasawmy's garden and house, breaking through every impediment and creating much damage in its course. Some forty or fifty houses in Troop Bazaar collapsed, but we have not heard that any lives were lost. In the Residency Bazaar, an upper storied building toppled over, off the house adjoining, killing its inmates, a goldsmith, his wife, and child. Just below the Bank of Bengal the flow of water across the Residency Road was nearly knee-deep, and difficult to wade through, so powerful was the current. The shops and *dookans* in the Residency Bazaars were closed and deserted, from fear of their falling, and the people had a terrible night of it last Saturday. Portions of the roads and streets were completely swept away, and compound walls tumbled down in several places. But the greatest disasters occurred perhaps towards the Goshamail. Accounts to hand show that the Tank at the Sitaram Bagh overflowed, flooding the low-lying ground in the direction of Begum Bazaar, and causing the complete destruction of about two hundred huts belonging to the Native Infantry located there. About twenty persons are already reported as missing, but it is apprehended that a larger number consisting of men, women and children, unconnected with the Infantry, have also been swept away and otherwise drowned. The floods having not quite subsided and the huts having bodily sunk, the exact extent of the catastrophe cannot, therefore, at present be ascertained; but doubtless when the debris is cleared away something more definite as to the actual loss to life and property will be known. The floods happened in the afternoon; had they occurred late in the evening or night the results might have been still more terrific. It is said that during two hours on the Saturday afternoon no less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches of rain fell. Never in the memory of the oldest inhabitants was there such a mighty rush of water in Hyderabad. The Engineering and Municipal Staff are, we hear, hard at work in draining off the water and repairing the breaches in the tank bank at the Sitaram Bagh.

EXTRACT FROM EASTWICK'S "KAISER NAMA."

CANTO III.

The Nizam of the Dakhan.

1
From the second Khalif he sprung,
From Sohrwardi's sacred line,
Saint and Sage of gifts divine,
On whose to chi g mark'd kind hung,
Lifted from their state upine,
Thou Nizam shalt first be sung,
India's potentates among,
For thee frail Fortune shall her wheel resign,
And change her sickle nature to rest wholly thine.

Of the noble noblest thou!
Kings and saints thy ancestry,
Names bequeathed that ne'er shall die,
Names that gild thy scutcheon now,
May thy glory with theirs vie!
Fate heard thy forefather's vow,
Gave him lands and wealth enow;
Blest th' ascetics loaf with victory,
And in his banner set the haloed sign on high.

3
India then was riven in twain,
Severed like to warp from weft,
Half to Dehl's king was left;
But the Mughul's rove in vain,
Of the southern half bereft,
His proud 'want go to retain,
Empire lost to win again.
Fate had that empire was asunder cleft,
And from the Imperial crown its brightest jewel reft.

4
All men dream of rank and power,
Drum 'tis bliss to be a king,
And such dreams illusions bring,
Lengthening out life's tiny hour,
Or at thy enchantment fling;
Counts they deck with many a flower
Culled from Fancy's fairy bower.
But ah! to care for millions is a thing
Th' with a million cares methinks the heart must wring.

5
If 'tis thus, then, royal child,
'Twas the blessing of thy birth,
More than gold, than rubies worth,
'Twas that Heaven propitious smit'd,
That it with thy share of earth
Gave thee one who tamed the wild,
And the wayward reined,
A regent who has changed distress to mirth,
And spread abundance where before were want and dearth.

6
From Medina's sacred walls
Came his noble Arab sire,
Suns shall set, long years expire,
Ere oblivion's mantle falls
On that a levet, or men tire
Of a memory that recalls
Vijaypura's once bright halls,
Blended with nares that noblest thoughts inspire,
Names in whose praise bards shall for ages tune the lyre.

7
Of these names I sing but one,
One the Dakhan knows full well,—
Long shall Southern Deh tell
Good deeds by Sir Salār done:
Monks may hope in gloomy cell
Heaven by prayer and fasts is won,
By the men who munker'd shun.
But better they who can their passions quell,
Live in rest of the word, heaven-gazing vanquish Hell.

8
Young King of the Dakhan—Yes!
All too tender are thy years
To assuage a nation's fears,
Or their aspirations bless,
Thou a Pilot need'st who steers,
Calms in danger and distress,
For thy people's happiness,—
A Guide who with his own thy name endears,
And for thy coming reign a stately fabric rears.

9
Delhi's kings have passed away,
Past the House of Chaghatai;
Powers that love not progress die,
Longer shall endure thy sway,
Faithful follower, firm ally,
Sealed was Friendship on the day
When thy grandsire's proud array,
Marching abreast with England's Chivalry,
Prostrate in death beheld the Tiger-Monarch lie.

10
Since, in many a field of fame,
Two flags have together flown,
Southern India's England's own;
And when fierce Rebellion's flame,
Surging round each Inian throne,
Life-devouring onward came,
Still the Nizam stood the same,
Stood firm, ay! would have stood in arms alone,
In danger's trial true, so honour best is shown.

11
'Twas a goodly realm the lance
Of the earliest Nizam won,
Fow have e'er that feat outdone,
Brouder than Empire in France,
Than the land Ariotta's son
Conquered. Let the mind's eye glance
From where Varda's waters dance
To Gā's empurpled by the west rim sun,
Wide are these frontiers, but the Conqueror made them one.

12
Belted round with stony bands,
But in robes of verdure drest,
And with sparkling waters blest,
Haider's giant city stands,
Second city of the West.
Well that capital commands
All the Dakhan's wide-spread lands,
Long have the sons of Islam there found rest,
Nor has their fortress e'er a foe's man's rule confest.

13
Stronger still, in lonely pride,
Frowns the rock-hewn citadel,
Where, as ancient stories tell,
With a nation at his side,
Delhi's Monarch strove to dwell;
Vainly, for back ebb'd the tide
Of life—So the fates decide.
The impotency of man, and swift repel
That which they favour not, though he may like it well.

14
Yet not always Dagar's—
This the ancient name is—viewed
From its heights a solitude.
Time was that the mighty stir
Of a countless multitude
Rose beside it, and the whirl
Of a myriad prayer-wheels, ere
Men were with Islam's doctrines yet imbued,
Or Isā's voice dispelled the ancient credence rude.

15
Fronting that rock-castle then
On the neighbouring mountain-side
Stretched a city, like the bride
Of the savage Shiva when
She reclines in beauty's pride
Near the source of gods and men.
Famous was it—in the ken
Of old-world Greeks it flourished, who
spread wide
Its name, and Tagara with tales of wealth allied.

16
Ruins show still where it lay,
And upon the hilltop near
lies one—once a name of fear—
Mighty Monarch of his day,
Last great Moghul, Alamgir.
On that hillside stretch away
Vernul's temples—who can say
Where are art-wonders that eclipse those here?
Not Greece can show their like, nor Egypt boasts their peer.

17
Day by day, and year by year,
At last, many a myriad, toiled,
Naught their steady ardour foiled,
Labouring on through centuries drear,
Wearied, cramped, for done, be-
moiled,
From the rock they hewed out sheer
Stately shrines and cells austere,
Nor crouching panther feared, nor serpent coiled,
Hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor cold, their
enprise spoiled.

18
Europe has cathedrals vast
Where the sunbeam's chequered
light
Stained with rainbow-colours bright,
Falls on marble floor—but cast
In the balance and weigh right
Time and toll their cost; count last
All the labours, ages, past.
Elara, ere thy works were ended—slight
Seem those of Europe, and in contrast out-
done quite.

19
Yet Elara's self must yield
To Ajanta's wondrous glen.
Far from busy haunts of men,
Thrice with courage were they steel'd
Who first trod that gloomy den
Of fierce beasts. Its egress sealed
With scarp'd rocks, that like a shield
Thrust back all those that would come forth
again;
As gates that wicked souls within for ever
pen.

20
Gently tread the darkness way,
Thick with copse and tangled brake,
Lest thy sudden footsteps wake
Slumbering snake or beast of prey.
Cross, recross the stream, where slake
Tigers their fierce thirst. 'Tis day,
All's still, but night's roundelay
Of horrid sounds would make thy heart-
strings quake,
Sounds that rebellowing seem the solid rocks
to shake.

21
Here, where ends the dark ravine,
Look up and marvel see,
Worked in sprites it well might be;
Cells and shrines, that once have been
Homes of many a votary,
Scam the rock's face—Will I ween
Search the world through, such a scene
Exists not elsewhere, nor could fantasy
For man's devotion frame so strange a
sanctuary.

22
There the Buddh'st sought to tame
All the passions of the soul,
So ght extinct in as his goal.
Nature thwarted hides the same,
To tared still escapes control;
To obey should be man's aim,
None can dispensation claim
From Heaven's law. As magnets seek the
pole,
So man seeks life, and life eternal Crown
his role.

23
Vainly, then, those hermits strove,
But the narrow pathway e' emb,
See all that neglect and time
Have bequeathed us. Cautious move
On the thin ledge—it were crime
Not to heed here—those who love
Life tread warily above
A hundred feet of abyss; and the slime
Of ages makes the rock more slippery still
with grime.

24
In a crescent stretch the caves,
From the east to west they run,
With the movement of the sun,
Westward, where the torrent raves,
There our heavy task is done.
'Tis a task that courage craves,
For no force the totterer saves;
Long is the circuit and the down path one,
Strange how those holy men their won-
drous work begun!

25
Many a portal carved is there,
Rich with figures weird and quaint,
Mocking fiend and musing saint.
But within are chambers rare,
And not Guido's self could point
Groups of female forms so fair,
With soft eyes and golden hair,
Than here are hushed. In sooth he knew
restraint.
Who gaz'd and gazing kept his conscience
without taint.

26
Flowers like those of Paradise,
White, red and ethereal blue,
Deck the walls with dazzling hue.
Hidden 'tis from human eyes
Who the wondrous tablets drow.
Mystery of mysteries,
That may reason's self surprise,
Two thousand years have faded from the
view,
But failed to teach mankind the art their
fathers knew!

27
Other marvels might I sing,
Dakhan, of thy glorious land;
Thine the beautiful and grand,
Forest dense, and sparkling spring,
Rivers over rock and sand
Rushing headlong down to bring
Tribute to thy Ocean king.
All that is fairest to fair Nature's hand
Is present and, young prince, awaits thy
high command.

28
Well might eyes towards thee turn,
As in that Assembly High
First of Hind in dignity
Thou sat'st; kingly though young. Stern
Bosoms felt kind sympathy
For one who had yet to earn
Life; yet could they well discern
In thy bright features many a quality
Which dwell in famous men, whose names
will never die.

29
Fronting the Viceroyal throne
Thou wast then the cynosure
Of all glances, but a pure
Disregard of self outshone
From the face ingenuous, euro
Of respect, but be alone
Trusting up to make thy own
Each word of that high me age, and secure
That England's friendship so well won
should long endure.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZAMS OF THE DAKHAN.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestors of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

THE family of His Highness the Nizam is indisputably one of the most illustrious that ever came to India. On the father's side it can be traced to the first Khalifah, Abubakr, and in the female line to Muhammad himself. On both sides the descent of this sovereign is from the Kuresh, the most noble of the Arab tribes, Fehr, surnamed Kuresh, being the twenty-eighth descendant of Ismail, the son of Ibrahim, or Abraham. Abdullah ibn Abi Kohafa, surnamed Abubakr, was the fourth convert that Muhammad made, and the most influential of all, the three that preceded him being Khadijah, the Prophet's wife, his servant Zaid ibn Haritha, and Ali the son of Abu Talib. Abubakr brought over to Islam five of the principal men at Makkah, and was afterwards of the greatest service and assistance to Muhammad, and lay hid with him in the cave of Mount Tur, when they were in imminent danger from the Kuresh, who had resolved to put Muhammad to death. It was reserved for Abubakr, after the Prophet's death, to destroy the famous heretic Musailama, who was powerfully supported and bore sway in Yamana.

The next most famous ancestor of the Nizam was Shekh Shahab-ud-din Umr, Sohrwardi, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and was celebrated for his sanctity and learning. The Shekh was also a famous author; and people came from very distant parts on pilgrimage to him, as they now go to the shrines of Nizam-ud-din at Dihli (Dehli) and Gisudaraz at Kulburga. Three centuries after this holy man's death his lineal descendant the Nuwab Abid Kuli Khan, who had held the office of Kazi and Shekh-ul-Islam at Bukhara, emigrated to India about the end of the reign of Shah Jahan (see the *Tarikhi Tashid-ud-din Khani*, page 236). Shah Jahan reigned from 1638 to 1658, so that Abid Khan's arrival at Dihli took place about 1655. If proof were at all needed of his illustrious birth it would be found in the reception given him by the Mughul Emperor, who sent one of his sons to receive him, and soon raised him to the high station of Subadar or Governor of Ajmir, and subsequently to that of Governor of Multan. With these governments the title of Kalij Khan was conferred upon him, and he was regarded as the chief of the Turani, or foreign nobles. He was killed at the siege of Golkonda in the beginning of A.D. 1687, A.H. 1095, and an interesting account of his death will be found in the *Hadikah-i-Alam*, page 248. His son Shahab-ud-din, entitled Ghazi-ud-din Khan, was in chief command of the besieging army, under the Emperor Aurangzib, and orders having been issued to repel a sally of the garrison, the Nuwab Kalij Khan, whose rank and age might have exempted him from such a duty, was impelled by his zeal and courage to lead the attack, and galloped up close to the fortifications, when he was struck on the right shoulder by a ball from a small cannon (zamburak), which shattered the bone and carried away a part of the arm. Notwithstanding the severity of his wound the Nuwab rode out of the battle with perfect *sang froid*, and while the surgeons were extracting the fragments of bone carried on a lively conversation with the bystanders, and drank off a cup of coffee, holding the cup in his left hand. In spite, however, of his dauntless spirit and of all the attention the surgeons could bestow, he died on the third day after he had been wounded. He was born at Aliabad, a village six miles from Samarkand, and his grandmother was a true Saiyid, a native of Aleppo, and daughter of Mir Haidar. He himself also married a Saiyid lady, or descendant of the Prophet, and hence the family from that date adopted the distinctive title of Mir. His tomb is six miles distant from Haidarabad, on the north-west.

As stated above, the son of Abid Kuli Khan, whose name was Shahab-ud-din, was general of Aurangzib's army besieging Golkonda, but before that siege he had greatly distinguished himself, and had married the daughter of Asadullah Khan, the prime minister of Shah Jahan, and by her had one son, afterwards the celebrated

Nizam-ool-Mulk, and after her death he married the two daughters of her brother Hafizullah Khan, one after the death of the other, and had no children by them (*Hadikah-i-Alam*, page 291). Asadullah also was of the Kuresh tribe, though born at Lahur. Shahab-ud-din was born at Allahabad, and completed his education at Samarkand before following his father to India, where he arrived in A.H. 1079. He possessed eminent military abilities, and performed good service in Rajputana, but on the first occasion of his being employed in the Dakhan on a service of difficulty he was unsuccessful. His duty was to reduce the northern forts belonging to the Maratha prince Shambuji, and he was repulsed by the able commander of the garrison of Ramsej. This happened in 1684, and little blame could attach to the failure, for Khan Dauran, who was sent to repair it (Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 36) was in like manner compelled to retire, the ill-success in both cases being owing to the want of siege guns. In his next services he was more fortunate, and was honoured (A.H. 1094) with the title of Ghazi-ud-din. He was subsequently (A.H. 1095) sent to relieve Prince Sultan Muazzam, who was encamped at Malwa, on the banks of the Krishna river, and was greatly straitened for provisions, the Maratha cavalry having cut off his supplies. Ghazi-ud-din advanced to Nizampur, near Raigarh, and there defeated Shambuji, the Maratha prince, and accomplished the duty he had to perform so well that he was further dignified with the title of Firuz Jang ("successful in war"). He was successful, too, in his next duty, the capture of Ahmadnagar, but he followed this up in 1686 with an exploit which probably decided the fall of Bijapur. Prince Azim Shah had been sent by his father, Aurangzib, against that city with a large army, but the enemy had cut off his communication with Sholapur, where Aurangzib was, and had so harassed him with false attacks and skirmishes that he was reduced to the greatest distress. The Emperor ordered Ghazi-ud-din Khan to bring 20,000 bullock-loads of grain from Ahmadnagar and relieve the prince, the fate of whose army depended on this supply. The troops of Bijapur, conscious of the necessity of cutting off this convoy, made a desperate attack upon it, but after a well-fought battle Ghazi-ud-din obtained the victory, and rescued the prince's army from starvation. On this occasion Jani Begam, the wife of Azim Shah, mounted an elephant and advanced into the thick of the fight, encouraging the soldiers. Aurangzib (Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 339) expressed himself more grateful to Ghazi-ud-din for thus relieving his son than for any service ever performed by his officers. On the 15th of October 1686 the fort of Bijapur, which is six miles in circumference, surrendered to Aurangzib under terms concluded by Ghazi-ud-din, and to him the Emperor ascribed the honour of the conquest. His subsequent career was crowned with honours and rewards, and he held in succession the governments of Birar, Elichpur, and Gujarat. It was in 1705 A.D. that he was appointed to the government of Birar (Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, vol. I., p. 400), and at that time the Marathas had gained too much strength to be put down by the Emperor Aurangzib, worn out as he was with age and the ceaseless anxieties of war. In fact on the 21st of February 1707, or the 28th of Zilkadah A.H. 1118, the Emperor died, at the age of 91 years and 16 days (*Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 297), and in the absence of Sultan Muazzam, his eldest son, who was the Governor of Kabul, Azim Shah, the second son, took the command of the army of the Dakhan and assumed the imperial title. The news of the Emperor's death reached Ghazi-ud-din at Berar in four days from Ahmadnagar, and as he was much attached to Azim Shah it is perhaps not altogether impossible that he might have joined his party. At all events it is certain that Zulfakar Khan thought so, for he suggested that the prince should delay his advance on Agra on the chance of being joined by Ghazi-ud-din, but Azim Shah haughtily refused with a contemptuous remark about waiting for the blind. This was an allusion to the disease of the eyes with which Ghazi-ud-din had been for some time afflicted. The result was that Ghazi-ud-din's aid was lost to the prince, and the magnitude of that loss may be estimated when it is remembered that Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang was then the acknowledged head of the Irani nobles (*Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 290); he came, however, to Burhanpur, as

ordered by Azim Shah, and there waited till Shah Alam, otherwise called Muazzam Shah, Aurangzib's eldest son, had defeated and slain his brother, and had ascended the throne with the title of Bahadur Shah, when he accepted the government of Gujarat, at the capital of which province, Ahmadabad, he died in the year 1122 A.H. His body was removed to Dihli, and was buried in a monastery which he had himself erected there outside the Ajmir Gate. (*Iadikah-i-Alam*, p. 290, line 21.) The work just referred to has preserved a letter from Aurangzib to him, which shows the extreme regard the Emperor felt for him, and which, indeed, he well deserved.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and his rise to be Ruler of the Dakhan.

Ghazi-ud-din left an only son, who became still more famous than his father, under the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and who founded the kingdom over which the present Nizam reigns. Nizam-ul-Mulk's real name was Mir Kamr-ud-din, a name given him by Aurangzib, who, when the boy was six years old, conferred a Mansab or official rank upon him, and often spoke of him as showing signs of the remarkable qualities and fine intelligence he was afterwards proved to possess. Indeed as a child he took no pleasure in childish games, but would sit up half the night listening to the conversation of his father and his father's friends. He was born on the 14th of the month Rabi'-ul-Akhir 1082 A.H., the chronogram of which is "nikbakht" or "fortunate," which includes also a secondary meaning answering to the French *debonair* and the Italian *pio*. The Emperor continued to shower kindness upon him, and in A.H. 1097 gave him a dagger ornamented with gold, and an increase of rank, and next year a jamdar (kind of weapon) similarly adorned, and a robe of honour, with a further increase of rank. In 1102 A.H. Mir Kamr-ud-din received the title of Chain Kalij Khan Bahadur and the gift of a female elephant. About this time some persons contrived to stir up ill-blood between the young Khan and his father, which difference was, however, composed by Asad Khan and the Emperor. In 1109 A.H. the young Khan was employed in chastising robber-bands in various parts of the country, for which service his rank was again raised, and his command increased. Next year he was appointed to the Faujdari of the Karnatic under Bijapur, and in 1114 A.H. he was made Governor of Bijapur, and the Emperor bestowed on him a jewelled ornament for the turban, a horse and an elephant, to which was added in the same year the Faujdari or Magistracy and Police Commissionership of the Tal Kokan of Adil Khan, which belonged to the government of Bijapur. Other honours followed, as well as a gift of 5,00,000 rupees. Soon after, the young Khan was sent with Muhammad Amin Khan to take a fort, and as they were riding together a cannon-ball struck down both their horses. The fort, however, was taken, and the young Khan was raised to the command of 5,000 horse, and received a magnificent present from the Emperor. In a word, each year brought to the young Khan new marks of the Emperor's favour, such as an emerald ring engraved with the title Kalij Khan, which the Emperor presented to him with his own hands.

On the death of Aurangzib, Azim Shah conferred on Chain Kalij Khan the title of Khan Dauran, with an increased command of 6,000 horse, and the government of Burhanpur. He further invited him to join his camp and proceed with him to Agra, but the newly-made Khan Dauran soon observed much that he disliked in this aspirant to the throne, and therefore, in company with Muhammad Amin Khan, boldly sounded his kettledrums and retired to Aurangabad. Then, in 1707, ensued the decisive battle at Jajman between Shah Alam and Azim Shah, in which the latter, after showing the most determined courage, was slain. After this Khan Dauran went to the capital and entered the service of the new Emperor, Bahadur Shah, whose name in full was Abdul Muzaffir Kutb-ud-din Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. The Emperor continued to the Khan the honours and titles that Azim Shah had bestowed on him, and gave him the government of Oudh with the office of the Faujdar of Lakhuau. However, the Khan soon discovered that the government was not carried on as under Aurangzib, and he therefore resigned

his appointments, and retired into private life at Dihli, from which no caresses on the part of the Emperor could withdraw him, and he himself used afterwards to say that he took such pleasure at that time in the society of learned and religious men that if by chance any one's conversation turned on worldly matters he felt vexed. He kept so little state and travelled so plainly that on one occasion, when going to visit the shrine of Nizam-ud-din, he met Mahabbat Khan, who was surrounded with all the usual pomp of a grandee and was about to pass Khan Dauran, not imagining that he was a person of rank ; but when he saw who it was he immediately caused his palki to be put down, and with much emotion came on foot to salute one whom he felt to be his superior.

In this retirement the future Nizam-ul-Mulk continued till the death of Bahadur Shah, which took place in 1712 A.D. After a severe struggle among the late Emperor's four sons, the eldest, Main-ud-din, having vanquished and slain his brothers, ascended the throne with the title of Jahandar Shah, and sent pressing invitations to the Khan to enter his service, offering him the command of 7,000 horse with the corresponding rank. The Khan was at length induced by the advice of the late Vazir Asad Khan to accept office, and the same counsellor mediated for the Khan with his son Zulfakar Khan, and prevailed on him to put away from his mind a feeling of dislike to the Khan, which he had felt since Aurangzib's time, for some reason not mentioned. As an earnest of better feeling, Zulfakar arranged that the interview of the Khan with the Emperor should be a satisfactory one, and that the Khan's former rank with the command of 6,000 horse should be conferred on him. Not long after, Jahandar Shah, contrary to the wish of Zulfakar, sent Prince Izz-ud-din under the tutelage of Khwajah Husain Khan Kokaltash to encounter Farrukhsiyar, who was advancing from Bengal to Agra to contest the throne. This step was a disastrous one. Izz-ud-din was put to flight, and all his baggage was taken, and Farrukhsiyar pushed on with all speed, defeated Jahandar Shah in a great battle and put him and Zulfakar Khan to death. The date of the murder is given in the line "Ibrahim showed the sacrifice to Ishmail," for the real name of Asad Khan, the father of Zulfakar, was Ibrahim, and Zulfakar's real name was Ishmail. Two days after this cruel act Farrukhsiyar entered the capital in triumph, and the head of Jahandar Shah fixed on a spear was carried in the procession, while at the same time his corpse thrown across an elephant, and the body of Zulfakar tied to the tail of another elephant, were exposed to the gaze of the multitude. The unfortunate Jahandar's reign lasted only ten months and a few days. Asad Khan, by order of the new Emperor, was committed to the charge of Ali Mardan Khan, and allowed to live with him on parole, but all his property was seized, and in lieu of it 5,000 rupees and an allowance of 3,000 rupees a month for his food were assigned to him. The future Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was strongly attached to Asad Khan, and sincerely compassionated his misfortunes, went to Abdullah Khan, who was the prime minister of Farrukhsiyar, or rather shared that office with his brother Husain Ali, and spoke warmly in favour of Asad Khan, and his words had a powerful effect upon Abdullah, who in fact was so attached to the intercessor that he used to call him his elder brother. Asad Khan survived his son Zulfakar's death five years, and was treated with much kindness and respect.

The time had now arrived for the Khan, whose history we are narrating, to rise to a rank verging on the independent power he afterwards attained. The Emperor Farrukhsiyar conferred on the two Saiyids who were mainly instrumental in placing him on the throne, namely, Saiyid Abdullah and Husain Ali, the titles of Kutb-ul-Mulk Zafar-Jang and Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur Firuz-Jang respectively, and gave to each the command of 7,000 horse. But on the subject of this narrative he bestowed the highest of all titles, that of Nizam-ul-Mulk Fath Jang, and gave him the government of the Dakhan and the Faujdari of the Karnatik, which formerly belonged to Zulfakar Khan. To Daud Khan, who was the deputy of Zulfakar in Aurangabad, he gave the government of Gujarat, and to Muhammad Amin Khan he gave the post of Bakshi, that is, military paymaster or commander of the horse, with the title of Itimad-ud-daulah, and other honours, and in a similar

way he promoted other great officers in whom he placed confidence. But, in view of the inroads of the Marathas, Nizam-ul-Mulk was at once despatched, with magnificent presents to his government of the Dakhan. Thus, after two sanguinary wars of succession, in which very many princes and nobles had perished, this politic statesman found himself in the enjoyment of greater power than even that which he had in the reign of Aurangzib, at the same time that he had acquired the respect of all parties in the empire. During the whole reign of Bahadur Shah, which lasted five years, he had lived in a prudent retirement, and had shown by the pleasure he took in the society of the learned and the religious that he had a mind superior to ambition, while, at the same time, conscious of his great powers, he was not unwilling to take a part in the government when invited to do so by his sovereign. On arriving at Aurungabad he made arrangements for checking the incursions of the Marathas, and received two of their leading chiefs, Chundra Sen Jadu and Shirzi Rao, with favour, and conferred a considerable jagir on Jadu for the support of his troops, in order that he might assist the Mughul army with his light horse against his own countrymen. This in fact he did, and in the first engagement the Marathas under Balaji Wishwanath and Haibat Rao Nimbalkar were defeated near Purandhar, and obliged to fall back to the Salpe Ghat. (Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 431.)

About this time a large body of plundering Marathas had carried off Anwar Khan, an officer of distinction, and had taken him to the small fort of Antur; and Bahadur Khan, otherwise called Ibrahim Khan, with 4,000 horse and 2,000 foot, had been sent to assist him and to chastise the rebels, but when he arrived at the Palasi Ghat he found himself so outnumbered that he sent for assistance. Nizam-ul-Mulk despatched to his aid all the men he could spare, under the nominal command of his eldest son, Muhammad Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur, who was then only nine years old, with Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, commandant of the artillery, as his Mentor, who with Mir Mirza Khan was to manage affairs. This force captured the fort and levelled it to the ground, and followed the retreating enemy for nearly 160 miles, until they took refuge in difficult places in the mountains, but captured their elephants, camels, and horses (*Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 309). On their return to Aurangabad the successful soldiers asked that their young leader might be rewarded with the title of Firuz Jang. About this time the Nizam fell ill of a grievous ulcer, and neither the Indian nor foreign doctors could cure him, but a man of the Borah tribe happened to come from Guzerat, and he prepared a medicine which was completely successful. As soon as he was restored to health the Nizam ordered the Borah to be weighed against silver, and on his being found to weigh Rs. 5,500 the Nizam presented him with that sum and a handsome robe of honour. Meantime the tidings of the late success had been forwarded to the Emperor, and he sent Ghazi-ud-din Khan a dress of honour and otherwise rewarded him. Not long afterwards the Nizam was informed that the government of the Dakhan had been conferred on Husain Ali, and consequently set out for the capital. The cause of this change in the government of the Dakhan has not been mentioned by English historians, but is ascribed by the author of the *Hadikah-i-Alam* to the desire of the Saiyids Abdullah and Husain Ali to strengthen themselves against the Emperor. In spite of the good service which Husain Ali had done in reducing Ajit Singh, the Rajah of Jodhpur,—who had destroyed mosques, forbidden the killing of cows, and the Muhammadan call to prayer, and shown other signs of an inclination to rebel,—to sue for terms, and to promise his own daughter in marriage to the Emperor, the Emperor remained hostile to the Saiyids, and they were informed by his mother that he was busy night and day with schemes for their destruction. They therefore thought it prudent that Husain Ali should take the government of the Dakhan, while Abdullah remained at the capital to counteract any plans of their enemies for their ruin. Husain Ali, however, wished to remain at Delhi, and sent Daud Khan Pani to the Dakhan as his Deputy, but the Emperor, by the advice of Mir Jumlah, insisted that Husain Ali himself should go, in order that the mutual support of the Saiyids might be weakened. The matter was disputed so stiffly that the Saiyids left off appearing at court, and

began to raise levies of horse and foot and openly show their intention to rebel. Thus things went on until the Emperor's mother went to the house of Kutb-ul-Mulk and talked him over, so that it was arranged that he and his brother should take all precautions for their safety, and then have an interview with the Emperor and make their apologies. Upon the interview taking place the Saiyids complained of the Emperor's suspicions, and taking off their swords laid them down before him and said if he suspected them he might order them to be slain, or might send them to Makkah, but that it was unworthy of a king to allow himself to be swayed by the calumnies of informers so as to distrust his best friends. At last it was agreed that both Husain Ali and Mir Jumlah should leave the court, and that the former should have the government of the Dakhan in place of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and should be allowed to displace all the officials, even to the commandants of the forts, while Mir Jumlah should have the government of Azimabad. Accordingly each went to his province, and the Emperor, *volens volens*, had to give his signet to Husain Ali in order that the command to the commandants of the forts to open their gates might bear the royal seal. On these terms Husain Ali took leave, but in doing so he told the Emperor that if Mir Jumlah returned to court in his absence, or behaved ill to Kutb-ul-Mulk, he should return to Delhi in twenty days. When Husain Ali reached Malwa, Raja Jai Singh, the Governor, withdrew, so that no interview took place. Husain Ali wrote to the Emperor that if Jai Singh had so acted in obedience to his directions he should return to Delhi, for Daud Khan would be sure to follow the example so set. The Emperor replied that in consequence of Jai Singh's conduct his appointment was placed in Husain Ali's hands, to remove him or not, as he thought fit. As for Daud Khan's imitating such an example, there was little chance of it, but if he did he was to be sent to court at once. Notwithstanding this communication, the Emperor secretly encouraged Daud Khan to oppose Husain Ali, although it was to Husain Ali's intercession that Daud owed his life at the beginning of Farrukhsiyar's reign, and through Husain Ali it was that he had recently obtained the government of Burhanpur. Daud had been in Gujarat, but when Husain Ali came to the Dakhan Daud transferred his head-quarters to Burhanpur. Before his arrival Gangaji, a Maratha, had besieged Burhanpur, and had drawn up his troops to attack Zafar Muhammad Khan, but had ceased to give trouble after Daud Khan arrived, and when Husain Ali had passed the Narbada, Daud Khan—who had previously received letters from the Emperor with his autograph signature, and written under the advice of Mir Jumlah and of Muazzam Khan, and of Samsam-ud-Daulah, encouraging him to oppose Husain Ali—abandoned his friendship for him and began to entertain hostile sentiments. Though Husain Ali had arrived Daud Khan took no notice of it, but remained within the town with some of the principal citizens in open defiance. Nimaji Sindhia, a distinguished Maratha chief, who in the reign of Bahadur Shah obtained a command of 7,000 horse and a jagir on taking service under the Emperor, and other Marathas of note, secretly conspired with Daud Khan, and, though pretending to join Husain Ali, encamped near the city, watching an opportunity to help Daud. The citizens of Burhanpur, seeing the intrigue going on, were alarmed, and consulted Shekh Nujam-ud-din, who was one of the principal inhabitants, a learned man, and one in whom Daud had confidence. The Shekh with other eminent persons went to Daud and prevailed on him to quit Burhanpur and go to Bahadurpur. When he had gone the Mansabdars of Burhanpur, such as Mir Azim, who was the Deputy Diwan, and Karim Ali Khan and Ali Yar Khan Bakhshi, went out to meet Husain Ali, who entered the city on the 14th of Shaban with great pomp, and sent kind messages to Daud, and finally a verbal one by Basalat Khan offering him estates and employment, but all in vain. At last Husain Ali was obliged to move out at the head of his troops against Daud, and a fierce battle ensued on the 11th of Ramzan 1127 A.H., in which many distinguished men were killed. On the side of Husain Ali fell Rastam Khan Gurji and Basalat Khan, whose *sobriquet* was Sultan Nazar, and on the side of Daud his deputy Hiranman, and Daud himself, who is said to have left no children. Husain Ali re-entered Burhanpur on the 15th of Ramzan, and

gave the government of it to his brother, Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, and moved himself to Aurangabad in the beginning of Zi-Hajj. When the news of Daud Khan's death reached Farrukhsiyar he was imprudent enough to show his chagrin to Kutb-ul-Mulk, who told him that he saw his Majesty would have been better pleased had Husain Ali fallen. At this time Farrukhsiyar was governed by a favourite named Itikad Khan, a native of Kashmir (see Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, vol. I., p. 447), who was busy in forming plans for the destruction of the Saiyids (see *Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 316). So things went from bad to worse. Kutb-ul-Mulk surrounded himself with troops and wrote to his brother Husain Ali that as the Emperor was bent on their destruction the only course was to be beforehand with him. Alarmed by this danger, Husain Ali hastened to make terms with the Marathas, and conceded to them the *Chauth* and the *Deshmukhi*, or ten per cent., of the whole revenue, and other allowances, and agreed that they should collect them with their own officers. From that time, says the author of the *Hadikah-i-Alam*, the power of the Marathas grew apace, and that of the Mughuls as rapidly decreased, and though he makes a feeble excuse for Husain Ali it is manifest that it was his and his brother's quarrel with the Emperor, and their rebellion, that sapped the power of Dihli, and would have completed the ruin of the Mughul empire in the Dakhan also had not Nizam-ul-Mulk been recalled to the government. However, before recurring to the career of that great statesman and leader, it is necessary to relate what befell the two Saiyids, who were at that time virtually the rulers of the empire. Husain Ali several times made up his mind to return to Dihli, in consequence of the Emperor's conduct to his brother, Kutb-ul-Mulk, and as often put off going, on hearing that things were better. At last, on the 1st of Muharram 1131 A.H., he set out from Aurangabad with the army of the Dakhan and a body of Maratha cavalry under Balaji Wishwanath and Khande Rao Dabhade, whose services he engaged at the rate of eight annas a day for each horseman. He took with him Main-ud-din and a son of Prince Akbar. Under pretext of anxiety for the welfare of the State, he gave out that he thought it best to escort this prince himself to Dihli towards the end of the month Rabi'-ul-Awal, and encamped near the pillar at Firuzabad, and entered his tent with his band playing, contrary to etiquette when so near the Emperor, and repeatedly said in a loud voice that he had withdrawn from the service. He also sent to tell the Emperor that unless he had the control of the fort his apprehensions would not allow him to come to court. On this the Emperor gave over charge of the fort to Husain Ali's officers, and on the 5th of Rabi'-ul-Akhir Husain Ali paid his respects to the Emperor and was graciously received. Again, on the 8th, Husain Ali mounted his horse, alleging that he meant to give over charge of the young prince and wait again on the Emperor. At the same time he entered the city and went to the Barah Dari, which is near the citadel. Kutb-ul-Mulk and Maharajah Ajit Singh proceeded to make arrangements in the fort, and having got the keys they removed every one out of it. Then Saiyid Abdullah went in an agitated state with Ajit Singh to the Emperor, and complained that, in spite of the services they had rendered to his grandfather and to him, he had met them with suspicious and evil intentions, and that he had issued orders to Daud Khan to destroy them, that therefore nothing would now satisfy them but the complete control of all departments of the State. This led to a long wrangle, till the Emperor lost his temper, and reproached first of all Itikad Khan and then Kutb-ul-Mulk, who expelled Itikad from the fort, while the king gave way to despair at seeing the misfortunes into which he had brought himself. Meantime it became dark, and the gates of the fort were closed, and Kutb-ul-Mulk passed the night in keeping the watch, while the Marathas were on the alert, intending to plunder the city as soon as light dawned. The citizens were perplexed as to what had happened, but the rumour spread that Kutb-ul-Mulk had been put to death. The royal troops were meditating an attack on Husain Ali's camp, in which Itikad Khan and other noblemen coming from the bazar of Sadullah Khan meant to join them; others, again, were arming to support the Saiyids. In the midst of this uncertainty Nizam-ul-Mulk and others kept inside their walls, but at last Husain Ali sent a message to his brother to seize the Emperor and imprison him. On this

Nizam-ud-din Ali Khan and others broke into the palace, and not finding the Emperor seized some of the women and beat them till they pointed out where he was concealed. They then dragged him out and placed him in confinement in a room over one of the arches of the city which was pitch dark and unfurnished. As to the indignities to which the women were subjected and the plunder of their jewels it is best to pass over that in silence. When they had thus imprisoned the unfortunate Emperor they drew a hot iron across his eyes to blind him, and brought from prison Rafi-ud-darjat, the son of Rafi-ush-shan, the son of Shah Alam, and placed him on the throne, hurriedly tying a pearl necklace round his neck, though there was no time to change his prison clothes for a robe more befitting his rank, so great was the tumult and so urgent the occasion. The exact day on which this happened is uncertain. However, for some time before it took place, Nizam-ul-Mulk, in view of the uncertainty of the times, had ceased to appear at court, and now the Saiyids removed him from the office of Faujdar of Sambhal Muradabad, which he had been holding, and gave him the government of Malwa. Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbaland Khan, who before the imprisonment of Farrukhsiyar had been ordered to Kabul, after going thirty miles had halted to see how the quarrel between the Emperor and the Vazir would end. They now sent for him again, and having invested him with the robe of his new office sent him away. The Faujdari of Sambhal Muradabad they gave to their brother, Zen-ud-din Khan. They further placed the supreme power in the Dakhan in the hands of Sankraji Malhar, who entered the Imperial service in the time of Aurangzib, and despatched him thither, although Alam Ali Khan, nephew of Husain Ali Khan, was then the chief officer in the Dakhan and the deputy of his uncle. The Saiyid made Muhammad Anwar Khan Governor of Burhanpur, and sent him there with Sankraji Malhar and Balaji Wishwanath. Sankraji on arriving in the Dakhan, after making his arrangements, placed Kishn Rao with Alam Ali Khan, and went to Rajah Sahu, with whom he made certain agreements and then returned to Aurangabad. In short, after the elevation of Rafi-ud-darjat to the throne the Saiyids used all diligence in removing their enemies from power and substituting their friends. As for Farrukhsiyar the sight of his eyes had not been entirely destroyed by drawing the hot iron across them, and after some days he began at one time to excuse himself to the Saiyids for his past acts and to ask them to replace him on the throne, promising to give them the direction of affairs. At another time he would supplicate Abdullah Khan, the Afghan to whose custody he was entrusted, and tempt him with the offer of the command of 7,000 horse and a jagir if he would set him free and convey him to the great Rajah Jai Singh Sawai. Abdullah informed the Saiyids of this, and they by the advice of some of their friends put Farrukhsiyar to death. First of all they twice gave him poison, and as it was not effectual they strangled him, and so released him from the anxieties of this transient life. Then after putting his corpse in a shroud and coffin they sent it to the mausoleum of Humayun, escorted by Dilawar Khan, the Bakshi of the Amir-ul-Umara, and Saiyid Ali Khan, brother of the Bakshi of Kutb-ul-Mulk. Some 3,000 of the lowest of the people and fakirs, who had been the recipients of the late Emperor's charities, went before the coffin weeping and cursing, with bare feet, clothes rent, and dust on their heads. These people pelted the escort with stones, and refused the bread and gold and silver coin which were offered to them. On the third day a crowd of vagabonds and beggars assembled at the platform where the corpse of the murdered Emperor had been washed, and much food was distributed, and the whole night was passed in reading prayers. The Saiyids might have killed Farrukhsiyar the day they seized him, but as the king had, by the advice of some wicked persons, caused several innocent people to be strangled, and had otherwise put to death others, it was only strict justice that he should meet with a like fate which nevertheless tarnished the reputation of the Saiyids. Rafi-ud-darjat reigned only in name, and during his imprisonment he had contracted a hectic fever, and what with the excesses in which he indulged after coming to the throne, and the vexation he suffered from not being allowed

to have any voice in state affairs, which increased his disease, he died after a reign of three months and a few days, leaving a will, in accordance with which his eldest brother, Rafi-ud-daulah, was placed on the throne on Saturday the 3rd of Rajab 1131 A.H., with the title of Shah Jahan II. Before two months had elapsed Nikusiyar, son of Prince Muhammad Akbar who was imprisoned in the fort of Akbarabad, raised the standard of revolt, to which act he was advised by Abdus Salam, whose title was Mustafa Khan. The troops of the garrison supported him. The Amir-ul-Umara hastened to lay siege to the fort, and after three months and a few days, and with the help of the Hazarahs of the garrison, took it, and on the 7th of Ramzan in the same year sent Nikusiyar and his brother's son to prison in Salimgarh. But suddenly another rebellion broke out and Jai Singh Sawai sounded his kettledrums and revolted, and Kutb-ul-Mulk, with the Emperor Shah Jahan II., arrived at Fathpur Sikri to quell the insurrection, and Husain Ali also prepared to attack him, in view of which preparations Jai Singh made peace. When three months and a few days had elapsed Shah Jahan II. died of dysentery, so they were obliged to send to Dihli for Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, son of Shah Alam, and on the 15th of Zi'l-kadah 1131 A.H. they placed him on the throne with the title of Muhammad Shah. With this new Emperor, and with his brother Kutb-ul-Mulk, Husain Ali returned from Fathpur to Agra on account of the affair of Chelah Ram, and was obliged to stop there till that business was settled. When the brother's son of Chelah Ram, called Gardhar, who was the Subahdar of Allahabad, became troublesome, Haidar Kuli Khan and Muhammad Khan Bangash were appointed to reduce him, and by the mediation of Rajah Ratan Chand a peace was concluded.

Return of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Capital.

To return now to Nizam-ul-Mulk. It has been already mentioned that when Husain Ali was appointed to the government of the Dakhan the Nizam was sent for to the capital, and after appointing Zafar Muhammad Khan to be Governor of Burhanpur he set off accordingly. After travelling four miles he was obliged to turn back, and Husain Ali wished to have an interview with him; but, partly out of consideration for the Emperor, and partly through vexation at being disgraced by removal, he declined, and went on station by station to Dihli, and there was honoured by obtaining an interview with the Emperor, who conferred on him a robe of honour and other favours. Kutb-ul-Mulk then came to his house and with an infinite number of excuses said, "In point of fact you are the Vazir, and as for governments they are beneath your notice. The Amir-ul-Umara has gone to the Dakhan simply to rid us of some traitors, and now you may have any province you please." As the Nizam saw plainly the quarrel between the Emperor and the Vazir, and it grew in gravity daily, he considered it prudent to accept the Faujdari of Sambhal and Muradabad and some other districts, and on the ground of wishing to take a hunting tour he got himself dismissed from the presence. Meantime the events already recapitulated happened, namely, that the Amir-ul-Umara, roused by the letters he received from his brother Kutb-ul-Mulk, and the injurious acts of Farrukhsiyar, made terms with Rajah Sahu, and hastened to Dihli, where he dethroned Farrukhsiyar, and made Rafi-ud-darjat king in his place. After that the two Saiyids removed the Nizam from the office of Faujdar of Sambhal and Muradabad, and gave him the province of Malwa. The Nizam was ill satisfied with what he saw of the state of the court, and withdrew at once to Malwa, where he set to work to bring things into order, and in 1132 A.H. began to levy bodies of horse and foot. Seven or eight months had not elapsed when Husain Ali Khan began to be alarmed at the Nizam's proceedings, and at once took steps to make himself secure by dismissing the officers who were in the Nizam's interest, and replacing them with creatures of his own. For instance he dismissed Marhamat Khan, the fort commandant and commissioner of Mandu and Dhar, and appointed in his place Khawajah Kuli Khan. When the latter arrived, Marhamat Khan, under pretence of the change of government, delayed to give up the fort. Incensed at

this, the Saiyids reprimanded Marhamat Khan's wakil and wrote to the Nizam that the officer they had appointed must be admitted. The Nizam complied with this demand and detained Marhamat Khan near his own person. Some time after, a rebellious Zamindar, Satar Sal, of Malwa, got possession of the fort of Dangarh, and orders came from the court to the Nizam to recover the place, whereupon he sent Marhamat Khan with a considerable force to take it, which he very soon did. As this good service did not induce the Saiyids to be more favourable to him, the Nizam was determined to bestow upon him a reward corresponding to his merits, and entrusted the government of the whole province to him, and he set vigorously to work to bring it into thorough order. At that time there were some villages in the parganah of Chaud Chanderi which were the chief seat of the rebels, and these he attacked. These circumstances were reported to the Saiyids, on which Husain Ali Khan wrote to the Nizam that he wished to make Malwa his own head-quarters in order to manage the government of the Dakhan from that centre. He added that the Nizam might have his choice of four provinces—Akbarabad, Allahabad, Burhanpur and Multan. In this proposal he overlooked the fact that the fates when they support one whom they have chosen deride the feeble attacks of his enemies, which do him whom they protect no harm. In a word, the Nizam was burdened with the expenses of the troops, and the rabi or spring crop, from which the chief revenue of that province is derived, would have been lost to him if he had had thus suddenly to give up his government. Now Saiyid Dilawar Khan, after taking Bandi, was at Kotah with his own forces, in conjunction with those of Rajah Bhim and Rajah Gaj Singh, and was ready to move at a hint from Husain Ali Khan. The Nizam was deeply impressed with a sense of the extreme danger. At one time he thought of placing his family in some strong fort and leaguering with Rajah Gaj Singh and openly raising his standard in opposition to the Saiyids; and, indeed, he had sent a Mughul, Ali Khan, to the said Rajah and had informed him of his views, but had not received a satisfactory reply. At another time he thought it would be best to march with all speed to the Dakhan, because Mubariz Khan, the Nizam of Haidarabad, had sent one of his confidential supporters, named Muhammad Ali, to say that if the Nizam were coming to the Dakhan to revenge the murder of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar he would assist him; and Chandra Sen, the son of Dhana Jadu, had also written to invite him, and the opinion of Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, who was one of the Nizam's well-wishers, was also in favour of this course. At last the Nizam gave the preference to the second course and sent Sheikh Abul-khair to Marhamat Khan, who was in Bhopal, requesting him to come to him. As soon as he joined him, the Nizam, in the middle of Jamad-us-sani 1132 A.H., set out for the neighbourhood of Sironji, giving out that he was going to court to wait on the Emperor, in order to settle about that zila. He went as far as the stage called Sarai Bihtar and returned to the town of Katibn, and thence marched steadily towards the Dakhan. As the Nizam had heard previously of the carelessness and parsimony of Anwarullah Khan in paying the servants and garrison of the fort of Asirgarh, he sent one of his retainers, named Khusraw, to Islamullah of the artillery, and others, to induce them to submit, and Khusraw was soon able to report that the fort was in his hands. After the Nizam had crossed the Narbada, Rastam Beg Khan, the Faujdar of the government of Bijanagar, *i.e.*, Ghargaon, and Fath Singh, Zamindar, entered his service. He then sent Khusraw and Mir Hatizullah Khan to the garrison of the fort, and got them to enter into fresh engagements with him. When he encamped in the plain of Pandhar the artillerymen and others came out to meet him, and brought with them a number of the Nizam's supporters to give over the fort to them. Talib Khan, the commandant of Asir, was not willing to surrender the fort, and endeavoured to prevent it, whereupon Marhamat Khan and four other intelligent persons, with the permission of the Nizam, went to Talib Khan and told him, as if from the Nizam, that the Nizam was come to show kindness to them. Talib Khan said, "Very well, come with one person and say what you have got to say." Accordingly Marhamat Khan took with him a Saiyid and went to the commandant of the fort, and plied him with entreaties and threats,

until, *nolens volens*, he got him to deliver up the fort. So on the 1st of Rajab the fort was made over, and the next day the Nizam marched from Pandhar and halted at Zahir Banola, and Talib Khan and his family came out of the fort. Muhammad Anwarullah Khan, the Diwan of Burhanpur, who was also the Deputy of Muhammad Anwar Khan, the Nazim of that place, was astounded at this news, and began to repair the fortifications ; and Muhammad Anwar Khan, who was then at Aurangabad, came in two days and one night to Burhanpur, and on the 13th of Rajab in the same year entered the city and got it ready for defence. By the good fortune of the Nizam, the principal citizens and Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, through the mediation of Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, secretly favoured him, and the bankers and merchants and artificers having assembled placed Anwar Khan in such embarrassment that he was obliged to make terms, and on the 14th of Rajab he had to surrender the city, and the Kotwal Zen-ud-din Khan proclaimed aloud that all was safe, and in the morning Muhammad Anwar Khan and Anwarullah Khan came out of the city and were favourably received by the Nizam, though they had not been without anxiety as to the reception they would meet with. The Nizam encamped in the Lal Garden, and busied himself in encouraging and cheering up the citizens. We are told, as an instance of the Nizam's magnanimity, that at this critical time the mother of Saif-ud-din Kuli Khan happened to arrive at Burhanpur, bringing with her property and jewels of very great value, and the Nizam, though in urgent want of money and engaged in an enterprise of such importance, never thought of molesting her, but, on the contrary, showed her the utmost courtesy, and bestowed a robe of honour on Muhammad Ali, son of Agha Ali Khan Rumi, who commanded Saif-ud-din's artillery, and sent a quantity of fine fruit for Saif-ud-din's children. Besides this he gave the party an escort of 200 horsemen to conduct them as far as the Narbada.

After getting possession of Burhanpur the Nizam dismissed the officials and appointed others. Thus he removed Muhammad Anwar Khan from the government of the city and appointed Marhamat Khan in his place, and instead of Anwarullah Khan he made Mir Ali Akbar Khan Dewan, and so on. Meanwhile Aiwaz Khan, Governor of Birar, who was connected with the Nizam's uncle, joined him with 1,300 horse, with Hakim Muhammad Isfahani, who brought 500 more. At the same time intelligence was received that Saiyid Alam Ali Khan, with Sankraji Malhar and some new levies, both horse and foot, and Amir Khan, Governor of Nander, had started from Aurangabad with the intention of attacking the Nizam, who placed some of his family in the citadel of Burhanpur, and some in the house of Fidwi Khan, and sent off a third party to the fort of Asir. He then marched from the Lal Garden, and crossing the Tapti halted to the east of Zinabad. Meanwhile news arrived that Saiyid Dilawar Ali Khan with Saiyid Shamshir Khan, nephew of Husain Ali, and Babar Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan Rohillah and the Rajahs Bhim Singh and Gaj Singh and 17,000 good cavalry had been sent in pursuit of the Nizam by Husain Ali and had already crossed the Narbada. The Nizam thought it more important to deal with Dilawar Khan first, and sent on his artillery with Muhammad Ghiyas Khan and Sheikh Muhammad Shah Faruki and other chiefs, and followed them stage by stage. When he reached Raj Makrai, and only four miles intervened between his army and that of the enemy, he halted and sent a message to Saiyid Dilawar Khan deprecating hostilities. This was of no avail, and therefore on the 13th of Shaban 1132 A.H. he drew up his troops in order of battle, and as he knew that Saiyid Dilawar Khan had placed his cannon facing to the east he descended from his elephant and performed his ablutions and prayed ; then mounting again he quickly crossed the interval that separated the armies and came up in rear of the enemy. Dilawar Ali Khan, imagining that the forces of the Nizam would not be able to stand his charge, had drawn up his men in loose order, but when the Nizam's army showed itself where it did he thought it would be difficult to move his guns, and relying on the superiority of his numbers he left them where they were and prepared for action. On the one side Iwaz Khan, who commanded the vanguard, and on the other Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, hotly attacked each other. While Iwaz Khan was fighting valiantly, and

the Afghans with him, and the Rajputs dismounting from their horses, were displaying desperate courage, the elephant on which Iwaz Khan was mounted turned out, whereupon most of his troops fled to the rear. Iwaz Khan, however, did not lose heart at the retreat of his elephant, but still strove to repel the attack, and Kadir Khan Roshani, though his elephant was wounded and had turned round, and the troops near him had fled, yet fired shot after shot with such good aim as to kill many persons. But Dilawar Ali Khan, whose fate was to fall in this battle, imagined that the Nizam had only 600 or 700 horse and 2,000 or 3,000 foot, and so led a charge of 4,000 horse and brought his elephant up to that of the Nizam, when he was struck by a ball, which, though it only grazed the surface, stunned him, and the driver turned the elephant out of the fight. But as soon as Dilawar recovered his senses he caused his elephant to be driven on again towards the Nizam, when he was struck by another ball from a jazail and killed instantly. Marhamat Khan then seized Dilawar's elephant and the bands struck up in token of victory. A portion of Dilawar's troops, notwithstanding the death of their general, fought on, and 500 Rajput horsemen dismounted and maintained the struggle on foot. In short, of Dilawar Ali Khan's army 4,000 men fell, and on the Nizam's side only two men of note, Badakhti Khan and Tabriz Khan. These were killed, and Iwaz Khan Bahadur, Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, Aziz Beg Khan, and Kadir Dad Khan were wounded but not mortally. The Nizam encamped on the battlefield, but sent cavalry to cut up the fugitives, and surgeons and carriages for the wounded, and had them attended to until they recovered. He offered to take them into his service, but they all declined, so he had no alternative but to provide them with food and beasts of burden so that they might depart. He also took care to have the bodies of the slain properly buried, and Rajah Indra Singh was appointed to see the bodies of those who had fallen on the enemy's side burned. On the 22nd of Shaban the Nizam marched from the field of battle and halted near Jaswant's garden, where he rewarded those who had distinguished themselves, according to their rank, with elephants and horses, pay and promotion. As the share of the Government of which he was the representative, he took the guns and elephants that had been captured, and purchased the rest of the plunder from those who took it, and then bestowed it on the chiefs who supported his cause. He also gave compensation to every man who had lost a horse in the late battle, reckoned, according to custom, at 150 rupees for a large horse, and 100 for a small one. Khafi Khan (the historian) states that 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen of Dilawar Khan's army, who were glad to escape with their lives after he was killed, made their way to Aurangabad and joined Saiyid Alam Ali Khan, who was marching from that place with 30,000 horse and had got as far as the hill of Fardapur, while the Marathas with Mutahawwir Khan, who led the van, had moved some of the guns down the hill, and were preparing to move the rest. When Alam Ali Khan heard that Dilawar Ali Khan was killed and his army routed he was profoundly afflicted, and the officers of the Government and the Maratha chiefs came to him in a body and advised him to retire to Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar, and send out the Marathas to plunder those who supported the Nizam, and so conduct the war with caution. Alam Ali Khan, who was full of the sanguine spirit of youth, resolved to advance, and descended from the hill with his whole force. The Nizam, who since his victory had been encamped at Burhanpur, as soon as he heard that the enemy were advancing, sent off the coffins of Dilawar Ali Khan and Saiyid Shir Ali Khan with all respect to Saiyid Alam Ali Khan, with a letter of condolence, in which he also asked him to abstain from causing the blood of the faithful to be shed, and to go with his family to his two 'uncles, as he, the Nizam, would not obstruct his departure. As this letter produced no effect the Nizam marched from Burhanpur, leaving Raazat Khan Governor of the city, and after putting the citadel in a thorough state of defence, which work was superintended by Muhammad Anwar Khan, Anwarullah Khan, Malak Mustafa Khan, and Mahmud Khan Gujarati, he then crossed the Tapti near the river Purna, about thirty-three miles to the west of Burhanpur, and there halted. On the other side, Alam Ali Khan encamped at the lake of the eight streams, not far from Purna. There

both armies remained for some days, unable to move on account of violent and incessant rain and the deep mud it caused, as also the swollen state of the river which separated them. Afterwards the Nizam, in order to change ground and examine the place where the battle was to be fought, sent bodies of men along the river's bank towards Berar, till at length, by the guidance of the Zamindars and the inquiries of Iwaz Khan, a ford was heard of towards Balapur, which belongs to Birar, and in the middle of Ramazan the Nizam crossed the river with the chief part of his army. As the finding such a ford at that period of the year was an omen of victory the soldiers were encouraged by it. When Saiyid Alam Ali Khan heard this news he advanced from his position and marched to Belganw with the intention of fighting. The Nizam halted a day to allow his remaining forces to come up, but the day after their arrival he marched on to Siwganw, which belonged to Birar, and there halted, which indeed he was obliged to do owing to the violent rain. At this place, owing to the want of provisions, the dearness of grain, and the difficulty of getting forage in consequence of the boldness of the Marathas, who plundered the country all round the camp, the army were reduced to great straits, and some of the troops even deserted, and the majority began to murmur. Just at this moment the rain ceased long enough to allow of marching to a deserted village six miles from Balapur, and as the Marathas were becoming increasingly troublesome Iwaz Khan and Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, with other gallant officers, such as Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, were ordered to advance and chastise the plunderers. After some fighting the Marathas, as usual, took to flight, and the Mughuls captured a great number of fine mares and pursued the Marathas for several miles. Thus they might well celebrate two festivals there, one the Id festival at the conclusion of the Muhammadan Lent, and the other for the supplies of grass and grain. On leaving that place the Nizam's army buried some heavy guns, which it was impossible to move on account of the heavy mud. Their next halt was at Balapur, and there they got grass and grain in abundance, and rested two or three days to recover their strength, and on the 5th of Shawwal they deposited their baggage near the town and encamped four or five miles off and then formed in order of battle. The best officers were appointed to lead the van. On the side Alam Ali Khan formed line with 30,000 or 40,000 horse, Marathas and militia, commanded by brave officers of whom each one thought himself a Rustam. Some of the chiefs, however, as Amin Khan and the brother of Khan Alam, and Umr Khan, nephew of Daud Khan Pani, who was constantly thirsting for revenge for the blood of his uncle, pretended to assist Alam Ali Khan but had secret agreements with the Nizam. In short on the 6th of Shawwal 1132 A.H. the battle took place, but before Alam Ali Khan could advance the Nizam anticipated his attack. The fight soon became hot, and first of all some rounds were fired by Alam Ali's artillerymen, but they did no execution among the Nizam's troops, while the very first cannon-ball that came from the Nizam's side turned the haudah of the elephant on which Latif Khan Powar was riding, upside down, and dismounted the riders. This spread dismay among Alam Ali's troops; Mutahawwir Khan, who commanded their leading division, seeing this, charged the Nizam's army with a fine division of 14,000 or 15,000 horse, with seventeen or eighteen elephants, under cover of the smoke of the guns, with such fury that the Nizam's troops gave way, and Muhammad Shah, commanding the artillery, was hard pressed; but a number of valiant officers dismounted and, fighting desperately, rallied the men. Still the Nizam's army had got into confusion, and Muhammad Shah was severely wounded with a sabre cut, which disabled him; his brother, Shekh Nurullah, was killed, while many brave soldiers were wounded. Then Salim Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, who commanded the leading division of the Nizam's army, received a wound in the eye which blinded him, as his division began to fly. Just then the troops on the right and left flank came into action and poured volleys into Alam Ali's men. Alam Ali himself fought like a lion, charging with such fury that his soldiers could not keep pace with him. The elephant he rode came into the fight at full speed, and he himself performed prodigies; but the Nizam's generals, Azd-ud-daulah, Iwaz Khan

Bahadur, Marhamat Khan, and Kadir Dad Khan, maintained the combat with spirit. In this crisis of the battle, while Alam Ali, though severely wounded, was fighting like a fierce tiger, Mutawasil Khan, a near relation of the Nizam and of the same age as Alam Ali, and who was the bravest of his contemporaries, drove his elephant against Javhar Khan and other leaders of the enemy, and in spite of receiving several wounds he brought his elephant up to that of Alam Ali, but was then dangerously wounded, and on Alam Ali's side Mutahawwir Khan, who was driving Alam Ali's elephant, and Ghiyas-ud-din, commander of the artillery of the Dakhan, who sat in the haudah behind Alam Ali, and Ghalib Khan, and the Diwan Apaji, and Shamshir Khan, and Saiyid Wali and Saiyid Alam, and other officers of rank, to the number of nine, after firing their guns and their bows, were slain. While the battle was thus raging, the Marathas attacked the baggage and carried off some of the Nizam's treasure. At last the elephant on which Alam Ali rode, unable to endure the blows of arrows and darts it received, turned round, and Alam Ali, though the blood was streaming from his wounds, turned his face towards the troops of the Nizam and shouted with a loud voice that his elephant had turned but he himself had not, and it is said that when his arrows were exhausted he plucked out those that were sticking in his haudah, and even those which had pierced his body, and shot them back on the Nizam's troops, until he fainted with the loss of blood and expired. He was but twenty-two years old and his courage has been much celebrated. With him fell seventeen or eighteen of the principal chiefs that rode on elephants, and many others were wounded. Others after the battle was over, such as Amin Khan, and Umr Khan, and Turktaz Khan, and Fidwi Khan, Diwan of the Dakhan, men of high rank, joined the Nizam, and the music sounded victory. The Maratha leader, Sankraji, was wounded and taken prisoner, and all the guns and elephants were taken, and the baggage plundered. The only men of high rank who perished on the side of the Nizam were Saiyid Sulaiman, a descendant of the famous Ghausul Azim, and Shekh Nurullah, and three others; and Mutawasil Khan, and Muhammad Haiat Khan, and Muhammad Shah, and Kamyab Khan and other high officers were dangerously wounded, for which they received great distinctions. When the news of the battle reached Aurangabad, the family of Husain Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan besought the commandant of the fort of Daulatabad to receive them into the fort, which he did, though he had been badly treated during the rule of Husain Ali, who was descended from Saiyid Jalal of Bukhara. At that time the Governor of Haidarabad and Dilawar Khan, his brother-in-law, had come out with 6,000 or 7,000 horse, giving out that they were going to assist the Saiyids, but they took care to move slowly till the battle was decided, and then they hastened to join the Nizam.

The Amir-ul-Umara prepares to take revenge on the Nizam, but is killed.

When the news of the death of Saiyid Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan, and other men of Barah, and the safety of the chiefs that followed the Nizam, had reached the Saiyids, they were greatly distressed, and at the same time were filled with anxiety for the family of Husain Ali, which had been left at Aurangabad. However, in a fortnight intelligence was received that they had been sheltered by the Kiladar of Daulatabad. On hearing this their minds were somewhat relieved, and they now only thought of vengeance on the Nizam; and after consultation it was resolved that Kutb-ul-mulk should remain at Dihli, while the Amir-ul-Umara went to the Dakhan with the Emperor and a number of the chief nobles. Accordingly, on the 9th of Zi-Kadah, the Amir set forth from Agra with 50,000 horse that were ready, besides those that were kept for the public service in general. Certainly one cannot help admiring the marvellous good fortune of these two Saiyids, particularly of the Amir-ul-Umara. They both possessed the qualities of magnanimity, unruffled temper, beneficence and mutual kindness, and were never guilty of cruelty or injustice to any living being except in the case of their unjustifiable treatment of Farrukhsiyar, to whom, as to the other kings they placed on the throne, they allowed nothing but the name of sovereignty. They raised a tradesman named Ratan Chand, who had no weight with the public, to the chief post

in the empire, and owing to this the hearts of men were turned from them to such an extent that even the persons they had helped and brought forward used to say to one another, "Though they knew the fall of the Saiyids would be their own ruin, would that this ship would sink!" So it may be imagined what other people, who had no connection with the Saiyids, said of them. Thus the Itimad-ud-daulah, Muhammad Amin Khan, brave as he was, was suspicious of the Saiyids, because of his close relationship to the Nizam, and in spite of their promises was on the watch for an opportunity of betraying them, and had engaged Mir Haidar of Kashgar—who was a Turk of Daghlā, and whose ancestor Mir Haidar, author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (see Erskine's *History of India under Babar*, vol. II., pp. 364 to 368) was always in attendance on Babar and Humayun, and for a time was Governor of Kashmir, and was called Mir from Mir Shamshir—to watch for an occasion to slay the Amir-ul-Umara. It is said also that this secret was known only to the Emperor's mother, Sadarunnissa-Mahal, and to Saadat Khan, of Naishapur, who had come to court from Hindol and Miyanah, of which places he was Faujdar, though it has been proved that on the very night of the catastrophe Mir Jumlah, with many professions of friendship, told the Amir-ul-Umara what would happen, but he treated the communication with indifference, and said, "What, am I a melon, that a man should thrust a knife into me?" However, on the 6th of Zi-Hajj 1132 A.H. the imperial army had encamped at Torah, which is a well-known station seventy miles from Fathpur. The Itimad-ud-daulah, on pretence of indisposition, had alighted at the tent of Haidar Kuli Khan, the master of the ordnance, and the Amir-ul-Umara, after seeing the Emperor enter his haram, had returned and was going home in a palki, when just as he arrived at the door Mir Haidar, who was acquainted with him, presented to him a statement about himself, and began to address him in an obsequious manner. When he saw that the Amir was busy reading he stabbed him in the side with a dagger sharp as a razor, and with such force as to kill him instantaneously; Nurullah Khan, son of Asadullah Khan, known as Nuwab Auliya, who had followed the Amir on foot, cut down Mir Haidar with his sword, and the Mughuls rushing up on all sides killed Nurullah Khan, and cut off the Amir's head and took it to the Emperor. The retainers of the Amir, who had gone to their own lodgings and were in ignorance of what had happened, could not arrive in time, but Khwajah Makbul Khan, who was steward to the household to the Saiyids, did attempt to quell the disturbance, but received several mortal wounds, of which on the third or fourth day he died, and two of the Amir's servants, a watercarrier and a sweeper, showed their devotion to him, and fought their way with sword and spear through the crowd nearly to the oratory of the house, but were there pierced with shots and arrows and fell dead. Mustafa Khan, the Bakhshi of Muhakkam Singh, and some of his retainers, on hearing the news, without inquiry or telling Muhakkam Singh, rushed to the gate of the murdered man's residence, and finding the way closed by the throng of people got through a cabinet of the private hall of audience with their swords drawn. They fought bravely, but soon had cause to repent of coming, for they were wounded, and were only too glad to save their lives by flight. Some of the Amir's artillerymen began to fire their guns and muskets around the palace, and Saiyid Ghairat Khan, sister's son to the Amir, who had gone home and was about to partake of refreshment, on hearing the news, without waiting to assemble more men, mounted his elephant, and with 400 or 500 horsemen set off for the palace. Haidar Kuli Khan, with other chiefs and Persian and Turani noblemen, came to the defence, and Saadat Khan, impelled by his courage and guided by Haidar Kuli Khan, came up just as the party of the Saiyids wanted to attack the Emperor, and found that Nuwab Kudasiya, from maternal affection to the Emperor, was preventing his leaving the haram; and the Khan, who was faithful and true, stepped forward and putting a shawl over his face went into the women's apartments, and after assuring the Emperor of his loyalty took his Majesty's hand and brought him out. He then made Itimad-ud-daulah mount his elephant and took the attendant's seat. Just then the retainers of the Itimad-ud-daulah, who were not more than forty or fifty Mughul soldiers, and about 200 men of the artillery,

assembled as escort. Then Haidar Kuli Khan gave orders to collect elephants and horses, and with those men who were there, together with Kamr-ud-din Khan and Saadat Khan, prepared for a brave defence against Ghairat Khan. As soon as the shouts of battle arose, the soldiers of the Barah came to help Ghairat Khan, while some other servants of the Emperor collected to oppose them and fought bravely, and the Emperor discharged arrows with his own hand. Meantime plunderers began to sack the bazar and the offices of the Saiyids, and set fire to the tents of the Amir-ul-Umara, but victory inclined to the side of the Emperor, to whose aid also arrived Shamsam-ud-daulah, Khan Dauran, Mansur Jung with his troops. Just then Ghairat Khan, who had already been twice wounded with arrows, was shot dead with a bullet, and on his falling the troops of Barah were routed. The bands then struck up in honour of the victory of the Emperor Abu'l-Muzaffer Muhammad Shah, and the property of Husain Ali Khan, amounting to more than a million, was plundered. The jewels and the treasure that remained behind at Agra were seized by the Emperor. When the battle was over, Haidar Kuli Khan sent a message to Muhakkam Singh that his life and honour would be spared, and that he would be a recipient of the favours of the Court, and asking him to surrender, guaranteeing him promotion on his doing so. He was already in command of 7,000 horse, and Haidar Kuli obtained for him further promotion. But Ratan Chand, in spite of the kind messages of the Itamad-ud-daulah, would not come in. At last he was seized by the Mughuls and the mob of the bazar, who stripped him and brought him forcibly and ignominiously to the Itamad-ud-daulah, of whom he piteously begged his life. Itamad-ud-daulah gave him a suit of clothes but put him in chains, and Rai Saromandas, who was an old servant and wakil of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, changed his clothes and concealed him for a time in the tents of his friends, until he managed to escape to Saiyid Abdullah. Mir Ali Khan, the body-servant of Husain Ali Khan, who was a man of some importance, was taken and imprisoned for fifteen days, and in the first instance, out of regard for his late master, rejected the overtures of Mir Musharriif, who sent messages of conciliation and promised to increase his pay, but after some days of kind treatment he consented to enter the service of the Emperor. After these events the bodies of the Amir-ul-Umara and Ghairat Khan and Nurullah Khan, which till then had been lying dishonoured, were, by the imperial command, after the prayers for burial had been read over them, placed in coffins and covered with brocade, and it was intended to send them off to Ajmir, but this was prevented for some time, and in the interim thieves stole the brocade. Subsequently, however, the bodies were taken to Ajmir and buried near the tomb of the Amir's father.

The next thing that is to be recorded is the fate of Kutb-ul-mulk. When the Amir-ul-Umara set out for the Dakhan with the Emperor, Kutb-ul-mulk and some other nobles took leave of them when they arrived about eight miles beyond Agra, and after bidding them farewell set off for Dihli. They were still *en route* when, on the 7th of Zi Hajj, the intelligence of the Amir's death was brought to them. Kutb-ul-mulk saw that he must be patient under this trial, and that it was useless to stop in his journey, so he went on to Dihli; though some advised him to return with all speed to Agra before the local troops and Husain Ali's army gave in their allegiance. Kutb-ul-mulk replied to this advice by saying that as the Emperor's army were inspirited and his own adherents discouraged it would be unwise to attempt to fight, and that the best course would be when he reached the capital to employ himself in collecting troops and winning over the nobles. Impressed with this idea he proceeded to Delhi by regular stages, but as the news of what had happened spread, the Mewatis and rebellious Zamindars assembled from all sides and beset the road, doing incalculable mischief, at one time appearing in rear of the baggage, and at another waylaying the equipage that had been sent on before. In short Kutb-ul-mulk despatched in advance to the capital Shujaatullah Khan and Murtuza Khan to bring one of the princes, who were detained on parole, in order that he might be placed on the throne. Kutb-ul-mulk also wrote to his younger brother, Saiyid Nujm-ud-din Ali Khan,

on this subject, and also with respect to the entertaining new levies, Nujm-ud-din being then in charge of Dihli. But at the close of the day of the 8th of Zi Hajj the news relating to the Amir-ul-Umara's death as before described had reached Nujm-ud-din, and before it could be noised abroad he had spread a different report, and had sent the Kotwal with troops to the house of the Itamad-ud-daulah, who threatened an attack upon it up to half-past ten at night, while Itamad-ud-daulah's retainers, who were aware of what had happened, were busy raising entrenchments for their defence, so that in every quarter and street of the city men were talking of it. But when Nujm-ud-din got Kutb-ul-mulk's letter he at once abandoned his purpose of besieging Muhammad Amir Khan's house, and called back the troops. The same night, too, Ratan Chand's brother-in-law, whose name was Kesu Rai, on hearing this news, showed the lifeless body of Ratan Chand, and the report spread that he had poisoned himself. Nujm-ud-din now, after performing the prayers of the Easter festival, with dejected heart and eyes full of tears, despatched those whom Kutb-ul-mulk had sent to the sons of Jahandar Shah, with a message that the throne was offered to one of them. Not one of them, however, would accept it. It was then offered to Nikasiyar, and he, too, rejected it. At last Prince Sultan Ibrahim, son of Rafi-ush-shan, son of Shah Alam, was talked into consent, and on the 11th of Zi Hajj 1132 A.H. he was placed on the throne of Dihli, and received the title of Abul Fath Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Ibrahim. Two days after, Kutb-ul-mulk arrived at Dihli. He endeavoured to conciliate the nobles by conferring on them fresh dignities and offices, with presents of money and increase of pay. There was also a general levy of troops, and the vast sums which had been collected during the ministry of the Saiyid, and which were beyond all computation, were all expended on the troops and adherents, for as Kutb-ul-mulk said, "If life is granted treasure may be amassed anew, but if I am to perish why should these riches fall into the hands of others?" But, luckily for Muhammad Shah, all this lavish expenditure only made the old servants of the Saiyid, as well as their new followers, discontented, particularly those of gentle birth, who, with their splendid equipments and fine steeds, got no more than the low fellows of the bazar, who bought ponies for ten or fifteen rupees each and then came to be enrolled, and were paid at the rate of eighty rupees a month. Many vagabonds, too, came and got the enlistment money and then absconded, and such was the excitement and confusion that the same pony was entered two or three times over. And, notwithstanding all this reckless waste of money, so great was the carelessness that the officers who were appointed to attend on the levees of the new Emperor had to mount their horses barebacked.

In brief, on the 17th of the month, Kutb-ul-mulk set out from the capital with Sultan Ibrahim to do battle, and halted near the Idgah. Meantime Alam Ali Khan, from the imperial army, and Tahawwar Ali Khan arrived at the same time and halting-place from Akbarabad. They left Ghulam Ali Khan, and Najabat Ali Khan, who was the nephew of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, and was only fourteen years old, with a few horsemen to settle the city and fort of Shahjahanabad, and Saiyid Abdullah hearing that the Emperor was coming from Rajputana to the capital made his second and third march towards the shrine of Shah Kutb-ud-din, but when it was bruited abroad that the Emperor intended to come from Agra Kutb-ul-mulk took the road to Faridabad, and waited for Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, and Shahamat Khan, and Saiyid Muhammad Khan, and Zulfakar Ali Khan, and other troops from Barah, moving slowly, stage by stage, and at each stage troop after troop from Barah, and Afghans, Tumandars and Zamindars mounted on elephants, joined the army of Sultan Ibrahim, and the retainers of Husain Ali Khan, who had taken service in the Emperor's cavalry when they got an opportunity, came, and daily 300 or 400 horsemen joined, and when they arrived at Babel, which is seventy miles from Shahjahanabad, Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan, and Shahamat Khan, with the sons and brothers of Saiyid Muhammad Khan, one of the sons of Asadullah Khan, famous by the name of Nuwab Auliya, who had been sent by Husain Ali Khan to collect the troops of Barah, and Zulfakar Ali Khan, who also had been sent for the same purpose, arrived with 10,000 or 12,000 horsemen

and more than 180 carriages full of Saiyids from Barah, each of whom thought himself the Rustam of the age, who had been brought there by Shahamat Khan, who held out to them inducements beyond all imagination. In short, by the 10th of Muharram more than 90,000 horsemen were enrolled, of whom 14,000 or 15,000 were mounted on ponies. After that, a second force arrived with Churaman the Jat and Muhakkam Singh, who had been servants of Husain Ali, and Zamindars of the country round about, also came in, so that, as is commonly said, Sultan Ibrahim had more than 100,000 men. Also the day that Churaman and his brother joined they brought in three elephants and a number of camels which had wandered from the Emperor's army. Saiyid Abdullah gave them to the captors, and this act, owing to the good fortune of Muhammad Shah, displeased the old servants of Saiyid Abdullah, in spite of whose lavish expenditure his whole army had not received a full month's pay. The majority were short of pay sixty days, though some men who had interest had got their month's pay complete. On the other hand, the Emperor's army were all in high spirits, owing to the good management of Haidar Kuli Khan, who exerted himself to the utmost to attach the artillery-men by paying them regularly, and knew how to mingle kind words with what he did for them. In short, on the 9th or 10th of Muharram, the army passed Shahpur, and the Emperor encamped just beyond it, and the generals and commandant of artillery busied themselves in forming the troops for battle and bringing the artillery into position. The principal men who had joined the Emperor were Muhammad Khan Bangash and the Rajah Dhiraj, who had each 3,000 horse, and Aziz Khan Rohillah, and Sabit Khan, and Bayazid Khan Mewati, but there was no general in whom complete confidence could be placed as to the right and left wing, and, indeed, Muhakkam Singh and others had written to Saiyid Abdullah that in spite of appearances they were on his side. To Churaman Jat in particular, who through time-service had joined the Emperor, Saiyid Abdullah wrote that the best service he could render would be to blow up the powder magazine of the Emperor, and to drive the gun-bullocks over to the other side. Accordingly Churaman did his best to carry out these instructions, but was prevented by the vigilance of Haidar Kuli Khan, who had an almost miraculous knowledge of how to handle the ordnance, and was appointed to command the van of the army, and Saadat Khan and Muhammad Khan Bangash commanded the right wing, and Samsam-ud-daulah and Nasrat Yar Khan and Sabit Khan the left. In the centre with the Emperor were Kamr-ud-din Khan and Azimullah, and Taliyar, and the Itamad-ud-daulah, who was the principal Vazir, and Shirafkan Khan, and other valiant soldiers. The baggage was under the protection of Mir Jumlah, Rajah Gopal Singh, Rajah Bahadur and others. Asad Ali Khan and other nobles commanded the reserve, and protected the ladies of the haram. The elephants and some selected troops were ranged behind the guns. The army of Saiyid Abdullah, in dread of a night attack, passed the night in watching, the leaders remaining mounted on their elephants. In the morning they drew up their army at Hasanpur, six miles from the Emperor's army, but owing to dissensions among the generals, not one of whom would obey the orders of another, there was considerable disarray. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan and Nujm-ud-din Ali Khan, brothers of Saiyid Abdullah, and Shahamat Khan, with their sons and brothers, and Tahawwur Ali Khan and Shujaatullah Khan and Zulfakar Ali Khan, and other brave leaders of the Barah, joined the leading division, and more than seventy chiefs of note riding on elephants, such as Hamid Khan and the Afghan chief Ikhlās Khan and Umr Khan Rohillah, and Abdullah Khan Tarin, took their places in the right and left wings. Abul Husain Khan, the Bakhshi of the infantry, and Saiyid Ali Khan, Bakhshi of the cavalry, and Hiranman, Bakhshi of the Barah troops, with 25,000 horse, formed in the centre. Besides these a select body of infantry went with Saiyid Abdullah as his guard. On the 13th or 14th Muharram 1133 A.H. they took up their ground in Hasanpur. The night before, Muhakkam Singh and Khudawand Khan with 700 or 800 horse left the imperial army and joined Saiyid Abdullah. In the morning Muhammad Shah, on mounting his elephant, ordered Ratan Chand to be decapitated, and as a good omen his head was cast before the elephant to be

trodden under foot. The battle then began, and the guns on Muhammad Shah's side were well served under the command of Haidar Kuli Khan, and though the Barah troops repeatedly charged up to their muzzles they were unable to take them. Even when night fell, the fire of the artillery was maintained with such effect that Kutb-ul-Mulk's army were scattered by it, and at dawn he had but comparatively few men left. At sunrise Muhammad Shah's army made a furious attack, and many of the Saiyid's force fell. Nujm-ud-din Khan was dangerously wounded. Churaman, the Jat Rajah, made repeated attacks on the Emperor's baggage, killed some of the troops who were defending it, and carried off about a thousand oxen and camels laden with stores, and plundered some of the camels belonging to the hospital and the minister's department, and displayed remarkable daring in his encounters with the imperial troops. Meanwhile Kutb-ul-Mulk drove his elephant against Haidar Kuli Khan, and the soldiers who accompanied him kept up a smart fire, but at last he dismounted, as the custom of Indian warriors is, to fight on foot, but then his troops gave way and fled, and he was wounded with an arrow in the forehead, and received a sword cut on the arm, and was made prisoner by Haidar Kuli Khan, who took him with his elephant to Muhammad Shah. The Emperor commanded them to spare his life, and gave him into the custody of Haidar Kuli. Nujm-ud-din Ali Khan, who was desperately wounded, and Saiyid Ali Khan, the Bakhshi of cavalry, and a number of their troops, were also made prisoners, and Hamid Khan and Abd-un-Nabi Khan and many others surrendered. All the elephants, treasure and baggage that had not been plundered by Jats were captured, and Sultan Ibrahim also was taken and brought before Muhammad Shah, and as he had acted under compulsion his life was spared. On the evening of Friday the 14th or 15th Muharram the news of the battle reached the capital. The ladies and members of the families of said Abdullah Khan, who were very numerous, were terrified out of their senses, and some fled carrying with them whatever they could lay hands on, but some, who were Saiyids of high rank, veiled themselves chastely and awaited the approach of those sent by the Emperor to take charge of them. On the 15th of Muharram the Emperor sent on his tents to Dihli, and on the 16th followed himself leisurely, but on the 19th halted for two days on account of some important State business. He also visited the sanctuary of Kutb-ud-din, and distributed large sums to the attendants there, and gave orders to the Bakhshis to prepare lists of those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, on whom he conferred various rewards. As for Kutb-ul-Mulk, he remained a prisoner, passing his weary days and nights in confinement, till at last they gave him poison. At first his servants mixed pounded bezoar stone with his food as an antidote, and the vomiting this occasioned relieved him of the deadly effects of the poison. But next time a eunuch of the seraglio brought a pill of still stronger poison, and then Kutb-ul-Mulk performed his ablutions and seating himself with his face to the Kiblah said, "O God! Thou knowest that I take this forbidden thing against my will!" As soon as he had swallowed it he was affected by it and expired. This event took place on the 1st of Zi Hajj 1135 A.H. His tomb is at Dihli, and people go in pilgrimage to it.

As this narrative has recorded some of the things which brought disgrace on the memory of the Saiyids, it is only fair that their good deeds also should be mentioned. It must be said, then, that the guilt of the murder of Farrukhsiyar and other crimes, such as the taking of the bribes, ought to be imputed to Ratan Chand, the Diwan. This man had risen to rank and favour beyond his worth, and he it was who brought about things which threw discredit on his patrons. Otherwise the Saiyids were naturally men of blameless character and distinguished for clemency, inoffensiveness, courage and liberality, especially Husain Ali Khan. That nobleman was famous for his charities, and during a time of distress at Aurangabad he daily spent large sums in money and distributed quantities in grain among fakirs and widows. On the 11th and 12th of every month he distributed large supplies of barley and wheat in all the principal cities of the Dakhan, and used to help to serve on these occasions with all humility and self-abasement. It was

he who constructed reservoirs of water and a mosque at Aurangabad, and though Azd-ud-daulah enlarged the dimensions of the building Husain Ali was the original founder. In his native country, too, of Barah, he built a house for travellers, and before he came to the Dakhan he never took money for settling important affairs. After that, Muhakkam Singh and other officials induced him to give way on this point, by representing that the revenue was small in comparison to the expenditure. In the case of Abdul Ghafur, the chief merchant of the port of Surat, who left a fortune of more than a million, which was seized by Haidar Kuli Khan, the Accountant, in spite of there being a lawful heir, it is said that Abdul Hayy, the son, came to Husain Ali with an offering of £150,000 if he would release the property. In the morning Husain Ali sent for him and presented him with the property and the £150,000, bestowed on him a robe of honour, and sent him back to his own country, and said, "I had a strong controversy with myself last night about this man's estate, but at last I conquered my covetousness." Another story is told of this Saiyid, that one day one of the drivers of his elephants came to him with a false story of his having been assaulted, and the elephant he had charge of wounded, by some people in a quarter of the city he passed through. Husain Ali deferred settling the case for a day, and in the night sent some confidential people of his own to make inquiries, who found out that the complaint was false. He then punished and dismissed the complainant. Saiyid Abdullah was a man of wonderful patience and amiability, and Nizam-ul-Mulk used to say that the murder of Farrukhsiyar was perpetrated not by him, but by others. Among the works which redound to Abdullah's credit is the branch canal which he brought to Dihli in 1117 A.H., a chronogram of which has been written in some elegant encomiastic verses.

Lastly, we may say that Kazi Shahab-ud-din of Daulatabad, who composed the commentary on the Kuran called the *Bahr-i-Mawwaj*, "Stormy Sea," who was one of the eminent and learned men of his time, and one who had revelations made to him and fell into spiritual trances, wrote in the history he composed that a true Saiyid is he who has a full share of the humanity of Muhammad, and the liberality of Hashim, and the courage of Ali. Another mark of such a Saiyid is that if owing to the depravity of our nature he should have been led into rebellion he should in dying show a complete victory over a terrible disease or be unjustly put to death; and in both these brothers this sign is found, and may God raise them up in the day of resurrection, with their ancestors!

The events which took place after the death of the Saiyids, while Nizam-ul-Mulk remained in the Dakhan, come next to be recorded, as also his departure from Aurangabad for the capital on receiving a summons from the Court.

When the news of the assassination of Husain Ali Khan reached Naund Rai, the Dewan of Nizam-ul-Mulk, it was midnight, but he immediately informed the Nizam, who ordered the music to sound for the victory, and the great drum to be beaten, and in the morning a great banquet was held, and abundant food distributed. A month afterwards came the intelligence that Saiyid Abdullah had been taken prisoner, and also Nujm-ud-din Ali Khan, which was a second cause for thanksgiving. In the beginning of 1133 A.H. the Nizam left Aurangabad with the intention of going to Dihli and encamped at Harsol. There Mubariz Khan, the Nizam of the government of Haidarabad, the same man who after the defeat and death of Alam Ali Khan came to Aurangabad to meet the Nizam, celebrated the marriage of his sons, and having received betel-nut in token of dismissal returned to Haidarabad, and the Nizam went on as far as Fardapur hill, when he heard that Itimad-ud-daulah Muhammad Amin Khan had been made Vazir, on which he forthwith returned towards Aurangabad, and, although it was the height of the rainy season, he at once sent for Marhamat Khan and his staff of officials. This he did because though Khandesh was quite tranquil, yet the Nizam found that Mirza Abdullah and Shekh Hidayatullah, who were employed by Marhamat Khan in Burhanpur, had been more or less guilty of irregularities. He therefore dismissed Marhamat Khan from the government of Burhanpur, but left him a jagir of 4,00,000 rupees, and appointed him Faujdar of Baglana. Marhamat

Khan, however, wished to go to Dihli, and he would not accept the jagir, but went to the capital, and the Nizam marched from Nizamabad, otherwise known as Akhitah, to Aurangabad. At this time the Afghans in the direction of Bijapur were creating disturbances, so the Nizam resolved to go into that province. Tafakhir Khan, of the family of Amir Khan, and Ruhullah Khan, who had been made commandant of the fort of Bijapur, were admitted into the Nizam's service at the town of Anandi, near the Bhima, through the mediation of Shah Nizam-ud-din, who was one of the holy men of Aurangabad, and a man in whose family the Nizam had faith. The Faujdars, too, and Palahgirs (small chiefs or landowners) of those districts, like Ibrahim Khan Pani of Karnul, and Abd-un-Nabi Khan of Kadapa, and Abdul Ghafur Khan, the son of Dilir Khan, and others also, took service with the Nizam, and presented to him as an acknowledgment of his authority so large a sum that it was more than sufficient to supply five months' pay to the troops, and in the second division of ten days of the month Rabi-ul-Akhir Itimad-ud-daulah Muhammad Amin Khan Nusrat Jang, the Grand Vazir of India, left the fleeting habitation of this transient world, being cut off by a disease which ran its course in four or five days. The Emperor called a council to consider who should succeed to the Vazirship, at which, of course, the Nizam could not be present, and as Muizz-ud-daulah Haidar Kuli Khan, and Burhan-ul-Mulk, and Samsam-ud-daulah, and Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan were each of them eager for this high office, the Emperor postponed the consideration of this important matter, but appointed as Deputy Vazir Inayatullah Khan of Kashmir, in order to carry on the business of the State, and sent off a summons to Nizam-ul-Mulk to appear at Court, which reached him at Adhoni. On this the Nizam settled the affairs of the zilla of Bijapur in the way he thought best, with the utmost possible expedition, and at the end of Rajab reached Aurangabad and gave the Diwanship of the Dakhan to Dianat Khan in place of Fidwi Khan, who had obtained leave to go to most holy Makkah. He also sent for Azd-ud-daulah and made him his Deputy in the Dakhan, and himself sent out for the capital. At the end of Zi Hajj he arrived at Burhanpur, and on the 16th of Muharram 1134 A.H. he started from Burhanpur, and about the 20th of Rabi-ul-Akhir he arrived at Dihli. The Emperor sent Samsam-ud-daulah Mansur Jang, who was the Imperial Bakhshi, to meet the Nizam, and on the 22nd of the month he was admitted into the service of the Emperor and into the palace. However, some envious persons who did not wish the Nizam to be made Vazir told the Emperor things widely divergent from the truth, and his Imperial Majesty passed several days in deliberation. But at last, on the 5th of Jumad-ul-Avval, he conferred on the Nizam the robes of the Vazirship with a jewelled dagger and writing case, and a diamond ring of great value. Now the Nizam exerted himself to the utmost to discharge the duties of his high office in such a way that the revenue should be collected so that the Emperor's good name should not be tarnished, and that the troops and the people should be in comfort; but through the intrigues of certain mischief-makers, and particularly of Kokai Padshah, who was a most crafty woman, and who had complete influence over the favourites and eunuchs and servants of the Emperor, and who pretended to endeavour to economize and to aid in augmenting the imperial treasure, but who took vast sums from people as if they were offerings to the Emperor, and in reality kept them for herself, he was unsuccessful; and, in addition to that, other favourites managed to impress the Emperor with their calumnious tales, and meddled in the business of the Vazirship with serious effect. Among them was Haidar Kuli Khan, the Muizz-ud-daulah, who had obtained great power by the way he discharged his duties in the ordnance department, and by his plausibility and plotting ways had got to interfere in all State affairs. When the Emperor, at the instigation of the Nizam, forbade him to meddle in these matters, he was offended, and asked permission to go to his own province, and appointing a vakil to represent him at court went off to Ahmadabad, to which government he had been appointed. As soon as he reached his destination he sequestered for his own use the jaghirs of many of the courtiers, and when they complained the imperial commands were issued forbidding him to appropriate these estates, and informing

him if he did not refrain his own estates which lay near the capital would be seized. On this he got some of the courtiers, his friends, to represent to the Emperor that if his estates were seized it need not be expected that he would serve any longer or continue loyal. A conciliatory order was then issued, but that, too, was ineffectual. At last the Emperor appointed the Nizam to the government of Ahmadabad, after settling the affairs of the Jats to arrange matters in Ahmadabad and chastise Haidar Kuli Khan unless he submitted himself. The Emperor at the same time conferred on the Nizam a robe of honour, camels and elephant, and 9,00,000 rupees in cash for necessary expenditure in this important undertaking. Accordingly, in the beginning of Safar 1135 A.H., the Nizam set out for Ahmadabad, and did not stop till near Jhabu. The great officers of the Dakhan, as Azd-ud-daulah, the Deputy Governor of Aurangabad, and Nasir-ud-daulah, Deputy Governor of Burhanpur, and Dianat Khan, Diwan of the Dakhan, and Mahtashim Khan Bakhshi, obeyed the summons to attend the Nizam, and by the good offices of Abul Khair Khan the Afghan chiefs Jawanmard Khan and Salabat Khan, who resided at Ahmadabad and were offended with Haidar Kuli Khan, also joined the Nizam. At Akbarabad the Nizam received letters from Haidar Kuli, which he had written to deceive, and on arriving at the frontiers of Malwa despatches came from the chief men at Ahmadabad to say that through dread of the Nizam's approach Haidar Kuli had fallen sick, and that his illness had terminated in insanity. This report of his insanity, however, was only spread to meet the present danger. In short, he sent first of all his son with humble letters full of excuses and mentioning his determination to go to the court of Dihli. And shortly after this he himself actually started for the capital by the Ajanta route, under the persuasion of his Diwan, Raghunathdas. When the certainty of this became known, the Nizam, who had got within seven or eight stages of Ahmadabad and had almost reached the Narbada, did not attempt to follow him, but appointed his uncle, Hamid Khan, to be his deputy in the government of Ahmadabad, and in the beginning of Jamad-ul-Akhir turned his flag towards the capital, and in mid-route dismissed the great officers of the Dakhan and took the road to Dihli through Bhopal. He also took the fort of Islamgarh from Muhammad Khan, and appointed his own nephew Azimullah Khan to be his deputy in the government of Malwa. On arriving at court he again used his utmost endeavours to bring the public business into good order, but was again thwarted by the intrigues of the same corrupt persons. At that epoch intelligence was received of the revolution in Persia and the conquests of Mahmud Khan the Afghan, extending from Isfahan to Shiraz, and of Shah Sultan Husain being besieged in Isfahan and Prince Tahmas's issuing from the fort at Isfahan with the brother and sons of Sultan Husain in order to collect troops. Tahmas was the fourth son of Sultan Husain, and his father surrendered to Mahmud and gave up Isfahan to him on the 23rd October 1712 (see *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. I., p. 642). One day the Nizam was suggesting some reforms in the government of the Emperor—first, that farming the imperial domains should be given up; next, that the Emperor should cease to receive what were called offerings, but which were in fact little better than bribes; thirdly, that the capital tax should be exacted from the Hindus, as in the time of Alamgir; and he ended by proposing, fourthly, that assistance should be given to Sultan Husain. He supported this recommendation by referring to the aid which Humayun received from the Shah of Persia when he was driven out of India by Shir Shah the Afghan. He added that services were the only proper requital for services, and that if assistance were rendered to Sultan Husain it would remain as an honourable record in the family of Timur. Muhammad Shah asked in reply to whom he could confide an enterprise so difficult and so distant, when his treasury was at such a low ebb. The Nizam replied that any one of his Majesty's servants, who might be selected for the duty, would not fail to perform it, but if others hesitated he himself was ready to execute the task with all his energies. Muhammad Shah then called a council of his other advisers, and then the courtiers, who were envious of the Nizam, and were displeased because he wished to restore things to the state they were in in India under the former

Emperors, alleged such things against the Nizam as wholly to pervert the Emperor's good opinion of him, to such an extent that he secretly, for a large sum of money, conferred the government of the Dakhan on Mubariz Khan, the Nizam of Haidarabad. The Nizam, from a just foresight, considered that his best course was to retire, and thus, without resenting what had been done, towards the end of 1136 A.H. he alleged that his health was suffering, and that it was requisite for him to have a change of air, so he asked leave to go on a hunting tour, and departed from Dihli to a place on the banks of the Ganges about sixty or eighty miles from the capital. The envious courtiers soon discovered where he was staying, and under the encouragement of Amir-ul-Umara Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, and the Itimad-ud-daulah and the Roshan-ud-daulah, sent him deceitful letters to the effect that if he was suffering from depression the Emperor would send his own venerable mother to nurse him. This they did in order to entice him to return, and then prevent him from leaving the court. The Nizam, with quick perception and with apparent submission, made as though he would return, and left the Ganges, moving slowly under pretence of hunting, and dexterously withdrew his family and effects that he had left in Dihli, and meanwhile intelligence was received that the Mahrattas and other plunderers had broken into the province of Ahmadabad, which was under the Nizam's own rule, and also into Malwa, which was governed by Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang, the Nizam's eldest son. The Nizam therefore obtained leave to go to those two provinces, and started from Suran, which is a celebrated place for hunting, near the Ganges, to punish the invaders. Having done this he moved from the parganah of Ujain to that of Bhorkah, which is near Saronch. Meanwhile the news-writers sent information that Mubariz Khan, the Nizam of Haidarabad, who three years before, after the battle with Alam Ali Khan, professed such warm friendship for the Nizam, and for whom the Nizam had obtained the command of 7,000 horse and the title of Imad-ul-Mulk, at the same time bestowing on him various other honours, now pretended to the government of the entire Dakhan, which he said had been conferred on him by the Emperor. Claiming this high post, Mubariz with a number of officers commanding bodies of troops had moved upon Aurangabad, and had written to Azd-ud-daulah Iwaz Khan Kusurah Jung, who was acting as the Nizam's Deputy in the Dakhan, and to the other officials, to apprise them of his coming, and "desiring them to prepare the Government house for him." Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, too, wrote to the Nizam as to the rebellion of Mubariz Khan. The news-writers at Dihli also sent information that the Emperor had removed Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, the Nizam's eldest son, from the post of Deputy Vazir, and had given the post of Vazir to Kamr-ud-din Khan, the Itimad-ud-daulah, and the influence of Kokai the bribe-taker was greater than ever. In consequence of all these matters, which were causing a complete derangement of affairs in the Dakhan, which the Nizam had wrested from the Saiyids, who regarded that region as their own appanage, that statesman altered his plans, and about the 20th of Shaban arrived at Mandhar. He then, on pretence of a pleasure trip, went into the fort of Dhar, and took away with him the commandant Khwajam Kuli Khan, and appointed in his stead Abul Khair Khan. After having settled the affairs of that fort to his satisfaction he crossed the Narbada, and in the beginning of Ramzan entered Burhanpur and passed the Tapti and Purna in boats; at the end of Ramzan he reached Aurangabad. Thence he wrote repeated letters to Imad-ul-Mulk reminding him of his former covenants, and remained two months in that city. Mubariz Khan, who was fated to perish, gave no heed to these letters, and would not desist from his designs, but went on collecting troops. These proceedings of his led to the disorganization of the province, and increased boldness on the part of the Marathas. To repress these disturbances, the Nizam, at the end of Zi Kadah, marched from Aurangabad, and encamped on the brink of the lake Jaswant, which is near the city. Hence, too, he continually wrote to Mubariz Khan, pointing out the advantages of peace, and the evil of shedding the blood of the Faithful; but the ambition of governing the whole Dakhan daily got stronger hold of him. At one time he resolved to march with all expedition against the Nizam's

troops, at another time he thought it would be best to pass by them, and appoint one of his best officers with a strong force of cavalry and infantry to watch them at some stream which they would have difficulty in passing, while he himself moved on Aurangabad. At last he decided on the latter course, and, avoiding an engagement between the main armies, he left a detachment to oppose the passage of a stream by the troops of the Nizam, who, however, killed or took prisoners nearly all his detachment. The Nizam himself crossed the Purna to oppose the army of Mubariz, and on the 22nd of Muharram 1137 A.H. he formed his troops for battle near the town of Thakar Kherrah, in Berar, eighty miles from Aurangabad. He appointed Kadir Dad Khan, son of the Kadir Dad Khan of Alamgir's time, to command the vanguard, an officer who was related to him on his mother's father's side, and was a brave and high-spirited leader, and Talib Mah-ud-din Khan, brother of the late Sadullah Khan and son of his aunt, to the command of his left wing, and Ishmail Khan Khwenshki to that of the right wing, and Kanwar Khan Chand Bahadur, son of Satar Sal Bandilah with a body of Bandilahs, and Barkandaz Khan, commandant of the ordnance, and Ata Yar Khan, chief superintendent of the baggage and guns, to support the vanguard, and Azd-ud-daulah Inaz Khan Kusurah Jang to aid the left wing, with Jamal Khan Mukrib, and Alam Khan of the Dakhan, and Mutahawwair Khan Khwenshki, and Aziz Beg Khan Harsi, with some guns, and Zahir-ud-daulah Raayat Khan and Muhammad Ghiyas Khan to act on the right, and Nasir-ud-daulah Chain Kali Khan to support the right wing, and Saiyid Ghatanfar Khan, the Bakhshi of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, with the Mansabdars deputed to Burhanpur as a reserve. Khizrullah Khan with a body of picked troops, among whom was Bahadur Dil Khan, was to act between the advanced troops and the right wing. Hafiz-ud-din Khan and Muhammad Saiyid Khan, grandsons of Sadulla Khan deceased, who was a relation of the Nizam, was stationed a few hundred paces off the van, and Hoshdar Khan, called Iradat Khan, also had a command, and Mahtashim Khan, grandson of Shekh Mir Khafi, with a number of other high officers, was placed in reserve to help where needed. Khwajam Kuli Khan Bahadur and Gopal Singh Kur and Taslim Khan Bai Afghan, who was a man of large property, and who was appointed to be deputy commandant of the van, had a body of scouts, and Rasul Yar Khan, an Afghan, was in front of the miscellaneous troops. Turktaz Khan, who always had to do with the Marathas, was now appointed to lead them to the number of 7,000 or 8,000. The Nizam himself was composed and dignified, and relying on the divine assistance according to the saying, "My refuge is a strong hill," took his place in the centre with a body of nobles firmly attached to him, such as Khwajah Abdullah Khan and Ihtida Khan Diwan, and Rustam Beg Khan, and Nik Nazar Khan, uncle of Nasir Jang. On the other side Mubariz Khan Imdad-ul-Mulk drew up his troops. In the van were Ghalib Khan, who had come on the part of Saadatullah Khan, Accountant of the Karnatik, belonging to Haidarabad, with a respectable body of troops, and Husain Munawwar Khan, son of Khan Zaman, known as Shekh Nizam of the Dakhan. Behind were Muhammad Beg Khan, the Nizam's maternal uncle, a brave and experienced officer, and Ibrahim Khan Pani, entitled Bahadur Khan, brother of the famous Daud Khan Pani: all these on the right. Abdul Path Khan, the son of Abd-un-Nabi Khan Miyanah, who was one of the brave soldiers of Bijapur, was stationed on the left. Ali Khan and Dilir Khan, with his sons Khwajah Mahmud Khan, and Khwajah Asad Khan, and Khwajah Masaud Khan, and Hamidullah Khan, were stationed near the advance guard. Mubariz Khan put himself in the centre with Khan Zaman, son of Khan Khanan of Bahadur Shah's time, and Munawwar Khan, Kazilbash Khan and Faik Khan, his own Diwan, and Izzat Beg Khan and Mir Yusuf Khan, and many other gallant and experienced officers. When the armies met, the Nizam, according to his usual excellent custom, did not rush headlong into the battle to anticipate the enemy; but Mubariz Khan, who was always precipitate, leaving the rear of his army from four to six miles behind, flung himself upon the Nizam's army, though a ravine, difficult to cross, intervened between him and it. A furious battle ensued, the

details of which would be too long to enter into, but, in short, thirty or forty riders on elephants, men of high rank, were struck with bullets or arrows. It is said that Mukrib Khan, the son of Amin Khan of the Dakhan, who had a quarrel with his father, and whose father had deserted from the Nizam to Mubariz before the battle, encountered his father and a fight with swords took place between them. The real fact is that Amin Khan was slain by other hands than his son's, but the popular story is that it was by him that he was killed. In short, thirteen or fourteen of the principal elephants in the army of Mubariz turned round and most of his troops were routed. At the same time there was such a commotion that the rear guard were on the point of giving way, but Dianat Khan, the Diwan of the Dakhan, who, being ill that day, was stationed in the rear with fifty or sixty horsemen, prevented them from dispersing. Mubariz Khan himself, after both his sons Musaud Khan and Isad Khan had been killed, with many of his chiefs who rode on elephants, and after Mahmud Khan and Hamidullah Khan, two more of his sons, had been taken prisoners, and he himself had been severely wounded and the driver of his elephant had fallen down desperately wounded, was at last slain, and the bands of the Nizam struck up in honour of his victory. Next day, when the dead were counted, it was found that about 3,000 of Mubariz Khan's army had fallen, and a still greater number of horses were killed by shot and rockets, and there were more than ten or twelve Afghan or other chiefs among the slain, such as Ghalib Khan, and Husain Munawwar Khan, and Kamal Khan of the Dakhan, and Bahadur Khan Pani, and Abdul Fath Khan, eldest son of Abd-un-nabi Khan, who in reality had the whole province of Bijapur in his possession. Besides these there were many noblemen killed on the side of Mubariz Khan, such as Khan Zaman Khan, son of the Khan Khanan, and Ahsan Khan, son of Ali Mardan Khan, and Mir Yusif, son of Mir Imam, and Faik Khan, while on the Nizam's side no person of distinction lost his life except Raayat Khan, who was shot in the throat with an arrow, and Sulaiman Khan Khwenshki, and Saiyid Ghazanfar Khan, and the few others that fell were not of note. The Nizam gave orders to wrap the slain in shrouds and bury them, and also to attend to the wounded amongst the prisoners, especially the two sons of Mubariz Khan, and his brother-in-law Dilawar Khan, and his uncle Muhammad Beg Khan. He showed kindness to others who had not been wounded but had lost their property, such as the physician Izzat Taliab Khan, and Kazilbash Khan, and Mir Abul Fazal Khan, and Riza Khan, the Diwan of Kamrnagar, and Aka Abul Hasan, news-writer of Machhlibandar (Masulipatam). Although most of the chiefs were fed and attended to from the public funds, yet Ihtida Khan, the Nizam's Diwan, and his servants, he being a man of beneficence, found supplies of food and medicine for many of the prisoners. Besides him Dianat Khan, Diwan of the Dakhan, assisted many who had been plundered, with medicine, money and provisions. To the sons of Mubariz and Dilawar Khan, and Karim Ali Khan, son of Haji Muhammad Mansur, and other persons who had been captured by the Nuwab, the Nizam ordered a large sum to be given and many valuable things, as jewels and cloths. And three or four days after the war had ended the Nizam returned in triumph to Aurangabad. When the intelligence of the death of Mubariz Khan was brought to the Emperor he gave away to others many provinces and forts which had till then been held by the Nizam. For instance, he gave the government of Malwa to the well-known Gardhar Bahadur, the nephew of Chela Ram Nagar, and the fort of Dhar in Manda to Kutb-ud-din Ali Khan Pangori, and the government of Gujarat to Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan Dilawar Jang. He gave, too, the commission of Deputy Governor of Gujarat to Shujaat Khan, known as Masum Ali Beg, the son of Kazim Beg Khan Shujaat Khaui, who was one of those brought forward by Haidar Kuli Khan, and was celebrated for his gallantry, and had authority previously in that province, and had all along chastised the Zamindars on that frontier and kept them in order. When Gardhar Bahadur and Kutb-ud-din Ali Khan after taking leave of the Court set out for their provinces, Azimullah Khan Bahadur, whose flag was flying there as the deputy of the Nizam, and who was at the head of 4,000 horse, and Abul Khair Khan, who was commanding in

Dhar and Manda with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, meditated resistance, but a letter from Samsam-ud-daulah to Azimullah arrived, to the effect that in exchange for the province of Malwa the Emperor had conferred upon him in his own right that of Ajmir. On hearing this Azimullah abandoned all opposition, and went off to court, and Abul Khair Khan gave up the fort of Dhar, according to the order of Nuwab Ali Khan, to Kutb-ud-din Ali Khan, and came to serve with the Nizam. When Shujaat Khan received the commission of Deputy Governor of Gujarat, Hamid Khan Bahadur, who was acting as the Nizam's deputy, withdrew from Ahmadabad to another town, as he considered it useless to resist while he had no army or munitions of war, but in his new halting-place he set to work to collect troops, and having deposited jewels and goods in pledge with the Hazaris, he took up three lakhs at interest, and sent for Kanta Band, who had sought his alliance, and who now, coming by way of Manda and Dhar, joined him. When he had collected a force he marched into Gujarat, and was met by Shujaat Ali Khan. In the heat of the battle the elephants of the two generals attacked one another, and Hamid Khan's elephant got the better of the other, and Hamid Khan shot an arrow into Shujaat Khan's breast, and Hamid's elephant driver, Shekh Hidayatullah, finished Shujaat with a javelin. Shujaat's elephant driver, who was a weak man, struck at Hamid Khan with a sword and cut through his belt and wounded him in the waist. Hamid then caught him by the neck and hurled him to the ground, and called out to his men to capture him. The musical instruments then struck up a triumphant air, and Hamid Khan entered Ahmadabad as a conqueror. Ibrahim Ali Khan, brother of Shujaat Khan, who was in Gujarat but had no sufficient force with him, was alarmed and did not dare to leave his house. Hamid Khan sent Muhammad Ali Khan to speak kindly to him, and gave him leave to attend the levée with two or three persons. But when the news of Shujaat's death reached another brother, Riza Ali, who was the accountant of the port of Surat, he fell into melancholy, and, impelled by the desire of revenging his brother, he resolved to fight, and began to collect troops with the aid of the Zamindars with whom he had influence, and wrote to his brother Ibrahim Ali Khan at Ahmadabad, who was in the habit of waiting on Hamid Khan, taunting him with abandoning the defence of his family, and preferring life to reputation. On reading this letter Ibrahim Ali was strongly excited by a feeling of honour, and having sent for Muhammad Ali Khan, who had interceded for him with Hamid Khan, took leave of him, and then with ninety of his friends, after putting on yellow garments in token of an intention of sacrificing their lives, came in the early morning to the door of the Government house. For fear of him the guard fled, and he rushed into the hall of audience and there wounded Tihara Mall, the nephew of Nambrai, one of the Nizam's officials, on which those who were present fled, and Ibrahim entered the inner rooms of the palace. But Hamid Khan, taking Marhamat Khan, his son, by the hand, escaped by another door to his own troops. Ibrahim was searching for him, when the musketeers and archers assembled from all sides, and mounting the walls fired down on him and his party and killed them all. After the slaughter of these brethren Rustam Ali Khan assembled about 20,000 horse and advanced from Surat with Pilaji Gaekwar, by successive marches of six or eight miles a day, until they reached the river Mahim, and Hamid Khan, in company with Kanta Pand, marched to the same river and encamped. The army of Rustam Ali Khan, relying on the support of the Kolis, who were wondrously skilful in thieving and plundering, were full of confidence, while Hamid Khan's troops were timid. To be brief, a battle took place near the village of Aras, on the banks of the Mahi, in which the Marathas plundered both sides, and though Pilaji Gaekwar was in appearance the ally of Rustam Ali Khan, yet secretly he was in favour of Hamid Khan on account of his friendship with Kantaband. (Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 489, writes this name more correctly Kantaji Kadam Bhande. He was one of the Sahu Rajah's officers, who was a supporter of Hamid Khan.) That day the battle was not ended, and next day when it was resumed victory inclined to the side of Hamid Khan. Pilaji is said to have overturned Rustam

Ali's guns, and joined in attacking him. (See Grant Duff, *ibid.*) The Marathas were busy plundering both sides, and Hamid Khan entered Ahmadabad in triumph, but on account of the clamours of the soldiers he permitted the people to be ill treated, so that the pay of the soldiers was exacted from them. In consequence of this, numbers emigrated, and Ahmadabad became so deserted that to the present time it has not recovered. The Emperor was much grieved on hearing this, and ordered Sarbuland Khan to proceed to Gujarat, and gave him fifty lakhs to procure his military equipment. Mubariz-ul-Mulk opposed this mission, and Saiyid Nujm-ud-din Ali Khan, brother of Saiyid Abdullah, was released from prison,* and with a body of nobles was placed under Sarbuland Khan, who passed two or three months there collecting troops, and in 1138 A.H. marched to Gujarat with a great army. Hamid Khan with the Marathas marched to encounter Sarbuland Khan, and though the latter when he reached Patan sent a pacific message, and the Nizam too, by letter, urged his uncle not to oppose Sarbuland, still Hamid would not listen to this advice till after an engagement in which his Bakhshi, who commanded the vanguard, was killed. In this action a great number of Sarbuland's men fell, but in the heat of the battle Shekh Allahyar, who commanded the troops of Mubariz-ul-Mulk, sent a body of men, who entered the fort of Ahmadabad and gave Sarbuland the victory. According to some authorities, followed by Grant Duff, the advanced guard of Sarbuland's army went on too far in advance, and finding themselves unsupported began to throw up entrenchments, which encouraged the Marathas on Hamid Khan's side to attack and overpower them, though the Maratha loss, too, was so heavy that they declined fighting another battle. The result, however, was that Hamid Khan listened to the advice of Mir Nathu and Salabat Khan and other men of note in Malwa, and giving up the contest departed to Aurangabad, and there a difference arose between him and Azd-ud-daulah, to such an extent that Hamid Khan would not call Azd-ud-daulah by his title, but gave him his plain name, Khwajah Kamal, and Hamid's retainers out of fear of Azd-ud-daulah deserted their master. †

CHAPTER III.

From the death of Mubariz Khan to the death of the first Nizam.

We have now to record the events which happened after Mubariz Khan, who had been appointed Viceroy of the whole Dakhan, had been killed, until the Nizam himself was received into Paradise, with a brief notice of the virtues and abilities of that illustrious man. When the Nizam, after the death of Mubariz Khan, re-entered Aurangabad, he learned that Khwajah Ahmad Khan, who was better known as Shahamat Khan, son of Mubariz Khan, who had been appointed by his father to be Deputy Governor of Haidarabad, had wrested the fort of Muhammadnagar or Golkondah, with the aid of the officers of the garrison, from Khwajah Asandil Khan, who was commanding in that fort as deputy for another son of Mubariz Khan, and had placed his own effects in the fort, and was engaged in strengthening it. As soon as the Nizam had settled Aurangabad and the adjacent districts he resolved to move to Haidarabad, and at the end of Rabi-us-Sani 1137 A.H. he arrived there, and encamped in a garden near the palace and busied himself with arranging the affairs of the city. Khwajah Ahmad Khan delayed to surrender the fort of Golkondah, entertaining strange doubts as to his own fate and that of the family of Mubariz, his father, and relying on the strength of the fort, and the treasure and provisions he had there. This went on for a year, and he was also encouraged by the report that the government of the province and of the fort would be conferred on him by the Emperor. He gave trouble, too, to the Nizam by writing to the neighbouring Zamindars and

* So says the *Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 346, but Grant Duff says the Emperor was disappointed in his scheme of controlling the Turani nobles by the release of Abdullah, the elder of the two Saiyids, as the courtiers removed him by poison (vol. I., p. 491).

† Grant Duff affirms that Hamid Khan became a mere plunderer, but the *Hadikah-i-Alam* is most likely to be correct.

Killadars for assistance. He also liberated some of the bad characters who were imprisoned in the fort, and sent them out to increase the disorder. In this way he caused the slaughter of Kazim Ali Khan, the son of Haji Mansur, Faujdar of Bhungir, who was a brave and zealous soldier, and some soldiers were killed with him. At last, when he saw the favours the Nizam conferred on the family of Mubariz Khan, in restoring their estates and giving his sons their titles, viz., the title of Shahamat Khan to his son Khwajah Ahmad Khan, and the title of Mubariz Khan to Khwajah Mahmud Khan, and saw, too, that his plans against the Nizam did not succeed, he surrendered the keys of the fort to the Nizam's officers in 1138 A.H. and came and threw himself on his compassion. The Nizam then made a thorough settlement of the country, chastising the rebellious and protecting the weak. The troubles caused by the Marathas were also alleviated. In the time of the late Mubariz Khan the Maratha *Chauth* was in appearance given, but the families of Saiyids refused to give it, and, uniting together, from time to time inflicted blows on the Marathas. But wherever and whenever the Maratha collectors came, if they were able they took more than the *Chauth* (fourth of the revenue: Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 210). These, too, made the roads unsafe. The Nizam, however, exerted himself to chastise the plunderers. For example, he chastised the Zamindars of Wakankerah, who had been guilty of great excesses in the time of Alamgir, and other miscreants in the vicinity of Kohar and the districts of Kawwal and Ugandal, where, owing to them and the wild men, there had been no order at all maintained, and in a short time he rendered them obedient, and made the roads safe. And as the Maratha tax-gatherers not only practised various cruelties in collecting the *Chauth*, and besides that took ten per cent. of the revenue under the name of Sardeshmukhi, and as these agents were removed and changed every week and every month and exacted more than the cultivators could pay, which not only distressed the people but reduced the revenue, the Nizam settled that in lieu of the *Chauth* for the province of Haidarabad the Marathas should secure cash from his treasury and ten rupees per each hundred of the revenue as Sardeshmukhi, and also that passports should be given for goods, that travellers should not be inconvenienced.

When the Emperor heard that the Nizam had subdued the province of Haidarabad, and had made himself master of the whole of the Dakhan, and remembered that before the war with Mubariz Khan he had given the appointment of Grand Vazir to Itimad-ud-daulah Kamr-ud-din Khan, taking it away from the Nizam, and that when Mubariz had been killed he had bestowed the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, which belonged to the Nizam, on other nobles, and all this only tended to the advancement of the Nizam, he thought that conciliation would be the best policy, and wrote a rescript conferring the government of the Dakhan on the Nizam, and also the office of Viceroy, with robes of honour, an elephant and jewels, and the title of Asif Jah. In this same year, 1138 A.H., the Nizam sent for Mir Ali Akbar Khan, the Diwan of Burhanpur, and made him deputy of Azadat Khan, Diwan of the Dakhan, and Muhammad Akil Khan Kambo he made Diwan of Burhanpur, and Hamid Khan Governor of Nander. In 1139 the Nizam not only reprimanded Baji Rao for his offensive acts, but resolved to depose Shahu Rajah, whose deputy Baji Rao was, from the throne of king of the Marathas, and elevate to the throne Shambha, the son of Ram Rajah, as the son of Shivaji, making use of the assistance of Chandar Sen, who was formerly Senapati or Commander-in-chief, and afterwards entered the service of the Nizam and the Emperor. He therefore sent for Shambha, and entered his name as the ruler of the Marathas and assigned to him the Sardeshmuki, and he, Shambha, sent his officers everywhere like Mukhashdars, i.e., holders of villages rent-free on condition of protecting travellers, and they collected the revenue, and the collectors sent by Baji Rao were everywhere removed, and as it was the rainy season Baji Rao made no movement, but when that season was over in the year 1140 A.H. he advanced to Jalna to fight. The Nizam, taking Rajah Shambha with him, marched to chastise Baji Rao, at the head of his own troops, and with Azd-ud-daulah Iwaz Khan commanding the van. On the 2nd of

Rabi-ul-Akhir in the same year a battle ensued. Baji Rao unable to resist took to flight, and the Nizam sent Azd-ud-daulah in pursuit of him and followed himself in support. Baji Rao fled as far as Burhanpur and his troops were much discomfited. The Nizam pursued him to some distance north of Burhanpur and then, hearing that he was taking the road to Gujarat, returned to Burhanpur and halted two days in the Lal Garden there to refresh his troops. He then deposed Akil Khan from the office of Diwan of Burhanpur, and restored Ali Akbar Khan, and gave the office of Deputy Diwan of the Dakhan, which Ali Akbar Khan had been holding, to Akil Khan, and taking the registration of houses from Haji Nakhli Khan he bestowed it on Sharf-ud-din Khan, and then followed the Marathas as far as Surat by long marches and there encamped. The Nizam of Gujarat, Mubarez-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan, supposed that the Nizam had a secret understanding with Baji Rao and intended to conquer Gujarat, until Baji Rao, after nearly reaching Ahmadabad, made a shameful retreat. The Nizam now gave up the pursuit, and determining to destroy Baji's native town turned towards Punah. Just as he reached Ahmadnagar the news-writers informed him that Baji Rao was intending to march on Aurangabad, on which the Nizam moved on that city, and Baji Rao passing by the hill of Kasari and having arrived at Gandapur and Baizapur prepared for battle, and plundered the surrounding country and stopped the bringing in of provisions and grain. He also stopped the passage of the Nizam's troops at every stream, but fled and fought as he retreated, and made use of the tactics of banditti, as the Marathas are wont to do. At last Baji Rao sent a pacific message through Azd-ud-daulah, and the Nizam was inclined to accept his overtures on account of the troops being harassed by that mode of fighting, but on two conditions, first that he should not make war on Rajah Shambha, and second that he should demand no more than the fourth part. After terms had been agreed upon, the officers of Baji Rao were re-established everywhere, and the Nizam proceeded to Haidarabad, and in 1141 A.H. an important work was ordered, the rebuilding of the fortifications of Burhanpur, and Alimullah Khan, the Daroghah or superintendent of the ministerial office, was entrusted with this duty. The building of the fortifications commenced from the Na Kachahri, on the east of the city, and on the banks of the Tapti. Afterwards Muhammad Azim, son of Khwajah Abd-ur-Rashid Kashmiri, was appointed superintendent of half the work, and after two years both these were dismissed, and Ahmad Mir Khan, son of Ali Akbar Khan, was appointed to superintend the building of the fortifications, and in the same year Nizamabad, above the hill of Fardapur, which had been entirely desolate, was peopled, and a mosque and a house for travellers and a palace and a bridge were built by the exertions of Khandan Kuli Khan, and the chronogram which gives the date of this work is "Rabbi ajaala haaza baladan Aminan"—Arabic words, which signify "God built this town securely." In 1142 A.H. Hamid Khan died in Nander, the province he governed, and in 1143 A.H. Azd-ud-daulah Iwaz Khan, who was the deputy of the Nizam in Burhanpur, travelled on the road of eternity. The Nizam was much distressed on hearing the news and went from Haidarabad to Aurangabad. It is said that Azd-ud-daulah, depending upon his kinsmanship and other relations that he had with the Nizam, used to carry out the administration of that province without consulting the Nizam, so that when he died the Nizam exclaimed, "Now I am Governor of the whole Dakhan." In short, after arriving at Aurangabad he removed Saiyid Jamal Khan, son of the late Azd-ud-daulah, who was the Deputy Governor of Birar for his father, and appointed Shujaat Khan, and summoned Nasir-ud-daulah from Burhanpur. When he arrived at the hill of Fardapur he appointed Hafiz-ud-din Khan, who was one of his kinsmen, to the governorship of Burhanpur, and when Nasir-ud-daulah joined the Nizam's army the Nizam ordered Hafiz-ud-din Khan to cause the great drum to be sounded and then depart from the tent of Nasir-ud-daulah to Burhanpur. Accordingly Hafiz-ud-din Khan carried out his orders and arrived at Burhanpur, and after some days he went forward to reduce the country of the Zamindar Mohan Singh. About that time Muhammad Khan Bangash was appointed Governor of Malwa by the Emperor and arrived at Ujain. The Nizam also in the

middle of Shaban came to Burhanpur and set out to punish Mohan Singh. When he had reached the hill of Akbarpur, Mohan Singh, feeling himself too weak to fight, took refuge in some inaccessible hills and obtained terms by promising to pay tribute. Meantime Muhammad Khan Bangash had come as far as the Narbada and paid a visit to the Nizam and stopped with him two or three days, after which the Nizam crossed the river and paid him a return visit. In the month of Ramazan he settled the case of those who received a daily allowance in Burhanpur. Those whose allowances dated from the time of Alamgir were reduced one portion and kept two-thirds, and those whose allowances were assigned by other personages kept one-third and two-thirds reverted to Government. On the day of the festival which followed the Muhammadan Lent the army marched from Akbarpur, and Hafiz-ud-din Khan having accompanied the Nizam as far as Rajpur took leave. Abul Khair Khan, and Mir Ali Akbar Khan Diwan, and Sarim Ali Khan, and other officers charged with registration of the house tax, had leave to depart to Burhanpur. The Nizam himself passed through the hills to chastise Baji Rao, who was stirring up mischief there, and followed him, without halting, as far as Baglanah. He, like a fugitive slave, fled to Gujarat, and then the Nizam gave up the chase and returned to Aurangabad. At this time Hafiz-ud-din Khan and Abul Khair Khan escorted the family of the Nizam from Burhanpur to near the hill of Kasari, where they took leave. In 1145 A.H. Fatimah Begum, the Nizam's father's sister, and wife of Zahir-ud-daulah, with Raayat Khan, by order of the Nizam, took with them the daughter of Roshan-ud-daulah Zafar Khan, third Bakhshi of the Emperor, who was betrothed to Mir Ahmad Khan, and Bahadur Nasir Jang, and started from the capital in order to celebrate the marriage. Roshan-ud-daulah Ata Ali Khan of Kashmir, who was the superintendent of the imperial arsenal, accompanied them with music and much equipage and rich marriage gifts, and the Nizam despatched to meet them Muhtashim Khan Bakhshi and a number of officers commanding bodies of cavalry, such as Bida-uz-zaman, Hafiz-ud-din Khan, and Abul Khair Khan from Burhanpur, and Khwajam Kuli Khan from Ghargaum also marched in front of them. Muhtashim Khan and Hafiz-ud-din Khan came as far as Aurangabad, and Abul Khair Khan as far as Burhanpur, and there stopped. At this time a plunderer named Nahokiah ravaged the districts of Asir, and Abul Khair at the request of Anand Rup, the Superintendent, set out with 300 horse and Nur-ud-din Khan, the Kotwal of the town, and galloping over thirty miles in four hours came upon the plunderers and killed nearly 100 of them. They then fled, and Abul Khair returned safe and victorious. In the year 1147 A.H. the Nizam stayed at Burhanpur, where he had some cause for anxiety owing to the approach of Muzaffir Khan, brother of the Samsam-ud-daulah, who had been sent by the Emperor to chastise the Marathas. Muzaffir, however, without fighting, returned from Saronch to Dihli. The Nizam then went to Aurangabad, and that year, on the 1st of Shawwal, Nizam Ali Khan Asif Jah II. was born, son of the Nizam. The following is the chronogram—"Tulu i aṣṭab az subh i daulat!" "The Sun arose from Fortune's dawn!" In 1148 A.H. the government of Malwa was conferred by the Emperor on Baji Rao, and the Nizam removed Hafiz-ud-din Khan from the government of Burhanpur and conferred it on Nasir-ud-daulah Chin Kalij Khan, and Hafiz-ud-din was sent to Baglanah. In 1149 A.H. Baji Rao marched from his place of residence with a great force and came to Malwah and stopped there some time, and employed himself earnestly in settling the country, and then moved on Bandur. Then he attacked the Rajah, and took Asir, his place of residence, after a long and difficult siege. The Rajah then crept for refuge into inaccessible hills, and Baji Rao sent on Pila Jadu in front to encounter Burhan-ul-Mulk, and 10 miles from Akbarabad, after crossing the Jamna, gave battle, and many fell on both sides, till in the end Pila fled to the Katora lake and none of the Emperor's nobles opposed him except Absan Khan Kokah, who was wounded. After plundering and ravaging the country, Baji Rao fled on the approach of Itimad-ud-daulah and Samsam-ud-daulah, who left Dihli to attack him, but did not pursue him. From similar inroads the Empire was thrown into a state of

great confusion, and the oppressive acts of that rebel Baji Rao, and the negligence of the Mughul nobles, reached the ears of Nadir Shah, who was then in Kandahar, and caused his invasion of India. At this time the Nizam returned from a journey to Saunda and Badnur, and arrived in Burhanpur at the end of Shaban, and passed three months and a half in the palace there in repose. Hafiz-ud-din Khan took leave and went to the capital in the month Shawwal, and the office of Faujdar of Baglanah was taken from him and given to Mutawasil Khan, who was a relative of the Nizam, and paternal uncle of Hafiz-ud-din.

The journey of the Nizam to Dihli at the request of the Emperor comes now to be recorded. On this occasion the Nizam appointed his legitimate son the Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah Bahadur Nasir Jang to act for him as the Governor of the Dakhan.

At the end of 1149 A.H. repeated summonses came from the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, calling on the Nizam to present himself at court. In accordance with these, the Nizam took up his quarters on the 17th of Zil Hajj in the tents which he had pitched at the stream of Uтали, and started on the 19th, after appointing Mir Ali Akbar Khan, the Diwan of Burhanpur, to act as Deputy of Nasir-ud-daulah, and as Governor of Burhanpur. At the stage of Rajurah he dismissed Khwajah Abdullah Khan and Hazrullah Khan, and sent off the commission of viceregal authority over the Dakhan, which on leaving Burhanpur he had conferred on his son Nizam-ud-daulah Mir Ahmad Khan Bahadur Nasir Jang, and also letters to the nobles ordering them to obey his son. He then reached Saronch stage by stage, and halted there some days and made a treaty with Baji Rao, and there suffered Nasir-ud-daulah, and Saiyid Jamal Khan, and Wizarat Khan Diwan, and Muhtashim Khan Bakhshi, and Mutahawwer Khan, and Janoji and Sultanji Nimbalkar and other chiefs who had accompanied him with the army of the Dakhan to return, and in the end of the month Rabi-ul-Avval 1150 A.H. he arrived at Dihli and had the honour of waiting on the Emperor. The writer, Fazl Ali Khan, on the day of the Nizam's arrival having presented the following quatrain, received a present of 1,000 rupees and a horse with silver trappings :—

“ Countless thanks—the Faith's defender's come ;
Light he brings to every heart and home ;
Heaven, enregistering the happy day,
Gilds anew its text with mercy's ray.”

The last words, *Ayat-i-rahmat iltahi Amad*, give the date. The Emperor and the courtiers showed the Nizam real respect and attention, and Jai Singh was removed from the government of Agra in order to confer it on him ; and Baji Rao in like manner was dismissed from the government of Malwa to make room for the Nizam and his successor. The Nizam then set out for these provinces, and went to Agra by way of Sarkharah, and there rested some days. He then appointed as his deputy in the government of Agra Mahi-ud-din Kuli Khan, son of Muhammad Khalil, entitled Inayat Khan, son of Lutfullah Khan, son of Sadullah Khan, brother of Hafiz-ud-din Khan, after which he crossed the Jamna and went on leisurely to Atawah and settled that district, which was an adjunct to the province of Agra. He then visited Kalpi and crossed the Jamna a second time, and came to Dahamuni, where he stopped some time, and taking with him Bandila troops he arrived at Bhopal, the residence of Yar Muhammad Khan, son of Dost Muhammad Khan. Baji Rao, too, with a numerous army proceeded to Malwah ; and Malharji Holkar, who was in Malwah before the arrival of the Nizam's army, and Baji Rao, occasioned great disorders, and fought with Amir Maani Khan, who was the manager of the imperial lands in that province, and had only 300 or 400 horsemen with him, and killed him. When Baji Rao had arrived within four or five miles of Bhopal he stopped the road, so that no provisions or grain could be brought in, and began to plunder in the districts round the Nizam's army, which thus suffered exceedingly, and a battle with artillery and guns went on for a month. At last the Nizam arranged his troops for battle, and having

appointed his chiefs to command the van and rear, and the right and left wings, set out to march for Bhopal, which was only twenty miles off. Baji Rao then divided his army into two, and sent one against the Nizam's van and the other against his rear guard, and a fierce battle ensued, and many men were slain. At last the Nizam's army by dint of courage got near the fort of Bhopal, and the Marathas at the time the rear guard halted under the command of Asir Singh, Rajah of Bundi, charged in upon them and a desperate fight ensued. The Nizam reinforced the rear guard and defended himself at all points. At evening he encamped and gave orders for the protection of the troops by setting guards for the night. At that spot fighting went on for a whole month, and owing to the want of grain and scarcity of food, which was so great that an asar of wheat, or indeed an asar of jowari, could not be bought for a rupee, the distress of the army was terrible. At last the Nizam considered it prudent to make peace, as the near approach of Nadir Shah was bruited abroad, and he set forward on his return to Dihli. Raghuji Bhonslah, who was a cousin of Rajah Sahu and had a Mukasal or free tenure of the province of Birar, thinking the time auspicious for making war, joined battle with Shujaat Khan, the Nizam of Berar, in the month of Ramzan, and killed him, and levied a contribution on Elichpur ; and Chimaji fought a battle in the vicinity of Burhanpur at the village Jan Kadbibi, and Nasir-ud-daulah, the Nazim of Burhanpur, set to work to repair the bastions of the city. The Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah Bahadur Nasir Jang, on hearing of the struggle between the Nizam and Baji Rao, assembled the army of the Dakhan, set forth from Aurangabad to assist his father, and reached the hill of Fardapur, marching with all expedition, when intelligence of the peace was received, and soon after a letter from the Nizam himself confirming the news. On this Nasir Jang returned to Aurangabad.

We come now to the arrival of an envoy from Nadir Shah before that monarch came to Dihli, and the terrible commotion caused in that city by his approach, and the battle which took place between some of the great nobles of Muhammad Shah and Nadir, and the events that followed.

The author of the history of Nadir states that in the year 1150 A.H. Nadir sent his Chamberlain, Ali Mardan Khan Shahbalu, to India with this message to Muhammad Shah, "As we purpose to inflict punishment on the Afghans of Kandahar, send your commands to the Nazim of Kabul and the authorities in that direction to shut the roads against the Afghans." Muhammad Shah wrote in reply that he had sent troops and treasure to the authorities with directions to stop the passage of the Kandahar rebels. Nadir, after the return of his Envoy, sent a second time to remind Muhammad Shah, the Envoy being Muhammad Ali Khan Kaular Akasi, the son of Aslat Khan, a nobleman of Persia. Muhammad Shah returned the same answer. However, at the opening of the transactions at Kandahar, when the Afghans of that country began to fly to Kabul, and none on the part of Muhammad Shah obstructed their flight, Nadir sent a third Envoy, Muhammad Khan the Turkuman, to inquire why the promise had been broken, and he himself on the 11th of Muharram marched into India by way of Sindh, and strictly enjoined Muhammad Khan, his Envoy, not to stop more than forty days, but to return quickly to him. Muhammad Khan presented his letter of credence from Nadir Shah. The Emperor, who was day and night taken up with pleasure, forgot to answer, and omitted to give the Envoy leave to depart. When a whole year had elapsed from the departure of Muhammad Khan, in the beginning of Muharram 1151 A.H., after the conquest of Kandahar, a reiterated and peremptory order came for him to take leave immediately he received it, and bring whatever answer might have been returned by the Indian Government. This letter was committed to the charge of three couriers, who were sent from Sindh. Nadir then went to Ghazni, and rested at the Fara garden, about six farsakhs from the city, and sent thence the Prince Nasrullah Mirza to chastise the Afghans of Ghorband and Bamian. The Governor of Ghazni was overpowered with terror by the tumult that arose announcing the approach of Nadir, and fled, and the Kazis, the learned men, and the principal people of Ghazni went before

Nadir with humble supplications and with rich offerings, and were graciously received, and Nadir arrived at Ghazni and sent a division of his army to punish the Hazarahs, and all the inhabitants and provisions of that country were trodden under foot by the hoofs of his power, and numbers of the men were slain and the women made captives. Nadir after that set the captives free, and taking with him an army of Afghans and Hazarahs from the mountains of Ghazni, and pardoning those who submitted, he marched to Kabul. The people of the place came out two stages to meet him, and he presented them with gifts worthy of a king, and sent them away. After their return a body of the Afghans and soldiers of Kabul withdrew their obedience, and going into a fort maintained themselves there. On the 3rd of Rabi-ul-Avval, when the equipage of Nadir, sent in advance, arrived near the fort, some of the garrison began to attack it and oppose its advance. Those who were in charge of the equipage, as they were not prepared to fight, did the best they could, and left half the tents at a distance of one half-farsakh east of the city, and next day the royal cavalcade arrived at that place, and Nadir Shah, on the 5th of the said month, went out riding with the intention of visiting the environs of the city, and turned towards the hill of Siyah Sang. The soldiers of the garrison, in the spirit they showed the day before, came out of the fort in great force, began to threaten war and to fire off cannon and guns, and this boldness angered the king, and he ordered his retinue to chastise that band. They accordingly galloped towards them with drawn swords, and coming up with them made havoc of them up to the wall of the fort, and the same day the siege of the fort was begun. In a few days the garrison saw that they could not resist, and so on the 12th of the said month they came into the presence, acknowledging their helplessness, and confessed their fault, saying, "Wilt thou destroy us for that which the foolish among us have committed?" (See *Kuran* VII. 154.) And they surrendered the fort and presented rich offerings. Nadir seized all the effects belonging to Government in that fort, such as treasure and elephants. Nasrullah Mirza, who before this event had started from Fara-bagh to punish the refractory Afghans, inflicted severe chastisement upon them, and took their forts, and after reducing that region to obedience returned to the king on the 2nd of the said month. About this time the despatches of Muhammad Khan the Turkuman were brought by a courier to Nadir, to the effect that the Imperial Government would neither give him an answer nor leave to depart. When Nadir heard this he ordered some of his couriers to convey a letter from himself to Muhammad Shah to the effect that he had sent Ali Mardan Khan, after him Muhammad Ali Khan Kaular Akasiu, as Ambassadors to the Indian Court on the subject of stopping the passage of rebels, and Muhammad Shah had promised to act accordingly; that he, Nadir, had arrived at Kandahar; when he found that Muhammad Shah had not kept his promise he had sent another Ambassador to repeat the message. A year had passed and this Ambassador had been detained all that time, and no answer had been given. First of all a promise had been made, and in the next place it had been broken, and then, contrary to precedent, the Ambassador had been detained in breach of etiquette, and to put off replying to the royal letter, all these improprieties were repugnant to friendship. After the conquest and subjugation of Kandahar, as the people of that place had dealt worse with India than even with Persia, he, Nadir, had thought that the punishment inflicted on them would have been pleasing to the Emperor, and that the nobles of both countries were mutually well disposed, and he had for that reason taken their punishment in hand. The people of Ghazni had been respectful, and therefore had had favour shown to them; but the people of Kabul, besides that they ought to have regarded the arrival of his victorious standard as a fortunate circumstance, ought, in the state of amity between the governments, to have taken every opportunity of rendering service. But they had closed the door of happiness on themselves, and had joined the Afghans, and had shown hostile intentions. As these acts were disrespectful he had come to punish those who were guilty of them, but as afterwards they had been led to seek his favour, and had directed their hopes to his just tribunal, he had, for the

sake of Muhammad Shah, forgiven them, and been gracious to them, and had given orders that no one should molest them. He, Nadir, had had from the first no other object but the chastisement of the Afghans, and wished to maintain the same friendly relations with the Emperor.

This letter Nadir delivered to the courier and sent him to Shahjahanabad accompanied by some of the principal men of the city of Kabul on the 26th of Rabi-ul-Aval, in order that the courier by the letter he took, and the Kabulis by word of mouth, might explain to Muhammad Shah the real state of the case. When the Kabulis arrived at Jalalabad the Governor of that place forbade them to proceed and turned them back, and the Afghans killed the courier, who was travelling post haste, in the midst of his journey. After that, on the 12th of Rabi-us-Sani, Nadir left Kabul, on account of the scarcity of hay and grain, and having appointed troops to protect the citadel he marched by Charikar in the mountains and chastised the refractory inhabitants of that district and brought them into subjection, and on the 20th of Jamad-ul-Avval he diverged to Gandamak, which is a salubrious place. The Afghans of that locality, in like manner, took their effects into a strong fort in a mountain and endeavoured to maintain their independence. However, they soon saw that they could not resist, and besought to be pardoned, and their offences graciously considered. The army which had been sent to punish the Hazarahs, after performing that service, returned on the 26th of Jamad-ul-Avval, bringing a great number of boys and girls of that tribe as slaves. A division then marched on Jalalabad to chastise the Afghans who had killed the courier. The Governor of Jalalabad, who had stopped the Kabulis, and the man who had killed the courier, both fled, and the other inhabitants of the district accepted the yoke, and on the 30th of Jamad-ul-Akhir, on Thursday, came out to meet the conqueror, and surrendered the fort to his officers. The man who killed the courier, and had taken refuge in a strong fort, was captured, and, as the district of Kabul was no longer under the Emperor, Nasir Khan assembled troops on the borders of Peshawar and tried to make himself independent. And in the interval that the nobles of Kabul were conveying the letter of Nadir Shah to Dilli the order of the Emperor to let them proceed was received. Nasir Khan, out of regard to his own master, did not obey Nadir Shah, but commenced hostilities. Moreover, 8,000 Afghans, men of the Khaibar and Peshawar, assembled near Jamrud and watched the most difficult pass of the Khaibar. On the 12th of the same month, Nadir, having left his baggage near Nasrullah Mirza, set out himself towards afternoon, by a way where the mountains were very high and steep, with a body of select lancers to punish Nasir Khan. Marching with all speed, the next day two hours after sunrise he had traversed forty-nine farsakhs, and arrived at the very nick of time. When Nasir Khan heard that the Shah had arrived he prepared for battle and drew up his men. But the van of that swift force charged his main body, routed it, and in a moment scattered it in all directions, slew a great number, and took alive Nasir Khan and all the Indian officials. The rest fled. Three days after, when his baggage had come up with the army, Nadir marched to Peshawar and subjugated the country. The mountaineers, too, who ventured to give trouble, were crushed. On the 11th of Ramzan his victorious standard moved towards Dilli, and he ordered a firm bridge to be thrown across the river at Atak. Never before had it been heard that the rivers of the Panjab had been crossed without boats or vessels, yet by the fortune of Nadir these rivers, each of which resembles a stormy sea and a life-devouring ocean, were crossed. The horsemen and the baggage cattle passed through the water, and 5,000 or 6,000 men of the garrison of Lahur who attempted to resist were dispersed and plundered by the outposts of Nadir's army. Nadir himself followed; and soon after a large body of Indian troops, led by the Zamindar Dinar Beg Khan, who had come forth to assist Zakaria Khan, the Nizam of Lahur, encountered the videttes of Nadir Shah's army twelve miles from Lahur, and were routed. When Nadir with his *cortège* had arrived in the environs of Lahur, Zakaria Khan, who felt himself powerless to resist, sent Kifayat Khan, who was his principal agent in important affairs, to the

Shalamar garden to ask for quarter. Next day he himself waited on Nadir and presented £200,000 in cash and two gigantic elephants with other precious things as an offering. Nadir Shah in return gave him beautiful robes worthy to be a king's present, and an Arabian steed with a golden saddle, and a jewelled dagger and sword, and conferred on him other favours. Fakhr-ud-daulah, Nazim of Kashmir, who had been removed from his government by the people of Kashmir, and who was residing in a destitute state in Lahur, was restored to that government by Nadir; and Nasir Khan, who was among the prisoners, was restored to the government of Peshawar and Kabul, and a force was given to him with instructions to guard the passage of the river and secure a number of vessels, and send all those who resisted to the royal camp. In short the Emperor of India at this time awoke from the careless slumber when Nadir reached Peshawar, and gave £300,000 to the Nizam, and £200,000 to Itimad-ud-daulah, and £200,000 to Samsam-ud-daulah, the Bakhshi, and entrusted the command of the army to the Nizam, and conferred the title of Nizam-ud-daulah on the Nuwab Nasir Jang, who was acting as his father's deputy in the Dakhan. The Nizam sent out his tents on the first day of Ramzan, when the news came that Nadir had crossed the Atak, and that Zakaria Khan, the Nazim of Lahur and the Punjab and Multan, not feeling himself able to resist, had surrendered the prisoners and submitted, and that Nadir the blood-shedder was marching on Dihli with the intention of fighting and slaughtering. Hereupon Muhammad Shah, having no alternative, came on the 17th of Shawwal with all speed to do battle in the vicinity of Panipat, and appointed the Nizam to command the vanguard, and Samsam-ud-daulah, the chief Bakhshi, to command the right wing, and the Vazir Itimad-ud-daulah to command the left, and Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk to command the centre reserves with Muzaffir Khan and Muhammad Khan Bangash. Nadir Shah moved from Lahur on the 20th of Shawwal, and having passed the deep rivers arrived at Sarhind on the 7th of Zi Kadah, and was there informed that Muhammad Shah, with an army of 300,000 men and 2,000 war elephants and 3,000 dragon-mouthed and lightning-darting cannon and munitions of war, had arrived at Kurnal, five stages from Dihli, and intended to halt and give battle there, as the canal which Ali Mardan Khan brought to Dihli flowed on one side and the other was protected by jungle, so that he considered it a strong position, and there he had drawn up his troops and disposed his guns round his camp. On hearing this, Nadir sent forward 6,000 horse of his advanced guard in order that they might ride up to Muhammad Shah's camp, and carry off some prisoners, and make a report of the state of affairs. Eight days after this force had set out he himself moved from Sarhind and advanced to Rajisar, twenty-four miles from Sarhind, and on the 9th of Zi Kadah he arrived at Amballah, sixteen miles, which is two miles from Kurnal. There he left his women and baggage under the charge of Fath Ali Khan Afshar. On the 10th he marched from Ambalah and went thirty miles and halted at Shahabad. The same night his advanced guard reached the camp of Muhammad Shah, and made a skirmishing attack, and killed some persons and carried off others alive, and returned sixteen miles to the house for travellers at Azimabad, where they halted. On the night of the 11th, two hours after nightfall, they brought before Nadir some persons of the enemy's advanced guard, whom they had captured, that they might be personally interrogated. Nadir then sent confidential officers to Azimabad, who enjoined the videttes to remain at that place, and that a body of select men should quietly and carefully patrol the neighbourhood. The distance between that place and Kurnal was six farsakhs and eight miles, and was all jungle with only one narrow road. The country for the next four miles was in general free from jungle, and a level road passed through it, so the leaders of the advanced guard, having formed their men into two bodies, sent them to the east and west of Muhammad Shah's camp, to reconnoitre the jungle and the field of battle and return to Azimabad. On the 12th of Zi Kadah, Nadir marched twenty-four miles, and on the 13th, having placed Nasirullah Mirza in the centre with a body of the nobles, he took with him a body of picked men, and having set out in the morning when an hour and

a half of the day had passed he arrived at Azimabad, and there the leaders of the advanced guard came at the hour prescribed, and brought the prisoners they had taken from Muhammad Shah's camp. From their examination it appeared that the Emperor had shut himself up in the fortified camp at Kurnal, which was a strong position, and had made that his place of security. Those who had gone to reconnoitre to the east and west of Muhammad Shah's camp reported that there was jungle on either side, and that the ground was level and fit for encamping or for fighting a battle; that the road which led to Muhammad Shah's camp was bounded by a stiff jungle. Nadir, on hearing this, decided to move to the east of the Emperor's camp towards Panipat, which is between Kurnal and Dihli, and which has a broad space of uncultivated country quite level, and that there his troops should encamp for two or three days. If Muhammad Shah attacked them they could meet him, and if not, then they might march by the same way to Dihli. Accordingly on the 14th before sunrise, Nadir moved from the said spot and crossed the river Faiz at two farsakhs' distance from the camp of Muhammad Shah and pitched his camp, and himself with a few select troops moved close to the Emperor's camp to a place where he could see their flags and guns, and galloping with his fleet coursers could take a clear survey of their encampment, and then returned. At night he was informed that Burhan-ul-Mulk, Saadat Khan, the Governor of Oudh and of the east, had arrived at Panipat with a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men and guns and all munitions of war, to assist Muhammad Shah. Nadir immediately ordered a division of his own troops to advance against this force, and though all along at the distance of half a farsakh, more or less, round the camp of Muhammad Shah were the posts of Nadir Shah's army, still that same night he sent a force against the army of Burhan-ul-Mulk, and on the 15th moved from his position, and forcing his way in three bodies he ordered the prince Nasirullah Mirza to advance from the north of the river Jamna to the environs of Kurnal and halt, and he himself made a long circuit between the river Faiz and the Jamna, and went with a division to inspect the encamping place and the field of battle. While he was in the way the advanced guard, which had gone during the night, according to orders, against Burhan-ul-Mulk, brought word that Saadat Khan, who had arrived within one march of Muhammad Shah's camp, had moved on expeditiously, leaving treasure and baggage behind, and had arrived at midnight in Muhammad Shah's camp. But the videttes that Nadir had sent on had followed them up and had killed many and plundered others. Then Nadir passed in front of Muhammad Shah's army and chose a spot to the east of it, at the distance of a farsakh in a level plain, and Nasrullah Mirza with the main body here joined Nadir, as ordered, and there encamped. And when intelligence was brought of the slaughter of those Saadat Khan had left behind, and the plunder of the treasure and the baggage by the advanced guards of Nadir to Burhan-ul-Mulk, he was inflamed with a desire to wipe out this disgrace, and immediately besought the Emperor to give him leave to attack and take his revenge. The Emperor turned to the Amir-ul-Umara Khan Dauran and asked his advice, and he replied that in important matters, especially in war, his Majesty was wont to be guided by the advice of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah, and that he and the other nobles felt bound to accept the guidance of that officer in war. After consulting with the Nizam, whatever was found to be his opinion would be best. The Emperor assented, and they then referred to the Nizam, who told Burhan-ul-Mulk that he did wrong when so dangerous an enemy as Nadir was near to leave his baggage behind, and hasten to join the Emperor. However, what had to happen had happened. Now what he had to do was to go to his quarters and give his men rest after their march, and next day, with the Divine aid, they would try to remedy matters. Burhan-ul-Mulk, overpowered with ardour, replied that to pause in remedying what had happened would be imputable to want of courage, that he had 11,000 excellent veteran horsemen with many guns, and that he would do all in his power either, with the help of Heaven, to win the imperial favour, or to escape from the reproaches of men and the imputation of pusillanimity. In short, Burhan-ul-Mulk

would not listen to the Nizam's advice, and, having obtained leave from the Emperor, at once engaged the forces of Nadir, when he was struck by a bullet and fell senseless from his elephant, and at sight of this great confusion arose among his troops. Mir Ghulam Ali Azad states in his *Khizunah-i-Amerah* that though Burhan-ul-Mulk had been wounded in the leg, which had become diseased in consequence, yet he rode on his elephant while his troops remained behind, and many of those who kept up with him and arrived were so weary with the long and continuous marches that they could not move, and as they came into camp at midnight many were asleep, and when Burhan-ul-Mulk went to the Emperor those of his division who had just arrived had no knowledge whatever of the war or the propinquity of the Kizilbash army, and though the officers shouted to them that the Nuwab had gone to battle, and told them to mount, they did not believe it, and in some way or other Burhan-ul-Mulk, having got together 400 or 500 horsemen and the same number of foot, went off to fight the Persians, and by the time he reached the limits of the camp was joined by 3,000 or 4,000 horse and 1,000 foot, and with this small force engaged the champion of Persia, who was at the head of 40,000 veteran cavalry. Then, as regarded himself, he showed as much firmness and courage as it is possible to imagine, and Nadir himself applauded his gallantry. It happened, however, that the elephant on which his nephew, Shah Jang, was riding, being in a maddened state, ran to the elephant on which he rode and drove it before him into the Persian army, and in spite of the blows they gave it it would not return. In this way Burhan-ul-Mulk and several persons with him were taken prisoners. He was also wounded in two places, in one by a bullet and in the other by a spear, and had besides a disease. Nadir gave him to the custody of Mustafa Khan Shamlu, and every day conferred favours upon him, and honoured him with splendid robes, and permission to attend the private hall of audience, and to state his requests in person, and he was consulted when treaty was made with the Emperor and when the two potentates met. The author of the history called *Fahan Gusha*, known as the *Tarikh-i-Nadiri*, writes that from noon to 4 or 5 p.m. fighting went on, when all of a sudden the Indian troops fled. Burhan-ul-Mulk and Nisar Muhammad Khan, his nephew, who were in the haudah of the elephant, were taken prisoners, with their relatives and retainers. When the Emperor heard this he sent Khan Dauran with 15,000 horse to remedy this disaster. When the Khan had started, the Nizam sent after him a letter to say that he ought not to go a step beyond the stream. The Amir-ul-Umara read the letter, and said that there was no time to write an answer, but that they were to take this verbal message, that the elephant carrying the standard, and the van of the army, had crossed the river, and now it was impossible for him to remain behind. Muzaffir Khan, brother of Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, who was in the centre when he heard this, went after Samsam-ud-daulah, and the Nizam having arrayed his troops placed Sarim Ali Khan, the commandant of his elephants, in his own haudah, in the attendant's seat, and was standing in his hall when the intelligence department brought word that Samsam-ud-daulah, after crossing the river, had attacked the army of Nadir Shah, and that his forces had fought valiantly, and cut to pieces many of Nadir's van, and penetrated to his camp. On hearing this the Nizam sent word to the Emperor and the Vazir that they should mount at once, as he was ready for battle. They did so, and came slowly on their elephants, and the Nizam, starting from the river, had arrived near the guns of Burhan-ul-Mulk when the sun set, and certain information was received that Nadir Shah, on hearing of the courageous advance of the Indian soldiers, had sent 20,000 choice horse to assist his troops, and that the battle raged until the Amir-ul-Umara received some dangerous wounds, when his elephant driver brought him back to his tent, where next day he died. According to the statement of the author of the *Tarikh Fahan Gusha* ("the world-developing history"), in this battle Nadir Shah himself entered the field of battle with his brave soldiers and excellent artillery, and Muzaffir Khan and Sipahdar Khan and other brave officers were killed, and an immense amount of plunder,

many elephants and guns belonging to Muhammad Shah were taken by Nadir, and by noon the plain was abandoned by the Indian army and covered with the bodies of the slain. Muhammad Shah, with Nizam-ul-Mulk and Kamr-ud-din Khan, the Grand Vazir, as they had drawn up their forces near their own camp, returned thither, and there secured themselves. The Nizam, from the occurrence of such a defeat and the coming on of night, wrote to the Emperor that no time remained to continue the fight, so that his Imperial Majesty had better remain where he was, and that the next day, after restoring order to the troops, they might remedy what had happened. This advice was approved by the Emperor, the Vazir and the nobles. The Emperor then summoned a council, and all advised to fight, but the Nizam disapproved of doing so, and said they had better make peace. The Burhan-ul-Mulk and the Amir-ul-Umara, he said, had devoted themselves bravely and loyally, but from not listening to his counsel they had utterly ruined the affairs of their Emperor and master. The Emperor, he added, knew very well what was their condition in regard to preparation for fighting another battle, and therefore the best course was to make terms. His advice was that they should send a peaceful message which might extinguish the flames of war. If by good acts and mild language they obtained peace, why then their object would be accomplished, and if not, they must place their trust in God, and must prepare for war. The Emperor approved this advice. The author of the *Tarikh Fahan Gusha* has written that after such a remarkable victory Nadir would not permit his soldiers to attack Muhammad Shah's camp, as it had been strengthened with fortifications, a ditch and guns, but he invested it on all sides, and closed the means of escape against the Indians. When the Emperor was reduced to distress on the third day, he voluntarily abdicated, and took off his crown and went with his nobles and great men to Nadir and prayed for mercy. On his thus coming to obtain an interview with him, Nadir sent Nasrullah Mirza to the outside of his camp to meet the Emperor, and went himself outside his tent, and received him with respect, and kindly taking his hand placed him on a cushion to sit beside himself, and there Muhammad Shah breakfasted with him, and returned to his own army in the afternoon. The army of Nadir, however, continued the siege of Muhammad Shah's camp as before. The day after, Muhammad Shah with his courtiers and palace attendants left his camp and came to that of Nadir, and took up their residence there. Abdul Baki Khan, in as much as he was the chief of Nadir's nobles, with a number of other distinguished persons, was appointed to attend Muhammad Shah everywhere, and to attend upon him and render him every service. Nadir further appointed Burhan-ul-Mulk to be the sole representative of the two governments, and ordered the Tahmas Khan Jalair, with 4,000 or 5,000 horse, and in union with Burhan-ul-Mulk, should go to Dihli before the arrival of the royal cavalcade, and make the necessary arrangements in the city. After that, Nadir, on the 1st of Zi Hajj, marched from that place for Dihli, and on the 7th alighted at the Shalamar garden. He stopped there the next day, and Muhammad Shah was suffered to go to make preparations for entertaining his visitor. On the 9th of the month Nadir mounted his horse and left the garden, and the soldiers were drawn up, and laid down rich brocade carpets and precious stuffs from the border of the garden to the royal palace. Nadir then took his residence in the fort, which had been the residence of the just kings of Delhi and the capital of India, and assigned a place there for Muhammad Shah too. Muhammad Shah then gave an entertainment, at the conclusion of which Nadir, to please him, said, "The kingdom of India again reverts to your Majesty, as agreed from the first, and in accordance with Turkuman friendship every aid will be rendered to the house of Gurgan, which endures for ever." Muhammad Shah in acknowledgment of this kindness, which bestowed on him a crown as well as life, produced some jewels and treasures which he had received from his ancestors, and although Nadir magnanimously declined them, still the Emperor pressed him so warmly to take them that at last he consented, and delivered them to the charge of his treasurers. However, on the festival of Id, on which day Nadir at noon paid a visit to Muhammad Shah, deceitful fortune brought about a terrible disaster. On the

night of the 11th, without the connivance of Muhammad Shah, or privacy of the nobles, one of the debauchees of the city called out with a loud voice from the lower fort, "Nadir Shah has been killed in the palace by the eunuchs of the Emperor." The mob on hearing this ran together and attacked the soldiers of Nadir who had entered the town, and indulged in the utmost violence, and slew 3,000 Persian soldiers. As the darkness of the night gave them hopes, they imbrued their hands in the blood of the strangers, and growing more daring they attacked the place where Nadir's elephants were kept, and killed the head keeper and captured the elephants. As the curtain of the night intervened, Nadir ordered his troops not to leave their quarters, but begin to act next day. But when the sun drew his sword from the scabbard of the East, Nadir issued wrathful and terrible from the fort, and sat on the roof of the mosque of Roshun-ud-daulah. He then inquired from what quarter were the perpetrators of the last night's acts, and who were the offenders, and issued orders for their punishment, and for a general massacre of the inhabitants of those localities. Then all his troops, as well Kizilbash as Turkumans, Uzbegs, Afghans and Beluchis, began to slay, and killed every living being they saw, till the dead rose in heaps, and for three hours the massacre went on in bazars fast and furious, with loud shouts of "Smite and slay!" Of the nobles, Saiyid Niyaz Khan, son-in-law of Itimad-ud-daulah and wife's brother to the Nizam, and Mahi-ud-din Kuli Khan, and others were killed. After three hours the Nizam, from compassion for the people, went to Nadir, whom no one dared to approach during his wrath, and with humble entreaties, and offering an atonement in money for what had been done, asked for mercy. Nadir replied, "For thy sake I spare them." The instant that the executioner called out "Aman" ("quarter") the fury of the massacre subsided. To God belongs greatness and power, Who lifts one of His creatures to such a height that the utterance of his commands has such results as these! The author of the *Tarikh Fahan Gusha* writes that the massacre extended from the Ajmir Gate to the door of the principal mosque, and some inhabitants of other quarters also perished with the sword. From the rising of the sun to its setting the slaughter and plunder and enslaving went on. Nearly 30,000 persons, great and small, perished. In the evening the survivors were imploring protection, and the Emperor, through the medium of the Nizam and Kamr-ud-din Khan, was engaged in assisting them. After the fury of Nadir's wrath had been quenched by the water of forgiveness, he gave orders to release the prisoners. As during the night's tumult Saiyid Niyaz Khan, the son-in-law of Kamr-ud-din Khan, and Shahsawar Khan, who were among the principal nobles of Hindustan, had attacked the elephant stables and had killed the chief keeper, and had carried off the elephants outside the fortifications of the city, and had posted themselves in a strong place, the imperial order was issued to Azimullah Khan and Faulad Khan, who were nobles of the State of Gurgan, to seize these persons, which they did, and brought the prisoners, 470 persons, before the Emperor, and slew them with the sword of retaliation. The author of the *Khizanah-i-Amirah* ("Public Treasury") has written that when, on the 9th of Zi Hajj 1151 A.H., both potentates arrived in Dihli, Burhan-ul-Mulk was engaged from morning till night in transacting business ordered by the Shah, but was overpowered by his disease, the palsy, and at one time fainted, at another recovered! On the night of the Id Kurbau, before the dawn, his soul departed. That night the Nizam went to pay him a visit, and sent on a person in advance to beg him not to get up. He would not comply, and when the Nizam arrived he got up with the aid of his servants, and this shows in what estimation he held him. Also when Nadir Shah spared the lives of the suppliants and accepted a fine in lieu, Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan appointed Dilawar Jang to collect the money. Mubariz-ul-Mulk *nolens volens* obeyed, and this calamity of the mulct was protracted until the departure of Nadir, and the author of the history called *Fahan Gusha* writes that Nadir asked in marriage for Nasrullah Mirza the veiled daughter of the house of Gurgan, viz., Kutubi Begam, daughter of Muhammad Kambakhsh, and for a week the preparations for the nuptials and for the feast went on, and on the 15th of the said

month Prince Nasrullah Mirza went to see Muhammad Shah, and at the end of the assembly the Emperor presented him with priceless jewels and three elephants and five horses with jewelled trappings, and royal robes, and thus their friendship was cemented. And the confidential persons who were deputed to seize treasure secured such an amount of vessels of gold and silver and vases of China, and articles set with precious jewels, and other valuable things, that the registrars and clerks were unable to catalogue or compute them. Of the number was the peacock throne, studded with inestimable jewels, on the adornment of which the former kings of India spent two millions sterling, with such round pearls and glittering diamonds as were not to be found in the possession of any kings of the past or present time. The treasury of Nadir thus became unequalled, and the nobles and great officers and princes and governors also presented offerings to him worth millions of money, and jewels and articles covered with gold and precious goods, and after the death of Saadat Khan an officer was sent to the province of Oudh and Lakhnau, and brought from that province, which was under Saadat Khan, a million in gold, or 500,000 tumans in Persian money, with a number of huge elephants and goods of incalculable value. In short, Nadir, during his stay in Dihli, with what he got from the State treasuries and the offerings of the nobles and governors, obtained fifteen millions. Furthermore, from the jewels and treasures, and goods, and factories and royal stores, which were worthy of the house of Timur, and which had descended to Muhammad Shah, the closed doors of the exchequer of the Gurgan dynasty being opened by this contingency of Nadir's arrival, his great nobles and the chief officers of the army which had rendered him such services, and the Ghazis or champions of the faith, and the attendants and servants of his royal camp, received, one and all, in accordance with their rank, fitting gifts. Mandates, too, were issued to every province in Persia, notifying royal bounties to them, and for three years the people of Persia were relieved by a diminution of land rent and taxes, and on Tuesday the 3rd of the month handsome sabres and swords and daggers adorned with gold and jewels, and high-bred Arabian steeds, were bestowed on all the nobles of the Court of Gurgan, and a royal entertainment was given, to which Nadir invited Muhammad Shah, and with his own hand placed on his head the royal diadem, and girt his waist with a jewelled sword and dagger, and his shoulders with jewels of great value, as is the wont of the kings of Hindustan. The signet, too, of the kings of India, just as it was, he delivered to his Majesty. Muhammad Shah then made over to Nadir the countries to the west of the river of Atak and Indus from the borders of Thibet and Kashmir to the point where that river meets the ocean. And as most of the countries to the north and west of Atak, as Ghazni and Kabul, have been always included in Khurasan, Nadir Shah accepted them. Nadir further encouraged all the nobles and ministers of State of the house of Gurgan to serve Muhammad Shah devotedly, and addressed the royal pearls of advice to Muhammad Shah and his nobles, and ordered that mintages and the reading of the Friday prayer, which at that time were carried on and altered in his name in India, should again be in the illustrious name of Muhammad Shah. Further, Nadir addressed letters to the governors of provinces and the Rajahs ordering them to obey the Emperor. Then, taking with him a company of skilful artificers and workmen of India, on Tuesday the 7th of Safar, Nadir triumphantly marched from Dihli on his return, and halted first at the garden of Shalamar, his whole stay in Dihli having extended to fifty-seven days. Of the stories told regarding this remarkable visit, one is that Nadir and Muhammad Shah were one day sitting together when the time for drinking coffee arrived. Mir Khan, whose duty it was to attend to this, took up the coffee pot and filled a cup, and was considering to which king he should first give it. He thought if he presented it first to his own master, Nadir Shah would be offended and would be wroth with him, and that if he gave it to that conqueror, as he was not his servant, it would be a breach of etiquette, for to neglect one's own master and serve another is improper conduct for a servant; Nadir, who was excessively quick, looked out at the corner of his eyes at

him, and Amir Khan gave the coffee to his own master and said: "Will your Majesty be pleased yourself to give this cup to the King of Kings, who is your guest, and a guest's rights are precious?" Nadir Shah approved his act and said to Muhammad Shah, "How has your government fallen when you had servants of such large intelligence as this?" Muhammad Shah replied, "From disunion among my nobles." Nadir rejoined, "Verily this is from God, for when He wishes a kingdom to fall He produces discord among its nobles."

It is also related that the terror which Nadir inspired was such that the spirit of even lion-hearted warriors was turned to water in his presence, and no one dared to address him. The Nizam alone spoke to him without fear, and Nadir addressed only Muhammad Shah and him. On one occasion, when the two Sovereigns were seated together and not more than thirty or forty attendants were present, the Nizam had permission to be there with two of his servants, the man who waited on him at table, and his slipper carrier. The Nizam, however, had chosen two noblemen of great cleverness and courage to perform these duties for him instead of the servants. In short, every one who attended his lord in that assembly stood a long way off, except two or three persons who stood near the thrones. Dargah Kuli Khan Bahadur Salar Jang, who was a nobleman of high rank, intelligent and clever, witty and fond of a joke, used to relate that one night a news-carrier came stealthily and said to him, "To-morrow is fixed for Nadir Shah's departure." As the Nizam's discipline was so rigid that no one dared tell him anything that was not a fact, he whispered in his ears—" *Al Nadir ka'l madum*," which is in Arabic, "The rare is like the non-existent;" but in Hindi *kal* signifies "to-morrow," so that taking *kal* as a Hindi word the sentence would mean, "Nadir will disappear to-morrow." The Nizam was immediately [? immensely] pleased at this witticism.

But to return to the affairs of the Dakhan. It has been already stated that during the confusion which attended the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1152 A.H. Gopal Rao, a Zamindar of Birar, got possession of the fort of Muhar, the commandant of which was Harzullah Khan Bahadur, by stratagem, and in Muharram 1152 A.H. Balaji Rao, son of Baji Rao, seized the jagirs of the Jagirdars near Burhanpur, and raised a rebellion. Nasir-ud-daulah Chin Kalij Khan repaired the fortifications of the city, and at last on hearing the news of Nadir Shah's departure, and on receiving a message from the Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah Nasir Jang sent through Ghulam Nakshband Khan, Balaji gave up the jagirs, and on the 4th of Rabi-ul-Awwal retired from Burhanpur to Purnah. After a time, however, Balaji quarrelled with Nasir Jang, went to war with him, and made peace, as will be hereafter related. And on the 12th of Muharram in the year 1153 A.H. Balaji came in wrath to the neighbourhood of Burhanpur, on account of a rebuff he had met with from the Nawab Nasir Jang. The Nizam on hearing of the hostilities between Nasir Jang and (Baji Rao) Balaji, became anxious, set out for the Dakhan from Dihli, and hearing that peace had been made came back to Dihli.

Now comes to be recorded the journey of the Nizam to the Dakhan from Dihli, with what befel after he had arrived there between the Nizam and Nawab Nasir Jang.

It is related that after the death of Baji Rao, Nasir Jung, considering the Dakhan as free from rebels, began to enlarge his pretensions, and, intoxicated by power and youth, withdrew himself from obedience to his venerable father, and without consulting removed various officers and appointed others, and set out from Aurangabad to Haiderabad. Auwarullah Khan, the Diwan, saw no alternative but to obey, and arranged matters according to the will of his master's son, till by degrees affairs reached such a point that through the corrupt advice of certain companions, such as Abdul Aziz Khan, and Fath-yab Khan, and Saiyid Jamal Khan, Nasir Jang gave away the jagirs which belonged to the Nizam to any one he pleased. He called to account by Talib Mahi-ud-din Khan, grandson of Sadullah Khan, who was the son of the maternal uncle of the Nizam, and brother of Mutawasil Khan and Harzullah Khan, and who was publicly the Faujdar of Adwani, but in reality Governor of Bijapur, and, regardless of his relationship, carried his rough usage so

far that he, to preserve his honour, poisoned himself. The Nawab Nasir Jang, indifferent to this catastrophe, gave his appointments to Himmat Yar Khan, his own maternal uncle ; Nasir-ud-daulah transmitted in writing to the Nawab an account of all that happened just as it was, wherefore Nasir Jang and Saiyid Jamal Khan were striving for his destruction, and the Nizam being informed of his son's rebellion obtained leave from the Emperor, set out for the Dakhan, and passing through Agra and Rajputana performed the journey in the height of the rains. Having passed the Narbada, he arrived in Burhanpur on the 1st of Shaban, and stopped nearly two months in his palace there. Nasir Jang, under the idea that the fatigue of so long a journey had exhausted the Nizam, continued his obedience, and sent a message by Abdul Husain Khan, who was formerly the body servant of the Nizam, and by Mir Ali Akbar, son of a holy man, referring to several vexatious matters. The Nizam, having the key of the secret feelings of his son, went in great state to the prayers of the festival of breaking the fast after the Muhammadan Lent. Salim Khan Bain and Mutahawwir Khan hastened to him ; Himmat Yar Khan, who was double-faced, was also induced by Nasir-ud-daulah to attend, and many other chiefs who had before agreed to join Nasir Jang, being dispirited at what they heard of the Nizam's high spirit and haughty bearing, wholly declined to support Nasir Jang, and said, " We have no spirit to fight against our benefactor and patron, and feel it impossible to draw our swords in opposition to one whose salt we have eaten for many years." A few foolish persons sided with Nasir Jang. However, the Nizam left Burhanpur with a loyal and powerful force, with the intention of punishing his son and his corrupt advisers. Hearing this, and observing the character of his own partizans, Nasir Jang returned, and, divesting himself of his usual garments, came as a fakir with some of his companions to the shrine of Shah Burhan-ud-din, and adopted the life of a recluse in abject poverty. The Nizam wrote a statement of what had occurred to the Emperor, which is here given *in extenso* :—

Copy of the Nizam's letter to Muhammad Shah :—" During the four years that this devoted servant has been honoured by attendance on the Court, a surprising change and extraordinary deception have occurred in the provinces of the Dakhan. A number of the persons that I left with Nasir Jang from their innate business have been means of leading him astray, and, inexperienced as he was, having never undergone any vicissitudes of fortune, he did not discriminate between his friends and his enemies. Imagining himself to be firmly fixed in the government and independent, he after arriving in Malwah formed a design to make war, and wrote letters from Haidarabad to raise men. For example, Saiyid Jamal Khan, son of the late Azd-ud-daulah, though he held the deputy government of Birar, and conditionally the revenue of the districts, and ten lakhs of rupees in cash and eleven lakhs of rupees from other districts, yet on pretence of levying troops seized some of my jagirs. Abdul Aziz Khan, too, appropriated districts with twenty-two lakhs of rupees near Aurangabad, and besides this he took estates for his sons and relations and *protégés*. Moreover Khan Alam and Januji and others, under various pretences and by fraud, have seized the estates I possessed, and had planned extraordinary things, and with a party devoid of honourable feeling had moved from the places to which they had been appointed, and joined those who were plunged into the depths of infatuation. All the purpose of these rebels was to oppose and do battle with this servant of the Court, and open the doors of calamity upon me ; and my inexperienced son, knowing nothing of the deceits of the world, supposed these perfidious persons were his sincere friends, in whom he might place implicit confidence, and, notwithstanding the favour shown to them in increasing their jagirs and pay, renewed at this time applications for offices unfit for them, and titles which they did not deserve, and estates of incalculable extent, and still found ground for complaint, being ignorant of this, that covetousness is disgraceful. In short, if these corrupt aims had succeeded, he would have found no forbearance in those ungrateful traitors, who would have left nothing untouched, but would have partitioned the country to such an extent that in a little time there would have been a deficiency of the revenue, and dangerous

demands on the part of the soldiers. Although this devoted servant addressed advice to him, and endeavoured to deter him from engaging in criminal schemes, yet, as the mists of perversion had blinded him, he paid no regard to those salutary pages, but foolishly entered into a course of error, and with 30,000 good cavalry and a large number of guns took up a position on the hill of Fardapur, sixty miles from Burhanpur, with the intention of fighting. First, however, he despatched Mutahawwir Khan as his envoy to say that the government of the Dakhan belonged to him, and that this devoted servant had made a disgraceful retreat in going to your Majesty's resplendent Court. To this message a salutary reply was given, which might turn to his advantage, and the nobleman above mentioned also wrote to him, but from excessive pride he would not listen; and he sent a second envoy, Abdul Husain Khan, who repeated the same things. This devoted servant, seeing that his diseased spirit was not curable by the mild medicine of advice, on the principle that when other things fail you must resort to cautery, busied himself with collecting the means of defence. In a short time a numerous force was collected, and I resolved to advance from Burhanpur and to punish these short-sighted rebels. The news of this spread terror in the hearts of those arrogant wretches, and, relinquishing their thoughts of blood and slaughter, they took to consulting. When Nizam-ud-daulah saw that their vain intention was changed, and that they had begun to take counsel, with inward despair he put on the outward garb of a darvesh, and went to the shrine of that pattern of holy men, His Holiness Shah Burhan-ud-din,—may God have mercy upon him!—and placed himself under his protection. Muhtashim Khan, the Bakhshi of the officers of the Dakhan, with Khan Alam and Sambhaji and other Mansabdars of the force entrusted to Nizam-ud-daulah, and the officers of the artillery, came to this servant of the Court, and, praise be to God! the dust of a great rebellion, which might have divided and disquieted the world, was made to subside by the Divine favour. But some strong forts, such as Darangarh and Junir, are in the hands of Fath-yab Khan and of other hostile persons; and in Haidarabad, the rebels seeing the province denuded of troops, have raised disturbances. Raghu, who has lately got possession of the Karnatik, has collected a considerable force, and is extending his influence in the direction of Haidarabad. Therefore the intention of your Majesty's servant also is to go thither, in order to arrange affairs in those parts, and whatever may occur will be reported."

After that, on the 28th of Shawwal, the Nizam crossed the Tapti and for twelve days halted on the banks of the Purna; and in the cold weather, when there was an unseasonable fall of rain, Muhtashim Khan and other nobles of the Dakhan took service under him. The Nizam issued orders for the army of the Dakhan to assemble on the other side of the Purna at Adilabad, which was done; and Anwarullah Khan, the Diwan, came from Haidarabad and took service. Meantime Balaji Rao, the son of Baji Rao, who had come with the intention of going to Malwah, asked to be taken into the Nizam's service, and the Nizam sent his uncle Nasir-ud-daulah to meet him, and he with all his chiefs, such as Pilaji Jadu, and Holkar and Kuria, waited on the Nizam, and stopped with him on the banks of the Purna two or three days and then set out for Malwah. The Nizam then gave Abul Khair Khan leave to return from thence to his district with 2,300 horse, and on the 11th of Zi Kadah 1153 A.H. allowed Nasir-ud-daulah also to go to Burhanpur. He himself then crossed the Purna and went towards Khandesh, and when he had nearly reached Kasari hill he took the fort of Butsingh, which is near Gulshanabad, and called it Fath Mubin, and then returned to the hill of Fardapur and thence to Aurangabad. In 1154 A. H. the Nizam remained at Aurangabad, and Nasir Jung, meditating wild schemes, went from the shrine of Shah Burhan to the fort of Malher, which Fath-yab Khan had got from Mutawasil Khan by stratagem. The Nizam, according to his regular custom, put his troops in winter quarters during the rainy season, and remained alone at Aurangabad; then, incited by those who were watching the opportunity, Nasir Jung assembled a body of 7,000 horse at Malher, and descending suddenly from the hill of Kasari, on Wednesday the 19th of Jumad-ul-Avval, came near to the shrine of Burhan-ud-din

and threatened to attack. The Nizam, on hearing this, moved with the soldiers he had with him, and with the artillery stationed near the city, to the Idgah, and there encamped, and that day there was a panic among the troops and citizens on account of the paucity of his force and the want of munitions. The Nizam appointed Mutawasil Khan and Khwajam Kuli Khan to lead the van, and Jamal Beg Khan and Rahmullah Khan to command the right wing, and Abul Khair Khan to the left wing, and Mutahawwir Khan and Salim Khan to the reserve. As there were no bullocks to draw the guns, he took the bullocks belonging to the workpeople of the city and drew the guns to the force, and that day Nasir Jang went to the holy shrine to circumambulate the tomb of the saint. The Nizam chose not to move from his place. But next day, the 20th of Jamad-ul-Avval, Nasir Jang mounted his horse with the intention of fighting and marched on Aurangabad, and the informers brought news that Nasir Jang had mounted and was coming by the Giti Ghat. On hearing these words from the lips of the messenger, the Nizam, looking for a good omen for the word "Giti," "fortune," twice repeated it, and began to repeat the prayer of Harz, a formula for protection against harm. At the third watch (12 to 3 P.M.), as the flags of Nasir Jang's force began to appear, the Nizam's cannon opened fire, and their shot brought messages of death, and till evening the battle went on; and after that, from the darkness of night, and the dust raised by the cavalry, and the smoke of the guns, alarm spread in the army of Nasir Jang, and the world grew dark before their eyes till at last they all took to flight. The driver of Nasir Jang's elephant was struck to the earth by a shot. Nasir Jang with a few others drove his elephant up to the elephant of the Nizam, but meanwhile two shots slightly grazed his skin. Mutawasil Khan pointed his bow at him,* purposing to slay him with a single shaft. His son, Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan, prevented him. In short the Nizam's soldiers surrounded Nasir Jang's elephant, and Saiyid Lashkar Khan moved up his elephant at a quick pace to that of Nasir Jang, and said, "You must mount this elephant." Nasir Jang did so, leaving his own, and the Nizam's music struck up a victorious tune. It is said that at that moment Harzullah Khan, grandson of Sadullah Khan Vazir, said to the late Samsam-ud-daulah Shahnawaz Khan, for the sake of old acquaintance, "The son voluntarily goes to his father's house—where are you going? You have done all that a comrade was called on to do, escape from this danger." He accordingly descended from his elephant and got away, and five years was in disgrace with the Nizam, and during this time he employed himself in sketching the glorious acts of the nobles. After that, in the year 1160 A.H., the Nizam pardoned his offences and he was restored to the office of Diwan of Berar. When the news of the capture of Nasir Jang was reported to the Nizam, he gave orders to keep him in a separate tent that night, and next morning, on Friday the 21st, the Nizam returned to the city, and Nasir Jang was kept on his parol in the house of Abdul Aziz Khan, known as Makbuli Alam, and they placed a guard at the house of Abdul Husain Khan, and confined Saiyid Jamal Khan to his house; and Ibrahim Ali Khan, son of Haji Muhammad Ali Khan, and Mirza Ahsan Ali, called Nasir Kuli Khan, fled to the fort of Daulatabad; and as for the other persons, who concealed themselves elsewhere, no steps were taken against them. Lashkar Khan performed good service, therefore they gave him the title of Nasir Jang. Orders, too, were given not to call Nasir Jang by his title, but, if it was requisite to mention him, to speak of him by his name, Mir Ahmad Khan, and that the appointments and titles of those who had been brought forward by him should be ignored. After this victory the Nizam took two offerings from his servants, one for the victory, and the other for the safety of Nasir Jang. When they brought Nasir Jang's own writing case to the Nizam he gave it into the charge of Musui Khan, who was a Munshi of high respectability, and his confident. He opened the desk; he took out of it 38 letters from nobles of the Nizam's Court, of whom some were there present, and he stated the number of the writers of the letters to the Nizam, who at first received the information with indifference

* Literally, entered the sign Sagittarius, a turgid expression even for an Oriental writer.

and made no reply. When Musui Khan a second time opened a letter and wanted to read it, the Nizam said, "Don't take the trouble!" and added, "Not against chiefs without witnesses," and with these words he scattered all the letters in the water and said, "How have these men acted badly? First of all, for the exigency of the moment they sided with my son against me. It was with no stranger or enemy, but with my son, and when I was about to punish him they terrified him by setting forth my power and severity, and dispersed his followers, so that my son came into my hands alive. Suppose that this had happened between the Emperor and a prince his son. I might out of selfish motives have taken part with that prince. To engage in such matters for political reasons is no such great offence." To return to Nasir Jang, he was for a long time not allowed to pay his respects at the court of his father. His father's natural affection was no doubt working in his favour, but he maintained his dignified attitude and restrained himself, and he often said in darbar, "When Mir Ahmad had the small-pox and was grievously ill, I did, at the request of some persons in the haram, that which I did not approve—I gave him a grain of the bakhr plant, and I prayed with excessive supplication to the Almighty for his recovery. This is the same Mir Ahmad who has acted towards me in this manner. Verily, that is a true saying which says our children are darlings when they are young, but when they grow up they are our enemies."

In short the Nizam passed the rainy season at Aurangabad, but after that set out to reduce the fort of Malher, taking Nasir Jang with him. He marched in the end of Shaban, and on reaching Malher he appointed Jalal-ud-din Husain Khan, the Governor of Baglanah, who was the son-in-law of Shuja-ud-daulah, to reduce the fort, and he in a short time inspired such consternation into the garrison that they surrendered the fort. The Nizam gave it into the charge of Mir Buzurg, who had been Faujdar of Nazrbar and Sultaupur, and made Khwajam Kuli Khan Faujdar of Baglanah, and returned, and having come from the Pain Ghat to Fardapur set out for Haidarabad, and when he reached Nander he turned in the direction of Kandahar of Haji Saiyah, and removed Rajah Gopal Singh, the commandant of that fort, and appointed Burkandaz Khan in his place, and left Nasir Jang in the fort of Kandahar, and went to Naldurg. As, however, the ladies of the haram interceded for Nasir Jang, and he was moved by his paternal affection, he forgave Nasir Jang his offences, and sent for him. Nasir Jang fell at his feet with the utmost humility, and the Nizam lifted him up and embraced him lovingly, and tears flowed from the eyes of father and son, and the dust of dissension subsided. About the same time Anwarullah Khan, the Nizam's Diwan, who had been ill, asked leave of absence and went to Burhanpur, and there all remedies failed, and in the month of Safar^{*} he put on the apparel for the last journey, and was buried at the shrine of Shah Burhan-ud-din. After his death the Nizam gave the office of Diwan to Khudabandah Khan, son of Shayistah Khan Amir-ul-Umara, who was the maternal uncle of the Emperor. In short, in 1155 A.H. the Nizam entered Haidarabad and employed himself in removing the commandants of forts and replacing them by others, according to his custom, which was not to keep the person more than one or two years in an appointment, that all might in turn enjoy the public offices, and he gave the government of Haidarabad to Khwajah Mumin Khan, son of Azd-ud-daulah, and Harzullah Khan, son of his own maternal uncle, he made Governor of Nander, and Himmat Yar Khan he made Faujdar of Adhwani. Raichur and other districts of Bijapur which formed the government of Nasir Jang he continued to him, and then returned to Aurangabad. At this time Mirza Bakir Ali Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Khan, who was the son-in-law of Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nizam of Bangal, was presented to the Nizam. After some days Murshid Kuli Khan also arrived and was received with much honour and respect. The wife also of Murshid Kuli Khan, daughter of Shuja-ud-daulah, known as Bangali Begam, arrived and was honoured with the title of Mihman Begam. After visiting the camp at Aurangabad the Nizam directed his steps to the Karnatik,

^{*} A play on the word *Safar*, the month so called, which, though spelt differently, has the same sound as *Safar*, "journey."

and sent for Nasir-ud-daulah, his paternal uncle, from Burhanpur, to act as his deputy at Aurangabad, and appointed him as the late Iwaz Khan was appointed. To Mujahid Khan, son of Nasir-ud-daulah, he gave the deputy governorship of Burhanpur. Puranchand, the Diwan of Nasir-ud-daulah Bahadur, stopped in Burhanpur to settle the jagirs of that high office. The Nizam, after satisfying himself with the arrangements he made at Aurangabad, took Nasir Jang with him and went to the Karnatik and Arkat. At this time the intelligence department informed the Nizam that Himmat Yar Khan, the Subahdar of Bijapur, had been killed by the Afghans, the circumstances being as follows :—Himmat Khan, son of Alaf Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan Pani, Commandant and Faujdar of Karnul, agreed to pay Rs. 50,000 a year as tribute, but failed to pay for some years, and as the Nizam had gone to Dihli on account of the approach of Nadir Shah, Himmat Khan became remarkably remiss in paying the tribute money, and the Nizam ordered Himmat Yar Khan to collect it. He with that object levied a very considerable force, and sent a message to Himmat Khan to pay it, otherwise he would take captive the Afghan women and give them to his soldiers. Himmat Khan replied by subterfuges, but got together 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, and advanced to meet Himmat Yar Khan in battle, and though the latter had 10,000 or 12,000 horse and foot, still all were disaffected by his sour manners and rough treatment, and the abusive language with which he addressed high and low alike. In the battle they did not exert themselves till Himmat Yar Khan was killed. When the Nizam had heard this news he sent for Nasir Jang to a private audience, and after consultation despatched him to the spot, and in 1156 A.H., journeying to the Karnatik, arrived at Adhwani. Himmat Khan, who was anxious and alarmed on account of having killed Himmat Yar Khan, sent many petitions to the Nizam full of apologies, and asking that his offence might be forgiven. The Nizam, with the utmost clemency, forgave his misdeeds and spoke to Nasir Jang to do the same. As his intention was to go to the Karnatik and to punish Raghu the Maratha, he left Karnul sixty miles off and went on his way. Himmat Khan, however, presented himself and asked to be allowed to take service, and the Nizam absolved him from his offences, and sent him back to Karnul. When the Nizam arrived near Arkat he commenced the reduction of the fort of Trichinapoli, which was in the hands of the Marathas. On the 21st of Rabi-ul-Akhir he received the news of Nasir-ud-daulah's death, whom he had left as his deputy at Aurangabad, and that Mujahid Khan, the son of Nasir-ud-daulah, who was Deputy Nazim at Burhanpur, had left as his deputies there Abdul Wahib Khan and Khwajah Muhammad Ashraf, and had gone to Aurangabad, and was administering that government. On hearing this the Nizam appointed Ali Akbar Khan to the government of Burhanpur, together with the management of the Nizam's jagirs, and wrote a despatch directing the deputies of the province to receive him. At first Mujahid Khan and Abdul Wahab Khan opposed the inauguration of the new Governor, but in the end they gave way. The Nizam after taking the fort of Trichinapoli exerted himself to take the country of Arkat from the tribe of Nawait, who had held it a long time, and gave it to the Khwajah Abdullah Khan, whom he made commander of 5,000, at the same time giving him the right to have the large drum sounded. After this officer had put on the robes of his office as Faujdar he died of joy. Consequently the Nizam entrusted the affairs of that province to Khudabandah Khan, the Diwan, and Anwar-ud-din Khan Bahadur, and other officers high in his confidence. Anwar-ud-din Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang, who was very brave and capable and quick and determined, said boldly, "I have thought of a man than whom there could not be a better person for this government." The Nizam asked, "Who is that?" He replied, "The devoted servant of your Court, Anwar-din Khan, your well-wisher." The Nizam, who knew his merit, smiled and invested him with a robe of honour, and in 1157 A.H. the Nizam returned to arrange the affairs of Aurangabad and Burhanpur. At this time the intelligence department informed the Nizam that Abdul Aziz Khan, known as Makbul-i-Alam, had been promoted by the Emperor to the government of Gujarat, and was levying troops and preparing munitions for his government. Fath-yab Khan,

son of Najabat Khan, and other friends of Nasir Jang, such as Ibrahim Ali Khan and Nasir Kuli Khan and Muhammad Taki Khan, were eagerly assisting him. Subsequently the news came that Makbul-i-Alam had halted near the town of Anklesar, and Abaji Gaekwar, the Maratha, who was one of the disturbers of that district, came to oppose him, and in the month of Zi Kadah a fierce battle took place between them, and Abdul Aziz was defeated and disappeared, and Fath-yab Khan was killed, and those who escaped the sword fled with the greatest difficulty. Further, in 1157 A.H., the Nizam arrived at Aurangabad, and sent Abul Khair Khan with a very powerful force to punish the Maratha chief Babu Naik, who had been giving trouble. The said Khan, after chastising him, returned safe and triumphant, and the Nizam gave him leave to go to Burhanpur. In 1158 A.H. the Nizam was slightly ill, and that same year Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang, whose original name was Mirza Muhammad Rafi, resigned his life to the seizer of spirits, the Angel of Death. In 1159 A.H. the Nizam, after a short siege, captured the fort of Balkandah, which is a dependency of Haidarabad, and was in the possession of some nobles of the Dakhan, and that year several distinguished nobles, such as Mutashim Khan Bahadur, and Mutahawwir Khan, and Saiyid Jamal Khan, and Chander Sen Jadu, and others whose history is related in detail in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*, in the old and new volumes, put on the robes of eternity. In 1160 A.H. the Nizam gave the government of Burhanpur, which Abul Khair Khan administered through his deputy Mujahid Khan, to Khwajah Mumin Khan, son of Azd-ud-daulah, and retained Abul Khair Khan in the office of Faujdar of Baglanah, which he had formerly bestowed on him on removing Khwajah Kuli Khan. It is said that in this year, owing to the deficiency of rain, there was so severe a famine in Aurangabad, and the port of Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat, and most of the southern provinces, that the price of one palah of grain reached 80 rupees. This year, too, in consequence of the rumoured approach of Ahmad Khan Abdali, the Nizam, notwithstanding he was indisposed, set out for Dihli from Aurangabad to assist the Emperor, and came as far as Burhanpur, and there he got intelligence that Ahmad Khan Abdali had been obliged to fly by Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, and had returned to his own Court.

Account of the coming of Ahmad Khan Abdali into India, and of his defeat by the Emperor's army, and the departure of the Emperor, whose place is in Paradise, to the quarters of the Divine mercy, and subsequent events.

It is related that Ahmad Khan Abdali was one of the four servants of Nadir Shah who had the command of a thousand at the Court of Nadir, and after Nadir's death he got dominion over Kandahar and Kabul, and coined money, and had the Friday prayers read in his name, and in 1161 A.H. he brought an army from Kandahar to India. Mir Pahlawari, entitled Shahnawaz Khan, son of Zakariya Khan, the Nizam of Lahur, feeling that he had no power to resist, came out from Lahur and fled by way of Nawardwari. Ahmad Shah Abdali plundered Lahur and marched upon Dihli. Muhammad Shah, owing to disease, was unable to quit the capital, but sent off his son Ahmad Shah, with Itimad-ud-daulah Kamr-ud-din Khan, the Vazir, and Abul Mansur Khan Saffdar Jang and the Rajah of Ajmir and other pillars of the State, to repel the Abdali. The prince having passed Sarhind halted on the banks of the Satlej at the market of Machiwarah. Abdali on hearing this news, avoiding an encounter, arrived at Sarhind with 30,000 horsemen by way of Lodiana, and on the 13th of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1160 A.H. plundered the city and slew every one that drew his sword. Ahmad Shah on hearing this directed his march to Sarhind, and on his arriving a battle took place. It so happened that that day, on the 22nd of the said month, being Friday, the Vazir Kamr-ud-din Khan was repeating the prayers at the ninth hour of the day, when a cannon ball from the enemy killed him. He had just strength to say with his last breath, "Don't let your regrets for me prevent your attending to the repulse of the enemy. Be on the alert to drive him back." Rajah Asir Singh, son of Jai Singh Sawal, and the other Rajahs of the province of Ajmir were alarmed at the death of the Vazir, and fled with about 12,000 horse to their own country. The

Prince and Main-ul-Mulk and the other sons of the Vazir, and Saffdar Jang, stood firm and fought gallantly, and up to the 28th of that month the fighting went on fiercely. Ahmad Khan got possession of the artillery, the waggons of which were full of combustibles. By accident these took fire and many of the Durrani soldiers were burnt, and the Shah of the Durrans fled, and took the road to Kabul. The words *Afat raft*, "The calamity has gone," give the date. The prince and the nobles pursued for some distance, and just then a despatch from the Emperor arrived saying he was very ill, and if victory had declared in favour of the prince he was to come with all speed. Letters also from the vakils explained how matters stood, so the Prince left Main-ul-Mulk at Lahur to settle affairs in that direction and set off for the capital, but before he could arrive he learned from the news-writers that the Emperor had departed to paradise above. It is said that Malikah Zamani, daughter of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar and wife of Muhammad Shah, concealed the event, and sent a swift female dromedary to Ahmad Shah, and for three days the death of the Emperor was concealed, after which it became public and the nobles arranged for the funeral. In the imperial army the news first reached Abul Mansur Khan Bahadur Saffdar Jang near Kurnal and Panipat. Abul Mansur Khan immediately prepared for the inauguration of Ahmad Shah's reign, and placed him on the throne, and all the nobles paid their respects and congratulated him. Next day he marched thence towards the capital. It is said that Buland Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, known as Achche Salib, brother of the deceased Emperor, with sword and shield in his hands, came forth from where the princes were sitting, and expected that the nobles would place him on the throne. Malikah Zamani being informed of this ordered Roz Afzim Khan, a eunuch, to take Buland Akhtar and put him in confinement, and he was looked after more closely than before. Mujahid-ud-din Abul Nasr Ahmad Shah then arrived at the capital and made Abul Mansur Khan chief minister. Now when the tidings of Itimad-ud-daulah's being killed, and of the decease of the Emperor, reached the Nizam, who at that time was on his way to Dihli, and had come within sight of Burhanpur, he was much distressed, and entered Burhanpur in grief, and, in mourning for the Emperor and for the Vazir, ordered that the gun should not be fired for three days. After that, on receiving the intelligence of the enthronization of the Emperor Ahmad Shah, he ordered the great drum and music to sound for a feast in honour of the new reign. At that time the Nizam was suffering from illness, and the doctors were busy with remedies, and generally the Nizam went in a palki (palanquin) to a garden which he had made and adorned with flowers to amuse himself. He stopped there some days. When he heard the news of disturbances in the provinces of Haidarabad and Nander he started from Burhanpur, in spite of his mortal illness and extreme weakness, and they had pitched his tents towards the south of Zainabad in the direction of Aurangabad. He entered his tent, and, as was his wont, took with him Nasir Jang, when unseasonable and violent rain fell, and as the mud was deep there he moved to the banks of the Tapti, and encamped near the Mohan stream. Every day his weakness increased, until his constitution gave way entirely, and the signs of the last journey became apparent. Then on the 4th of Jamad-ul-Akhir 1161 A.H. he sent for the Nawab Nasir Jang and gave him the following injunctions :—" 1st. It behoves the Prince of the Dakhan to be at peace with the Marathas, who are the landholders of this territory. 2nd. Be careful how you destroy the human fabric, the Constructor of which is the God of all worlds. The criminal who deserves to be put to death deliver over to the Kazi, who is the administrator of the law. 3rd. Be not a friend of ease and give not up travel, for on that depend many arrangements ; and consider that quarters are necessary for people's repose, and it is also well to station troops near their homes, so that population may go on. 4th. Distribute your whole time, night and day, in the service of God, and the business of His people, and in relaxation, and never sit idle. 5th. In important affairs ask the blessed intercessions of venerable and holy men. 6th. Destroy no man's rights, and give to each servant his time of service, and after a year or two remove one

man and appoint another, but do not appoint a mean man to do a nobleman's work or *vice versa*. 7th. Keep each man in his proper bounds, and look upon younger brothers as sons, and do not admit mean persons to your company or Court, and do not relinquish the respect due to the Shadow of God (the Emperor), who is your benefactor. Nadir Shah, the ruler of Persia, came to Dihli with overwhelming force, and through his excessive favour towards me showed an inclination to bestow on me the Empire of India. I immediately said, 'We are servants, and I should become notorious for ingratitude, and your Majesty would incur the odium of breach of faith.' Nadir was delighted, and applauded what I said. 8th. As far as possible, do not take the initiative in war, not even if your adversary should be inferior to you. And when your opponent commences war against you, ask help of God and strive to repel him; and seek not war with one who proposes peace. 9th. Release not Moro Pandit and Ramdas, who are Brahmans, imprisoned in the fort of Muhammadnagar; for their imprisonment is tantamount to the tranquillity of the State."

After these injunctions the Nizam said to his son, "Go and set about ordering the affairs of the different departments, for no further delay is accorded, and I commend you to God that He may guide you, and may God help you!" When Nasir Jang had heard these words he began to weep and lament. The Nizam said, "This is not the time for weeping. You must leave me and attend to the affairs of the State." Nasir Jang, as he was commanded, went forth with weeping eyes and heavy heart, and began to transact the public business, and the Nizam passed into Paradise, and this same sentence, *Mutawajjih Bihisht*, "He passed to Paradise," is the chronogram of his death. That night they allowed the corpse to remain where it was, and in the morning they washed him and placed him in his shroud, there where the Angel of Death had taken him. Then having placed his venerated remains in a coffin, and having gone through the proper prayers, they removed him to Aurangabad, and committed the body to the grave at the shrine of Burhan-ud-din. As has been stated, the Emperor Muhammad Shah died the same year, and also the Vazir Itimad-ud-daulah Kamr-ud-din Khan. Mir Azad has written the chronogram as follows:—"The date of their deaths is when I sighed ah! of the Emperor, Vazir and Asif-i-Jah." The same writer made a second chronogram as follows:—

"Hind's pillars three the world together left:
Time, from thy grasp three priceless pearls were reft."

The date may be calculated by Abjad from the Persian words, the first chronogram being:

Gasht tarikhi chim kashidam Ah—Maut-i-Shah, Vazir, va Asif-i-Jah.

The second chronogram is:

Sih Ruku-i-mamlakat-i-Hind az jahan raftand—Ftad haif sih durr-i-yaganah az kaff-i-dihl.

The Vazir died first, on the 22nd of Rabi-ul-Avval, then the Emperor at the end of Rabi-us-Sain, and after thirty-seven days the Nizam, and his age was seventy-nine years, twenty of which he spent in the service of his father, twenty-nine in various governments and in power, and nearly thirty in ruling the six provinces of the Dakhan. Mir Ghulam Ali Azad, Bil Gرامي, in his work, *Khizanah-i-Amirah*, "Public Treasury," writes that at the time of his death the Nizam left six sons: 1st, Mir Muhammad Panah Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang, 2nd, Mir Ahmad Nizam-ud-daulah Nasir Jang, these two being sons of the same mother;—3rd, Mir Saiyid Muhammad Amir-ul-mamalik Salabat Jang; 4th, Asif Jah-i-sain Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asad Jang; 5th, Mir Muhammad Sherif Basalat Jang Burhan-ul-mulk, whose later title was Shuja-ul-mulk; 6th, Mir Mughul Ali Nasur-ul-mulk Vaumimahat; and these last four were sons of another mother.

To sum up the good qualities and virtues of the Nizam, we may say that he was one of the very highest nobles of the house of Timur, and was educated under Aurangzib, and all the nobles of Muhammad Shah's Court were, so to say, his children, and treated him with filial respect. In all things that concern this or man's future life he had a sound and penetrating judgment. He was one

who loved justice and dealt it out to others. Dignified and majestic, he transacted affairs according to the law of God and the Prophet, that is, with perfect justice. He was excessively free from extravagance and the opposite vice. The story is told that the Nizam conferred the office of Diwan on Khudabandah Khan, grandson of the Amir-ul-umara Shaistah Khan, who was the maternal uncle of the Emperor Aurangzib, with a salary of 500 rupees a month. That nobleman, who was of very high rank, and whose expenses were great, represented through several noblemen that an inferior clerk of His Highness's exchequer had an income as great, though he kept but seven or eight camels to carry his baggage, while Khudabandah Khan, who was His Highness's chancellor, had at least fifty for his office. With such expenses how could 500 rupees a month be sufficient? The Nizam, just and beneficent, said, "Clerks do not get from me more than seven or eight rupees as their monthly stipend, but they get as a fee for writing a farthing, or half a farthing for pushing on the affairs of those that have got business. Khudabandah Khan wishes to have the expenses of his office paid by me : how can I consent to this?" The advocate of the Khan's claim then boldly said, "Khudabandah Khan is an upright man; whatever is fixed for his salary, with that he will carry on business and do the Government work honestly." Immediately on hearing this remark the Nizam who was sitting with a cushion at his back now knelt with both knees upon it and said with asperity, "What discourse is this? The very pole of this tent has the quality of uprightness. A capable man ought to earn money by the clever use of his talents, and live himself and give to others. Such a man is not one who assents to a loss to Government, and then it turns out that he had no talents to display." After that he said, "At sunset let Mir Muhammad Husain Khan be in attendance at the Dewri palace." Accordingly at the appointed time the said Khan presented himself there. The superintendent of the palace, as the Nizam was to visit the building, lighted one more lamp than usual. When the Nizam had been informed that the said Khan was in attendance he came there. Suddenly his eye fell upon the additional lamp, and he said, "Who lighted this extra lamp?" They replied, "The superintendent of the palace, on account of your Highness's coming." He said, "Every time I come must I have fresh lights? Why is this light, and at whose expense?" The Khan in waiting said, "For your Highness's Government hundreds of thousands of rupees are spent, and this man, too, by faithful service earns thousands of rupees, surely if a farthing has been spent for the oil of another lamp it is of no consequence. Let your Highness forgive this offence!" After hearing this the Nizam said, "The expenditure of hundreds of thousands in a right way is of no consequence, but the expenditure of two farthings wrongly is forbidden, according to the saying, 'God loves not the extravagant.' This man earns thousands by his right hand and the sweat of his brow, but these thousands belong to his wife and sons, and I cannot consent that a farthing of what would go to them should be spent for me." The Nizam then entered the palace, and the object of this discourse was to teach his Diwan his duties; nor was it thrown away, for when Khudabandah Khan was informed of it he was content to ask for the office of Diwan, and accept the salary offered. Otherwise that bountiful person the Nizam regarded vast sums and farthings with the same indifference. Accordingly Khafi Khan has written that at the time when that cloud of beneficence (dropping bounty as a cloud drops rain) abandoned the service of the Emperor and high office under him and chose retirement the inspector and some of the officials of the jewel office had taken away some very precious jewels from the ornaments, and substituted other jewels of the same colour. Afterwards, when the Nizam accepted office and came into power, although the Government clerks wished to call those fraudulent persons to account, that miracle of clemency would not allow it, in order that he might save their character. Khafi Khan also writes that the clerks represented to the Nizam that Daud Khan Pani had exacted near 2,00,000 rupees in his government, on account of Zila rates and Faujdars' rates and passports, from the Zamindars and cultivators of Khandesh and the Bala Ghat in conjunction with the plundering Marathas, with whom he

was as friendly as sugar with milk. And they asked the Nizam for directions as to the course he wished adopted. The Nizam replied, "I have absolved them from such payments." He always wrote in the strongest terms to the Diwans that they should inform the officials and the jagirdars that as regards the zila rates, and police rates, and customs and other taxes, which oppressive governors and corrupt officials had founded, they were not to take one farthing, as he, the Nizam, had abolished all that. His mercy was such that he would never give orders for the mutilation of robbers by cutting off their hands, or for retaliation; and he commanded the judges to act as the law enjoined. He was the friend of learned, pious and religious men, who came from far and near to his court, through the introduction of the Minister, and having received presents in proportion to their lot went away. The Nizam had much reliance in fakirs of eminence and holy men inspired by the deity, and constantly paid them visits and assisted them, and, like the Emperor Alamgir, was always on the look-out for men of virtue, and he never allowed men of capacity to remain without employment. One day His Highness was seated during the hot weather, about 3 p.m., on the flat roof of his palace, when a flock of pigeons flew past him so close that he felt the wind caused by their wings. He asked whose pigeons they were, and who spent his time in looking after them. Those who were present said that Saff Shikan Khan lived near, and spent his time in amusement, and as he was in disgrace owing to having sided with Nasir Jang he remained at home. The Nizam said, "I am to blame that I should keep such a man, who is in want of employment, idle. If, when he has nothing to do, in accordance with the saying of the wise, 'That person whom thou dost not employ will employ thee,' if he should not employ himself in this way, what will he do?" Next day he sent for that Khan and employed him in Birar. The Nizam was very patient and stout-hearted, and also clement and composed and dignified, and his courage was shown in vanquishing such lions of war as the Saiyids of Barah and Mubariz Khan. As to his mildness one story may serve as proof. One day Mutahawwir Khan applied the word "martyr" to Saiyid Ali Khan in speaking of him. The Nizam remarked, "When a Muslim is killed by Muslim's people do not call him a martyr." Mutahawwir Khan boldly replied, "If that be so, then His Holiness the Imam Husain (blessing on him!) was not a martyr." The Nizam showed no sign of discomposure, and remained silent, though the Saiyids had been his deadly enemies. Sometimes he would indulge in pleasantries with some of the nobles who were admitted to his palace, in the same way as the Prophet did. Thus Saiyid Sharif Khan was a great smoker, and as it did not agree with the Nizam, the Khan rose from the company, went out and smoked and came back again. The Nizam observed this, and one day said in pleantry, "People of the Muhammadan faith will no doubt go to paradise, but if they are habitual smokers they will require fire there, and as there is no fire in paradise they will have to visit hell to get it." Saiyid Sharif replied, "We courtiers of your Highness are not at all anxious about that, for the chafing dish will come in for the coffee, and we shall take one or two ashes from that and put them in our pipes." At feasts he would adorn his person and use costly furniture and put on jewels. At other times he wore plain clothes like those Aurangzib wore. He arranged his time as follows:—After morning prayers, and when he had read the customary portions of the Kuran, to noon, he employed himself in Government business, to which he gave his own attention, whether the matter was small or great. At 3 p.m., after the prayers incumbent on that occasion, he would read the Kuran and hear the traditions, and would converse with holy men and sometimes with clever persons. If a poet recited an ode in his praise or presented a poem he was not pleased; but if the poem deserved a present he would give it. He had no bigotry in his nature, but he had great faith in the blessed Imams. In short his virtues are too many to be described, but, to sum them up in a word, he was innately good. The verse, "The happy man is happy internally," was peculiarly true of him. The monuments he left behind him were the fortifications of Burhanpur, which he began in 1141 A.H., and which were finished in course of time. In the same year he founded Nizamabad, above the hill of Fardapur, and there he built

a mosque, a house for travellers, a palace and a bridge. Also he built the walls of Haidarabad. He also brought the stream of Harsol to Aurangabad, and as through the lapse of years and the neglect of the authorities to repair it, it had fallen to decay, therefore at the present time, *viz.*, 1222 A.H., the compiler of this book, inasmuch as the continuance of this work is a cause of remembering its construction, and also a great comfort to the inhabitants, has taken in hand to repair it, and appointed Shekh-ul-Islam Khan, the Kazi of the city, to execute that duty. Another memorial of the Nizam is the exchequer office full of verdant trees, which he first called Shakir and then Asif, which he himself celebrated in elegant verse.

So far the Indian biographer of the Nizams has been followed, and though he may appear to be somewhat of a panegyrist in the close of his history of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, it will be easy to show that his character of that illustrious man is infinitely nearer the truth than the pictures of him presented to us by English historians. Indeed, so grossly inaccurate are the statements made with respect to the first Nizam by Mill and other English writers that we cannot doubt they never read any trustworthy account of him. It is time that the injustice with which his memory has been treated by Englishmen should be repaired, and that he should be shown in his true light as the greatest and most virtuous statesman that India ever produced. In accomplishing this task the best course will be, in the first place, to refute the allegations which have been brought against him, and then present a new portrait of him drawn from the materials which undoubted facts afford. Orme (vol. I., p. 22, 4th ed.) introduces the Nizam to us as "The Viceroy of the southern provinces, who had under his jurisdiction very near a fourth part of the empire, and who, *without rebellion*, had rendered himself almost independent of the Emperor. Bred under the eye of Aurangzib, Nizam-ul-Mulk censured openly and in the strongest terms the lethargic and pusillanimous administration, as well as the profligate and dissolute manners of the Court, hoping, no doubt, to impair the influence of his rival (Caundorah according to Orme) Khan Dauran. At last, pretending that there could be no remedy to such desperate evils but in a total revolution of the empire, he advised Tamasp Kuli Khan, who had usurped the throne of Persia, to come and take possession of that of Hindustan; and Tamasp Kuli Khan followed his advice." In this passage it is insinuated, without a particle of evidence to justify the calumny, that the Nizam hypocritically censured the Court to undermine the influence of a rival, and finding this course ineffectual basely invited the tyrant Nadir to invade India, in the hope that in the convulsions that followed he might acquire greater influence than he then possessed. But the passage carries in itself its own refutation. It is said with truth that the Nizam already swayed nearly a fourth part of the empire, almost independently of the Emperor, and it may be added that he was not "almost," but quite, independent, for he had years previously wrested the Dakhan from the Saiyids, who had then absolute power, and had subsequently defeated and killed the Emperor's nominee, Mubariz-ul-mulk, whom the Emperor had encouraged to oppose him. In what sense, then, could he have been the rival of the Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, to whom he was infinitely superior in birth, abilities and power, and what further influence could he either hope or wish to acquire than the independent sway of a fourth of the empire. As for the grand vazirship, he had already held and resigned that office, and he had long before shown by resignation of high office, and by refusal to resume it under Emperors whose conduct he did not approve, that it was not hypocrisy but the rigidity of his principles that induced him to censure a profligate Court. These observations are sufficient to refute also the charge of his having induced Nadir to invade India. But there is here the still stronger evidence of Nadir himself, who in his treaty with Muhammad Shah distinctly states the reasons which led him to cross the Indus, *viz.*, the breach of faith of which Muhammad Shah had been guilty in not repelling the Afghans who fled from Kandahar, as he had promised to do, and in detaining the ambassador of Nadir. These were sufficient reasons, and it was good policy to put them

forward, but the real inducement was, no doubt, the plunder of Dihli. Can any one believe that a conqueror who subdued five kingdoms in three years, who marched to Khava and Bukhara and the borders of Russia, would have foregone the immense wealth the prospect of which the easy conquest of India's voluptuous empire held out to him? Malcolm, in his *History of Persia* (vol. II., p. 74), after studying contemporary documents with which Orme had no acquaintance, at once disposes of the accusation against the Nizam by saying, "There is, however, no proof of this fact, nor can we assign any reasonable motive for such traitorous conduct in one of the first and most powerful Omrahs of the Empire; but imputed treachery is ever the shield with which incompetence and cowardice seek to defend themselves. The real truth was that the distracted and despicable Court of Dihli, sensible of their own weakness, tried to persuade themselves that Nadir would not advance."

At p. 39 Orme repeats his accusation against the Nizam of having invited Nadir to invade India, which has been already refuted, and adds, "Prevented from marching into the Karnatik, he at length determined to give the Marathas permission to attack it." Grant Duff, speaking of the same attack in 1739 under Raghuji Bhonsle, says, "Baji Rao unfolded as much of his schemes (vol. I., p. 655) to Raghuji as were necessary to engage his co-operation; and the plunder of the Karnatik may have been urged by the Peshwa to excite his ambition and cupidity. In this conference may also be seen the real spring from which a host of Marathas were poured into the Karnatik. In prosecution of his plans of conquest in the Dakhan, Baji Rao, seizing the opportunity afforded by the absence of Nizam-ul-Mulk at Delhi, commenced his operations about the end of the year by surrounding Nasir Jang, the second son of the Nizam." So that Mr. Orme would wish us to believe that when the Nizam was Grand Vazir and with the Emperor at Delhi he invited the Marathas to attack one of his provinces in the Dakhan at the very time they were doing their best to destroy his son and deputy at Aurangabad, and that he was guilty of this astonishing perfidy to gratify his resentment against Saffdar Ali, the so-called Nawab of the Karnatik! Colonel Wilks indeed states that the Marathas were invited by Mir Asad, the Diwan of Saffdar Ali; but Grant Duff could meet with no trace of this in any Maratha record, and if there were any, that would in no way implicate the Nizam, whose troops were at that moment fighting desperately with the Marathas under Baji Rao. The plain truth is that the invasion of the Karnatik was planned by Baji Rao and Raghuji Bhonsle, who agreed that the latter should attack the Karnatik, and the former the territories under the immediate government of the Nizam's son, and this is the view taken by Grant Duff. The next mention of the Nizam by Orme is at p. 122, and is as follows: "The death of Mahomed Shah was in a few months succeeded by another of greater consequence to Hindustan: it was that of Nizam-ul-Moolk, who, notwithstanding his whole life had passed in the utmost intrigues, anxieties and iniquities of Oriental ambition, arrived to the uncommon age of 104 years." Perhaps it would be difficult to find in any history a passage of equal length comprising a greater number of flagrant errors than this. Not "a few months," but only thirty-seven days, intervened between the death of the Emperor and that of the Nizam, whose constitution must indeed have been truly miraculous if he could have passed the whole of 104 years in the utmost intrigues, anxieties and iniquities of Oriental ambition. The world has long since discovered that intrigues, anxieties, iniquities and ambition are not conducive to longevity, but simplicity, serenity, composure and contentment are, and all those qualities the Nizam possessed in an eminent degree. But although he lived to the full age assigned to man, to seventy-nine Muhammadan or seventy-seven Christian years, it is a gross and monstrous exaggeration to pretend that his life was extended to 104 years. It is astonishing how this strange blunder arose, and still more surprising that it should have been adopted not only by Orme, but by so careful a writer as Grant Duff (vol. II., p. 29), and by Mill (vol. II., p. 463). In this matter the biographer of the Nizams may be implicitly trusted, and he (*Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 122) informs us that the Nizam was born on the 14th of Rabi-ul-akhir 1082 A.H., and died (p. 374) on the 4th of Jamad-ul-akhir 1161 A.H.

To come now to Mill's History. At p. 446 of vol. II. we find this remark in speaking of the Nizam's unwillingness to surrender his government for the second time at the dictation of the Saiyids, and contrary to the wishes of the Emperor: "Policy might counsel the non-compliance of the Nizam, but pride and vanity counselled an insolent reply, which precipitated hostilities on both sides." To those who have studied the character of the Nizam, the imputation of pride and vanity, and the assertion that he was swayed by these feelings to make an insolent reply, prove that Mr. Mill had never comprehended the genius of the man of whom he was speaking. But it is more than doubtful whether any answer at all was returned in words. The real answer was the immediate occupation of the Dakhan, and the overthrow in two great battles of the forces sent against him. At p. 449 we find it stated:—"The Nizam, however, was deprived of his Vazirate and of his new governments of Malwa and Gujarat. To be revenged, he encouraged his deputy in Gujarat to resist the imperial commands, and the Maratha chiefs Pilaji and Kantaji to invade the provinces." On the contrary, the Nizam wrote to his deputy not to resist, and he can hardly have induced Pilaji to invade the province, for that chief took the field in opposition to the Nizam's deputy.

There is only one other remark of Mr. Mill as to the Nizam which need be noticed, and that occurs at p. 454 of vol. II. :—"The Shah (Nadir) consented to evacuate Hindustan on receipt of two krons of rupees. The insatiable avarice, however, of Nizam-ul-Mulk fatally defeated this happy agreement. He demanded, and was too powerful to be refused, the office of Amir-ul-umara. The disappointed and unprincipled Saadat hastened to inform Nadir that two krons were no adequate ransom for the empire of Hindustan; that he himself, who was but an individual, would yield as great a sum; that Nizam-ul-Mulk, who alone had power to offer any formidable resistance, ought to be secured; and that Nadir might then make the wealth of the capital and empire his own. A new and dazzling prospect was spread before the eyes of the ravager. Muhammad Shah and Nizam-ul-Mulk were recalled to the Persian camp; when Nadir marched to Dihli, the gates of which were opened to receive him." It appears, then, that Mr. Mill did really believe this childish tale, that the terrible Nadir, who had the Emperor and his chief nobles prisoners in his camp, and who had defeated the imperial army with great slaughter, and with scarcely any loss to himself, was willing to give up the plunder of Delhi, and the priceless jewels of the house of Gurgan, for a sum which did not equal the value of a single stone among them, the Koh-i-nur. Mr. Wilson's note is in point here: "This is the story told by the writers of Hindustan (query, some writers), and no doubt various intrigues were at work to influence the decision of Nadir Shah, but it is little likely that he would have withdrawn without laying Dihli under contribution." Sir J. Malcolm observes, "Our knowledge of the character of Nadir Shah forbids our granting any belief to a tale which would make it appear that the ultimate advantages to be obtained from this great enterprise, and the unparalleled success with which it had been attended, depended less upon his genius than upon the petty jealousies and intrigues of the captive ministers of the vanquished Muhammad Shah." Dismissing the story with the contempt it deserves, we must still call attention to the unscrupulous manner with which English writers impute detestable motives to even the most illustrious and upright Oriental statesman. Mr. Mill assures us that it was the "insatiable avidity" of the Nizam in demanding the office of Amir-ul-umara which brought about the catastrophe of the plunder of Dihli. Mr. Mill did not pause to consider that the Nizam was already in possession of titles as high or higher^o than that of Amir-ul-umara, *viz.*, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Asif-i-Jah, and that he showed so little appreciation of this new title that he immediately handed it

^o Mr. Elphinstone says, "The highest title that could be held by a subject" (p. 618), the title of Khan Dauran, had been held by him "as a young man." This was as early as 1723, sixteen years before Nadir's invasion, and Mr. Elphinstone adds, "Though the Nizam continued to send honorary presents on fixed occasions to the Emperor, he thenceforth (1724) conducted himself in other respects as an independent prince."

over to his son. But before Mr. Mill made this groundless assertion he ought to have disposed of the statement that the Nizam was offered by Nadir the empire itself, and without a moment's consideration declined it. Whether Nadir was in earnest or not may be a matter of controversy, but it is morally certain that the offer was made, or the Nizam would not have repeated the circumstance to his son a few minutes before his death, and founded an exhortation on the fact. But enough has been said of writers who attempt to write histories of India without any knowledge of Oriental languages. In this category Mr. Grant Duff and Mr. Elphinstone are, of course, not included, but the statements of the former as to the Nizam are chiefly drawn from Maratha documents, and though the Marathas respected and feared the Nizam more than any other man they were the natural enemies of his creed, and politically of himself. Mr. Elphinstone, writing with much knowledge and appreciation, admits the Nizam's great abilities and lofty position, but the scope of his history was too wide to allow of his dwelling at much length on any one character, however splendid. It is probable that he was ignorant of the Nizam's true pedigree, or he would hardly have spoken of it in such moderate terms as "a respectable Turk family."³ It may be, too, that he was not aware of the real reason why the Nizam took no active part in the battle with Nadir, which was that the action took place contrary to his express wishes and command, as he thought, with sound judgment, that the Emperor's fortified camp would have been a far greater obstacle to Nadir than the desultory attacks made by Saadat Khan and the Amir-ul-umara. Had Mr. Elphinstone read the account given in the *Hadikah-i-Alam* he would not have added to the statement that the Indian troops "were brought up in confusion and without concert" the remark that "Asif Jah, from some real or pretended misconception, took no part in the action." But he passes over without notice the silly stories in Orme and Mill, on which we have animadverted, and in general speaks of the Nizam with respect, if not with full justice. He mentions the spirit with which the Nizam maintained his dignity against the mistress of Jahandar Shah and her relations (p. 613), admits his services as viceroy of the Dakhan, and the skill with which he defeated the partizans of the Saiyids in two great battles; acknowledges that his independent government in the Dakhan was of more importance than the grand vaziership, that he was nevertheless "both able and willing to conduct a vigorous administration" (p. 617); that he withdrew from court in well-founded disgust at its corruptions, and that subsequently he was "assiduously courted" (p. 626) "by the cabinet of Dihli, who no longer looked on him as a rebellious subject, but as a natural ally capable of rescuing them from the danger that hung over them." He disproves the calumnious charge made by Mr. Orme that the Nizam permitted the Marathas to invade the Karnatik, by stating (p. 640) that it was Baji Rao who "disposed of the Bhonsle by engaging him in a remote expedition into the Karnatik." He admits the Nizam's great abilities, and in no place brings any accusation against him.

We shall now proceed to give a brief and true description of the Nizam's character, and sum up his history in as small space as possible. The Nizam was descended both paternally and maternally from the tribe of Kuresh. He was therefore of the best blood in Arabia, and the Khalifs Abubakr and Ali were among his ancestors. Another distinguished ancestor was the celebrated saint Shekh Shahab-ud-din of Samarkand. His father and grandfather were the most distinguished of the Turani nobles at the court of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, under whom he was brought up from his earliest infancy. Even in his boyish years he took no interest in the pleasures or sports of youth. He would sit for hours and till late in the night listening to the discourse of his father and his father's friends on grave matters of state. No youthful escapades are mentioned of him, and but one slight disagreement with his father, brought about by an unworthy servant, in which his father was probably in the wrong, as the son with

³ In the same way he speaks of Mir Haidar (p. 615) as a man of some rank in his own country. For "some" read "high."

the utmost boldness and candour appealed to the Emperor. As soon as he came to man's estate he was employed, as the fashion of the time was, in expeditions against marauders and refractory chiefs. In these he distinguished himself by his courage, and on one occasion had his horse killed under him by a cannon-ball. In 1102 A. H. he received the title of Chain Kalij Khan, and after Aurangzib's death when Prince Azim Shah assumed the title of Emperor he conferred on Chain Kalij the higher title of Khan Dauran, or "Lord of the Age," and the command of 6,000 horse, with the government of Burhanpur. Azim Shah invited him to accompany him to Dihli, but as he did not approve of the conduct of that would-be Emperor he left his camp and returned to Burhanpur. Bahadur Shah, who became really the successor of Aurangzib, gave the new Khan Dauran the government of Oudh. But Bahadur Shah's administration of the Empire was very different to that of Aurangzib's; and the Khan Dauran, disapproving of it, threw up his appointments and devoted himself to the society of learned and religious men for the space of five years. He abandoned all outward show, but retained the reverence and regard of the highest nobles, of whom, though in seclusion, he remained the chief. Jahandar Shah, the successor of Bahadur Shah, with great difficulty prevailed on the Khan to leave his retirement and take office. But the Khan's heart was never in the service of this Emperor, who was succeeded by Farrukhsiyar, and he bestowed on the Khan Dauran the higher title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, with the government of the Dakhan and the Karnatik. It is admitted on all hands that the Nizam performed the most eminent services in his new and exalted post. He was the first to chastise the plundering Marathas and to employ a strong body of them against their own countrymen. In spite of all this, the two Saiyids, in whose hands the Emperor was a mere pageant, resolved to remove the Nizam and give the Dakhan to one of themselves. The Nizam might have resisted this unjust and impolitic proceeding, but he meekly accepted a very inferior office and remained passive until the deaths of Farrukhsiyar and his two next successors. At the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign the Saiyids removed him from the inferior post of Faujdar of Muradabad and sent him to Malwa. Here again the Nizam began to act with his usual vigour, and the Saiyids, alarmed at his proceedings, requested him to give up Malwa and choose some other province. But the Nizam was now impressed with the necessity of breaking the power of the two formidable *Majors de Palais*, who had already murdered one Emperor, and deprived his three successors of every vestige of power. He therefore moved at once to his old government of the Dakhan, and vanquished in succession two great armies, each more numerous than his own, that were sent against him. On this followed the deaths of the two Saiyids, on which Muhammad Amin Khan was made Vazir, but on his decease, which took place very shortly after, Muhammad Shah resolved to offer that high office to the Nizam, who might very well have despised it in comparison with his great and independent rule in the Dakhan. But he was sincerely desirous of restoring the empire to the flourishing state in which it was during the reign of Shah Jahan and the first half of Aurangzib's. He therefore, disregarding his own ease and security, and animated by an earnest spirit of reform, appointed Azd-ud-daulah his vice-regent in the Dakhan, and joined the Emperor at Dihli in 1134 A.H. It is not denied by any one that he urged the luxurious and indolent Emperor to shake off his sloth and to look into the affairs of state himself, and that he opposed the corrupt influence of Muhammad Shah's mistresses and favourites with dauntless spirit and unfailing vigilance, and all who have studied the history of Indian courts must know the immense risk he ran by exhibiting this patriotic devotion. The silken courtiers of Muhammad Shah combined against the reformer, whose austere manners were a reproach to them, and endeavoured to play off one of their number, Haidar Kuli Khan, against him, but their champion was deserted by his own troops and had to feign insanity to escape. They then, seeing that the Nizam would soon resign a post in which he was prevented by their devices from effecting the reforms he had at heart, induced the Emperor to confer in secret on the Nizam of Haidarabad the Nizam's government of the Dakhan. Their plot ended in the

destruction of their nominee. The Nizam did indeed resign, but he eluded their treacherous efforts to detain him, marched to Aurangabad, and overthrew and killed in the decisive battle of Shakar Kherah, eighty miles from that city, Mubariz Khan, Imad-ul-Mulk, the pretender to his government. It is said that he despatched to Muhammad Shah the head of Mubariz with an ironical letter of congratulation on the death of the rebel ; but this tale is quite at variance with the Nizam's character, who, when compelled, crushed his enemies but had too much humanity to insult them. The Emperor, however, now saw that it was useless to oppose the Nizam any further, and he therefore appointed him viceroy of the Dakhan with the title Asif Jah, and from that time the Nizam became virtually an independent sovereign. But he was always ready to assist the Emperor with his services, and at the end of 1149 A.H. he again, in reply to a summons to court, presented himself at Dihli, and accepted the additional governments of Agra and Malwa with the chief command against the Marathas. But the power of the Emperor had fallen so low that only 65,000 men could be collected to oppose the 100,000 under Baji Rao, and the Nizam was obliged to make peace on disadvantageous terms. Not that he suffered a defeat, for the Marathas' losses were great when they ventured on an open attack, and Baji Rao, in writing to his kinsman, said, " You know what sort of artillery he has ;" but his supplies were cut off, and he was impatient to return to Dihli to meet the invasion of Nadir Shah. It has already been shown that the story of the Nizam's having invited that conqueror to enter India is a baseless calumny, but it must be added that according to the *Hadikah-i-Alam* the Nizam had, some years before it happened, asked leave to lead an army to the assistance of that royal family of Persia whom Nadir dethroned. However that may be, it is certain that he did nothing when acting as generalissimo against Nadir to forfeit the respect of his own Emperor or of that stern enemy, for he was treated by the one with the same deference as before, and by the other with extraordinary favour. According to the author of the *Hadikah-i-Alam*, the Nizam's plan was the same as that so successfully adopted by the Turks of remaining behind entrenchments. But Burhan-ul-Mulk, in the first instance, and then the Amir-ul-umara Khan Dauran, disobeyed orders and broke through this arrangement, and the consequence was the utter ruin of the imperial army. It is claimed for the Nizam that it is he who obtained from Nadir the order to stay the massacre, in which 30,000 persons had already fallen, when no other person, not even the Emperor, dared to address the tyrant ; and it is certain that Nadir, whether tentatively or resolutely, cannot be known, did offer the Empire of India to the Nizam, who was too wise to accept it. But whatever controversy may arise on those points, it cannot be denied that the Nizam passed through all the dangers of that terrible time successfully, and returning to the Dakhan with undiminished power and influence wrested it from his rebellious son with the same ease that he had before conquered it from the Saiyids and from the Emperor's nominee. Finally, he concluded his career by expelling the Marathas from the Karnatik, and completely subjugating that semi-rebellious province.

Such are the broad outlines of the Nizam's achievements, but within them lie many precious traits of character which place him above any other Oriental leader of whom we have any account. The first of them is, and it is preëminently worthy of our admiration, that no blood was shed by him except on the field of battle. Even those who had supported his son in his rebellion were simply dismissed from favour for a time, and with true magnanimity he refused to listen to the letters which would have proved the treason of thirty-eight high officers in whom he had confided, and tore up the compromising documents with his own hand. The next is that he never made war except in self-defence, and that he carried it on with that humanity to the wounded and respect for the dead that characterize the most civilized armies in the present day. His courage in the field was proved on many occasions, but he had also the courage of his opinions, and singly opposed a wily, scornful, and profligate court with the same dignity and calmness as that with which he confronted his enemies in battle. His economy and simplicity bordered on the extreme, but he could be most generous on fitting occasions, and no one who did

good service under him ever missed his reward. He distributed his time with great carefulness, so as to have sufficient for repose and recreation, but his recreation chiefly consisted in conversation with learned and religious men. He was extremely strict in the performance of his religious duties, but that did not prevent him from being apologetic for the faults of others, so long as the interests of the public were not concerned, but where they were involved he was quite uncompromising, as in the case of the Emperor's minions and mistresses. His conduct as a son was without blemish, and as a father it must have been such as to inspire love, for though during his four years' absence at Dihli his son Nasir Jang, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, was induced by artful flatterers to rebel against him, yet when his offence was condoned the reconciliation was sealed with tears and he ever after remained faithful. His testamentary injunctions to that son were inspired by the principles that guided his whole life, and admit of being condensed into a few short sentences :—"As much as possible be at peace with all men, especially with the Marathas, who are the real owners of the soil. Husband your time, and employ it in discharging your duties to God and man. Give every man a chance of employment, but keep all in their proper spheres. Preserve your own dignity, and respect that of your sovereign." With such principles, and with the advantage of high birth and great abilities, it is no wonder that he passed through a long life with honour and success, and founded a kingdom in the most troublous times, which has survived the dangers of a century and a half, and flourishes at the present day.

BOOK II.

AS TO THE AFFAIRS OF THE NUWAB NIZAM-UD-DAULAH MIR AHMAD KHAN BAHADUR NASIR JANG
THE MARTYR, AND OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES THAT TOOK PLACE AFTER
HIS DEATH; IN THREE CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.

As to what befell that great luminary from his rising to his zenith, and, as a
sequence, the doings of the Marathas whose business was disturbance and
rebellion.*

The first Nizam married a beautiful young lady of a Saiyid family in Kalbargah and by her had two sons, Mir Muhammad Panah, whose title was Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang, who remained with the Emperor as his father's deputy, and Mir Ahmad, entitled Nizam-ud-daulah Nasir Jang. At the birth of the latter the Nizam gave a magnificent banquet, and made presents to his nobles in accordance with their rank, and showed singular affection for his son. When the boy was four years four months and four days old he celebrated his marriage in the preparatory way, according to Indian custom, with the greatest splendour, and sent him to a preceptor. When he reached years of discretion, and had completed his education, the Nizam showed his delight and his extreme attachment to this son to the day that he went to Dihli, in the year 1150 A.H., when he entrusted to him the deputy government of the Dakhan. The young Nuwab displayed great ability in his administration, and promoted Samsam-ud-daulah Shah Nawaz Khan to be his Chancellor, and conferred presents and estates and honours on high and low, and inflicted severe punishment on the plundering Marathas, who had subdued the Dakhan and got possession of Malwa and were carrying their raids close up to the capital. In fact, when the Empire of India was weakened by the arrival of Nadir, Baji Rao seized the jagirs which had been conferred on officers of the Dakhan by the Emperor and the Nizam. After Nadir's departure Nasir Jang sent an envoy to Baji Rao with such threats that he gave up the jagirs, but after two years, in 1152 A.H., he declared war against Nasir Jang, and endeavoured to wrest the government of the Dakhan from him. He marched with an army to the south of Aurangabad, and Nasir Jang, with such a force as he had, marched with the intention of carrying his arms to Purnah. A battle ensued, and Nasir Jang was victorious, and pursued the enemy to the other side of the Godavari. From the 28th of Shawwal to near the festival of the sacrifice of Ismael, for a month and some days, men were sacrificed and a fierce struggle went on. Though the enemy had 50,000 men, and the Muslims not quite 10,000, still the champions of the latter drove their foes back. Baji Rao then sued for peace, and the Nizam-ud-daulah, in order to lay the foundation of a good understanding between the governments, conferred on him the jagir of Ghargaun and Handiah. Baji Rao after peace was made departed, like one who had suffered a reverse, to Malwa, and got as far as the Narbada, where, on the 12th of Safar 1153 A.H., he died of quinsy. In short, Nizam-ud-daulah while acting for his father in the

* This refers to Nasir Jang. Several English historians have expressed surprise that Ghazi-ud-din, the eldest son of the first Nizam, did not contest the succession to his father with Nasir Jang. This shows ignorance of the law of succession to Oriental thrones. An Eastern king having several sons may select any one of them to be his successor. If, however, the mother of one of them should be distinguished above the other wives by her high birth, her son would probably be selected. Fath Ali Shah of Persia selected Abbas Mirza to succeed him, on which the eldest son went off in violent wrath and made subsequently an ineffectual attempt to oppose his father's will. Dost Muhammad selected his younger son, Shir Ali, to succeed him as Amir of Kabul. The present Shah of Persia has more than once named his successor. There is no doubt that Nasir Jang was his father's favourite, and the first Nizam's testamentary injunctions prove that he had resolved to pass over Ghazi-ud-din in favour of Nasir Jang. Ghazi-ud-din acquiesced,—and, indeed, he had some reason for resignation, for he held the highest position at Dihli after the Emperor, being Amir-ul-umara. When, however, the throne of the Dakhan passed to Salabat Jang, who was born of a different mother, Ghazi-ud-din immediately made preparations for a contest, and would probably have succeeded had he lived to continue the struggle. There is something to be said in favour of this Oriental view as regards the succession to sovereignty; and certainly in the case which happened in Oudh, where the king of that country was prevented from exercising what he conceived to be his right of selection, the interference with it was very disastrous.

government of the Dakhan kept that country in tranquillity. That same year, however, the Nizam returned from Dihli, and insidious persons seduced his son to folly, as has been before recounted. In 1158 A.H. the Nizam forgave Nizam-ud-daulah, bestowed on him the government of Aurangabad, and sent him there from Haidarabad, and next year, on coming to Dharur, summoned him to be with himself. Nizam-ud-daulah accompanied his father to Wakan Kera, and thence, as ordered, departed to Shirangpatanam (Seringapatam), the capital of the Rajah of Maisur, in order to receive the *peshkash* or tribute, after obtaining which he rejoined his father, who was pleased with his conduct and whom he accompanied back to Burhanpur. There his father died.

CHAPTER II.

As to the affairs of the Nuwab Nasir Jang from the date of his accession to his departure from this troublous world.

After the death of his father Nasir Jang succeeded to the throne of the Dakhan with absolute power, and in mourning for his father the music gallery was silent, and on the third day, according to custom, the Kuran was read through and the Fatihah or first chapter. On the fourth day, which was the 9th of Jamad-ul-akhir, the drums were beaten as usual, and Nasir Jang proceeded to Aurangabad and removed Khwajah Munin Khan from the government of Burhanpur and promoted to it Mir Ahmad Khan the Diwan. The deposed governor was beset with the clamours of those who demanded their pay, and he was obliged to sell his household effects and pay them to get free. Nasir Jang remained at Aurangabad during the rains, and removed Puranchandra from the office of Diwan and appointed in his place Mir Abd-ur-rizak Khan, son of Kazim Khan, entitled Shahnawaz Khan, and raised Moro Pandit, styled Rai Kishindas, to the office of the said Khan. He also dismissed Dilar Khan from the post of commandant of ordnance, and replaced him by Abdul Husain Khan, son of Hakim Naki Khan. He further appointed to be Sadr (chief judge) of the Dakhan Kazi Muhammad Daun, who was formerly an associate of Khwajam Kuli Khan, and who possessed learning and taste, and who adopted the *takhallus*, or sobriquet, of Sufi (wise), and raised him to the command of 1,000. He also appointed to be chief storekeeper Iwaz Beg Khan with the title of Shah Beg Khan, after removing Abu Turab Khan Bahram Jang. Shah Beg having got full power came to words with most of the Government accountants and reprimanded most of them. He also summoned Sadullah Khan Bahadur Muzaffir Jang, who was formerly called Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan, grandson of the first Nizam, to the presence, but he did not comply with the order to attend, and said his grandfather had given him the government of his district, therefore he begged to be excused. Nasir Jang was much displeased, but he was then about starting for Hindustan (Upper India) on the call of the Emperor; he bore with it and postponed the remedy to a future day. The reason why the Emperor summoned him was as follows:—When the news of the first Nizam's death reached the Emperor he was much grieved, and he sent for Imad-ul-mulk and Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, the legitimate son of the deceased Nizam, who was at Dihli, and presented him with mourning robes; and after four or five days he bestowed the office of Vazir, which he had till then kept vacant in expectation of the coming of the late Nizam, on Abul Mansur Khan, and gave him the title of Burhan-ul-mulk and the command of 9,000 with 9,000 horse. He also gave Saiyid Salabat Khan the title of Amir-ul-umara Saiyid-us-Sadat Khan Bahadur Zulfakar Jang, with the command of 8,000 horse, and further gave him the appointment of principal Bakhshi. On Jawid Khan the eunuch he conferred the title of Nuwab Bahadur, and made him superintendent of the private hall of audience. After a short time the mind of the Emperor became averse to Burhan-ul-mulk, the Vazir, on account of his rough temper; and through the eunuch Jawid Khan, who had some bickerings with the Vazir, a letter, in the Emperor's own hand, of complaints was sent summoning the Nuwab Nasir Jang secretly to come to Dihli. The eunuch also wrote that by all means the Nuwab was to come, as

the arrangement of the Emperor depended on it. On this the Nuwab Nasir Jang, in the year 1162 A. H., in spite of the difficulties on account of the disaffected in the Dakhan and the anxiety lest Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan should rebel, set forth swiftly to obey the Emperor's command and for the imperial interests, and took with him a powerful army and a strong force of artillery. He conferred on Kazi Mahomed Daun the vacant post of Faujdar of Baglanah caused by the removal of Abul Khair Khan, and though he removed the latter he raised his title to Shamshir Bahadur, and to Saiyid Sharif Khan the Subahdar of Birar he gave the title of Shujaat Jang, and to Saiyid Lashkar Khan the title of Nasir Jang and left him as his deputy in Aurangabad, and marched for Dihli by way of Zafarabad, which was bestowed as an *altamgha* grant on Daud Khan Pani and his family. On the way from Zafarabad Saff Shikan Khan was killed by Afghans, as it was imputed to him that some Afghan handmaidens had been induced by him to fly. In Jamad-ul-avval the Nuwab Nasir Jang with all his train arrived at Burhanpur, and despatched thence Shahnawaz Khan with 2,000 or 3,000 horse to Aurangabad, and at the time he left that place he fixed on Shahnawaz to manage the affairs of the Dakhan, his office then being that of Chancellor, and on taking leave he gave his signet ring to him, saying, "Recognise the value of this, for it is like the signet of Sulaiman." The Nuwab halted four days at the stream of Pandhar to observe the ceremony of Urs (a kind of fair) at the tomb of his father, and then proceeded on the road to Dihli, but sent back to Aurangabad some of the servants of the ladies' apartments, escorted by the officers of Burhanpur. He then hastened to the Narbada. Meantime a letter from the Emperor reached him counselling his journey, and also repeated letters informing him of the headstrong and perverse conduct of Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan. On this account Nasir Jang resolved to return to Aurangabad and wrote to the Emperor accordingly, and went back and honoured Khwajam Kuli Khan with the government of Burhanpur. He then sent a letter to the Emperor* expressive of thanks for his having conferred on him the government of the Dakhan, and stating that he had been obliged to return to Aurangabad.

Journey of Muzaffer Jang to Arkat with the intention of reducing that province, and the slaughter of Anwar-ud-din Khan, and the expedition of Nasir Jang to Arkat to punish the rebels, and his finding a Martyr's death at their hands.

When Sadullah Khan Muzaffer Jang heard that Nasir Jang had gone towards Dihli and had reached Burhanpur, Husain Dost Khan, known as Chanda Saheb, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Nawait, who was the grandson of Saadatullah Khan and the son-in-law of Ali Dost Khan, Faujdar and Diwan of Arkat, joined him and inspired him with a desire to conquer the Karnatic and the city of Arkat, and although Shah Nawab Khan and Saiyid Lashkar Khan, having heard of Muzaffer Jang's expedition, wrote letters of advice and admonition, he went on, and the companions of Nasir Jang, displeased with him on account of his discourteous manner, did not give him any correct information as to the real state of affairs. Anwar-ud-din, whose title was Shahamat Jang, who had held the government of that province since the time of the first Nizam, set out from Arkat to encounter Muzaffer Jang, but the latter, by the advice of Chanda Saheb, got to Arkat by a different road and captured the place, and, after satisfying himself with the arrangements there, set out with a large body of French residing in India at the port of Phulchari, who were gained to his side by Chanda Saheb, and coming up with Anwar-ud-din attacked and slew him, on the 16th of Shaban 1162 A.H.† Nasir Jang, on hearing this, collected troops, and entrusted the government of Aurangabad to Abul Khair Khan Shamshir Bahadur, and set out to punish the rebels with 70,000 horse and 100,000 foot, and a very large train of artillery, and with rapid marches reached

* In this letter, which is given *in extenso* in the *Hadikah-i-Alam*, Nasir Jang thanks the Emperor for confirming him in the government of the Dakhan, so that what Orme says at vol. I, p. 124, of Nasir's pretending that the government had been bequeathed to Ghazi-ud-din, seems to have no foundation, and the story of the way in which Nasir Jang was captured by his father is equally fictitious.

† The battle was fought at Ambur on the 23rd of July 1749.

Adhwani and Raichur. Meanwhile he received letters from Muzaffer Jang excusing himself, and asking him to accept the same duty from himself as from other governors, and to look upon him in the same light as on them, and not make war on him. Nasir Jang replied only by word of mouth, with threats and expressions of fierce disdain. Having no alternative Muzaffer Jang prepared for war. He also wrote to the commandants of the forts in his own districts as to those of Adhwani and Raichur to be on their guard. They did all they could to make the forts safe, but Nasir Jang did not direct his attention to them, and looked upon it as all-important to deal with Muzaffer Jang himself, and in the year 1169 A.H.* he arrived in the Karnatik, and Muzaffer Jang advanced from Arkat with the French force that had joined him through the intervention of Chanda Saheb. As Nasir Jang's army was twice as large as his own he became apprehensive, and sent off his ladies to the fort of Phulchhari (Pondicherry), which was very strong, and, leaving them there, on the 26th of Rabi-ul-akhir issued from the fort and halted from four to six miles off the camp of Nasir Jung, and formed his men for battle. All that day an artillery engagement went on, but ceased at night. The night passed in keeping watch lest the Europeans should make an attack. Next day Nasir Jang sent Shah Nawaz Khan and Muhammad Anwar Khan, who were exceptionally clever at negotiating, to Muzaffer Jang, and they managed to bring him into Nasir Jang's camp, while Chanda Saheb and Muzaffer Khan Gardi went off in alarm to the fort of Phulchhari, and busied themselves in getting it ready for defence. Nasir Jang was much pleased to get Muzaffer Jang into his power, placed him on his parole, and granted his comrades their lives and property, and though his friends said that his sparing Muzaffer would lead to mischief, and that he ought to be put to death, still Nasir Jung would not give the order for his execution, and appointed servants to attend upon him, and Shah Nawaz Khan to protect him. He also ordered the music to play in triumph, and sent letters in every direction giving tidings of his victory. In accordance with his orders music played in all the chief towns in honour of his victory. So great was his delight that he composed an ode in honour of the occasion, which is given in the *Hadikah-i-Alam*, p. 384. The French, who had left Muzaffer Jang, went to Phulchhari and then to Arkat, and captured the fort of Chinchī (Gingee), which is the capital of the Karnatik. Nasir Jang, feeling his honour touched by the loss of this place, marched to avenge it, in spite of the torrents of rain then falling. At this time he removed Abul Khair Khan from the viceroyalty of Aurangabad and appointed Saiyid Lashkar Khan in his place, and made Saiyid Sharif Khan governor of Birar, and these officers departed accordingly. And Abul Khair Khan, for his wives' sake, who were in Burhanpur, came from Aurangabad to Burhanpur and halted there. In 1163 A. H., on the 11th of Shawwal, Nasir Jang marched from Arkat, and, by the advice of a darvesh, repented of all his sins. It was here that the Afghan chiefs of the Dakhan, utterly unmindful of the many kindnesses they had received from their lord, and careless of the vengeance of the Almighty, through covetousness of territory and wealth, formed a secret alliance with the infidel Europeans, and sent emissaries to invite the Europeans, who had assembled under the fort of Chinchī, to make a night attack. Nasir Jang's servants brought him word that a night attack was intended by the Europeans, and he gave orders to be on the watch. When this had happened repeatedly, the troops, tired out with watching, went to sleep, and on the night of the 17th of Muharram, calculating by astrology, the Europeans made an attack, and, passing the artillery, came near the place where the Nawab was. If it had not been for their agreement with the Afghans they would not have got so far. Several loyal persons had reported what was going to happen to the Nawab, but his mind was so free from suspicion that he heeded it not, saying, "What harm have I done them?" He carried this so far that on the attack being made he directed his elephant without an escort to where the Afghans were,†

* This is clearly a mistake for 1162, though given in the *Hadikah*, p. 384, 1-5.

† This account is wholly different from Mr. Orme's, and is perhaps more correct. At all events Himmat Khan of Karnul was the actual murderer of Nasir Jung, and not the Nawab of Kadapa, as stated by Orme, vol. I., p. 156.

to call on them for aid in repelling the Europeans. On his getting near the elephant of the Afghan chief Himmat Khan, he did not wait for his salute, but courteously and kindly saluted him by lifting his hand to his forehead. No salute was returned, and as light had not yet dawned the Nawab thought the Afghan was dozing or did not recognize him. He therefore raised himself a little in the haudah and said with a loud voice, "Brother! It is the time to exert yourself, and show your courage and prepare to repel the enemy." On this the traitor, and the man who sat with him, both being on the watch for this opportunity, discharged their guns into the Nawab's breast and sent him at once to paradise. Himmat then approached the elephant and cut off the Nawab's head, and the Afghans fixed it on a spear. However, the soldiers put the head and body together, and sent the coffin to Aurangabad, and it was interred near the body of his father at the shrine of Burhan-ud-din. This murder took place near the fort of Chinchli, sixty miles from Phulchhari. Nasir Jang ruled two years six months and some days. Mir Ghulam Ali Azad has said regarding the date on which the Nawab was killed :—

"Gone is the just and noble to his grave,
Sudden the sword of fate no respite gave,
Muharram's seventeenth day the blow he met,^c
And mourners cried the date, 'The sun is set!'"

And the same author in his *Sarv-i-Azad* writes that that same night the morning of which was to the Nawab the resurrection a fakir remained with him the whole time. When the Nawab tied on his turban he called for a mirror, and repeatedly addressed his image in the glass and said, "Farewell! Mir Ahmad, farewell!" When he was going to mount his elephant, though he had performed his ablutions he repeated them, and again recited the portion of the Kuran. It used to be his custom when he went to battle to clothe himself in armour from head to foot, but that night he put on only a coat of mail. Hafiz Muhammad Asad, who was a learned and saintly man especially skilled in the Hadis and the law, said the thought had occurred to him : "How is the death of the Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah regarded by God? The seventh day after his death, after finishing my prayers, I was seated with my face towards the point of prayer, when I fell into an ecstasy between the day and the night vigils, and I saw two men in Arabian dress, one on my right hand and the other on my left. He on my right said to him on the left, 'How is the death of Nizam-ud-daulah?' He replied, 'Certainly he was martyred, and God's curse rests on murderers.' When I came to myself I had no longer any doubt that he was a martyr." The same person gave the chronogram in verse as follows :—

"The world by justice he illuminated, and
In judgment with the blest Husan shall stand.
When of his martyrdom I sought the date
A sage replied, 'Thrice happy was his fate.'"

The Nawab had many virtues. He was just, high-spirited, but tender-hearted. He was skilled in music and drawing, and had great facility in writing poetry. Many anecdotes are told of his witty sayings, and he delighted in the society of such men as Shahnawaz Khan and Musui Khan Jurat, and Mirza Khan Rasa, and Naki Ali Khan Ijad, all of them unrivalled in that age for literary excellence.

CHAPTER III.

Of the events which happened after the death of the Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah, and which were a warning to people of observation.

Although there were several sons of the first Nizam in camp at the time of Nizam-ud-daulah's death, viz., the Amir-ul-Manialik Salabat Jang and Asif Jah the 2nd, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asad Jang, and Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang, and Nasir-ul-Mulk Mir Mughul Ali Khan Bahadur, the Afghans and Christians preferred Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan, owing to his being older and more capable in respect of learning and wisdom and courage, and they chose him to succeed,

^c *Afshar* raft is the date. The chronogram is *Hasan Khatimah*. See p. 36, 1-4.

and the proclamation was made in his name, and all, both Muslims and Christians, obeyed him. The Afghans, for having killed Nasir Jang and set Mahi-ud-din free, obtained large promises. After he had been placed on the throne he made Ramdas his Diwan, and bestowed on him the title of Rajah Raghunathdas. Ramdas was a Brahmin of a dark colour, a native of Srikakole (Chicakole), who was employed by Nizam-ud-daulah among the clerks, and was not a man of much rank. He exerted himself in compassing the murder of the Nizam-ud-daulah, and had put round his neck the Brahminical thread of friendship for Muzaffer Jang, and hence his advancement. After a few days Muzaffer Jang took the Afghans with him and went to Phulchhari, and visited the captain or governor of that place, and stayed there some days consulting on state affairs. He then took with him from thence a body of European soldiers and went towards Haidarabad, and leaving Arkat he passed through the territories of the Afghans. Destiny, however, had prepared the retribution for the Nizam-ud-daulah's murder. The barbarous Afghans were intoxicated with their success in killing Nizam-ud-daulah and putting his nephew on the throne, and already meditated fresh rebellion. Especially Himmat Bahadur styled Bahadur Khan, the accession of Nasir Jang, was thus elated [?] and sent to Muzaffer Jang, calling on him to divide the property of Nasir Jang equally. Muzaffer Jang was a proud man and a brave one, and incensed at this message he replied with a reprimand. Himmat fired up at this, and on the 17th of Rabi-ul-avval within the domain of Lakritpalli a battle took place between Muzaffer Jang and the French on one side, and Himmat Khan and all the Afghan chiefs on the other. On Muzaffer Jang's side fell Yakub Muhammad Khan, commanding a regiment of cavalry, and Mir Muzaffer Khan, a Bangali, and Niamat Khan and Jalal-ud-din Husain Khan were wounded, and Asif Jah the 2nd, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asad Jang, was wounded with an axe in the face but recovered. But Muzaffer Jang was wounded with an arrow in the pupil of the eye and killed. Mir Muhammad Husain Khan, the Diwan of the Dakhan, fired a musket at Bahadur Khan, and the bullet entered his chest and killed him. The other Afghan leaders also were slain. It is said that when Muzaffer Jang was wounded with the arrow in the eye and expired, Rajah Raghunathdas, who sat behind him on the elephant, executed a wonderful stratagem, for he laid hold of the two arms of the corpse and made it appear that he still had life, and by moving its head every now and then, and asking for water and betel, and making the arms of the dead man move as if directing the soldiers to kill their enemies, he inspired every one with the belief that Muzaffer Jang was still alive, and to the end of the battle no one knew that the body of Muzaffer was lifeless, until the Afghans had fled, and the leaders of Muzaffer's army had cut off the heads of the Afghan chiefs and placed them on spears, and the music had sounded in triumph, and all had gone to their tents. Then it became known that Muzaffer Jang had quaffed the sherbet of death. In brief, all who took part in the murder of Nizam-ud-daulah were themselves punished and slain within sixty days from his death. The day after the battle, on the 18th of Rabi-ul-avval, the slain were buried in the wild jungle, the home of beasts of prey. On that very day the coffin of Nizam-ud-daulah was borne into the garden of the sanctuary and buried, when the sun was set, near the shrine of Burhan-ud-din. To the Almighty be ascribed the glory and the power that before the interment of the Nawab his murderers were slain and buried! Believe, then, ye righteous! Wherever the coffin of the Nawab stopped in the journey the people of the place built a house of pilgrimage. Among the Afghan chiefs who were guilty of treason to Nizam-ud-daulah was Abdul Haidar Khan, whose grandfather, Abdul Karim, was one of the principal nobles of Bijapur. His descendants were for a long time governors of Bankapur and other places in the Karnatik till the rise of Haidar Ali Khan, famous as Haidar Naik, when they were removed. Abdul Majid Khan sent his son Bahlol Khan under the mentorship of Nasib Yawar Khan, outwardly to serve as a retainer of the Nawab, but he secretly instructed his son to join the other Afghans in their treasonable designs. Himmat Khan, who assassinated the Nawab, was the son of Alif Khan, the son of Ibrahim Khan, the son of Khizr Khan Pani. Khizr Khan

was the factotum of Abdul Karim Meyanah and Daud Khan Pani, who behaved ungratefully to the Amir-ul-umara Husain Ali, and was killed in battle against him, was the son of Khizr Khan. When the government of the Dakhan was conferred on Zulfakar Khan, the son of Asad Khan, in the reign of Shah Alam, and Daud Khan was made his deputy, Daud made his brother Ibrahim Khan deputy governor of Haidarabad. When Haidar Kuli Khan in the beginning of the imprisonment of Farrukhsiyar became Diwan of the Dakhan, he made Ibrahim Khan Faujdar of Karnul. Thenceforward Karnul remained in the possession of Ibrahim's family. In the war with Muzaffer Jang, Himmat Khan and his Diwan, Amanatullah Khan, who sowed the seed of all these troubles, and Bahlol Khan and Nasib Yawar Khan, and other malcontents, suffered just retribution, and when the army of Salabat Jang arrived at Karnul they pillaged the city, and the wives and family of Himmat Khan were enslaved, and for the shameful action of that cowardly wretch his life and honour were lost. Such is the lot of crime in this world—what will it be in the next! “And they who act* unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated.” Husain Ali Khan, also known as Chanda Saheb, not long after perished with the avenging sword, and his head, too, rose on a spear-point.

Muhammad Ali Khan, son of Anwar-ud-din Khan, directly after his father was killed made the fort of Trichinapoli secure, and when the Nizam-ud-daulah stopped in the neighbourhood of Arkat, Muhammad Ali Khan came and obtained employment and was honoured with the title of his father, and after the death of Nizam-ud-daulah took shelter in Trichinapoli. At this time the government of Arkat fell into the hands of Chanda, who was waiting at Phulchari, and Chanda, taking with him the same French soldiers who had made a night attack on Nizam-ud-daulah, and other forces, went to attack Trichinapoli. Anwar-ud-din Khan with his own troops and some English encountered him, and after some fighting defeated him. Chanda was taken prisoner, and on the 1st of Shaban 1165 A.H. he was put to death and his head exhibited on the point of a spear, and the French also were made prisoners, the officers and the men to the number of 1,100, all Europeans with white skins, besides some men of other nations. So those who made the night attack on the Nawab from that time had no rest, and in the reign of Muzaffer Jang, which lasted only two months, Balaji Rao, the son of Baji Rao, the chief captain of Rajah Sahu's men, thinking the opportunity a good one, seized the jagirs of the nobles and high officers of the Dakhan. He also marched to Aurangabad and offered battle. Saiyid Lashkar Khan, not feeling himself strong enough to resist, purchased peace for 15 lakhs of rupees (£150,000) and released the country from his grasp. The authorities of Burhanpur saved that place by enlisting troops.

It is said that Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan was very brave and generous, and by his idiosyncrasy rather inclined to grave studies and logic than to poetry. Hence he was not sympathetic with Mir Ghulam Ali Azad, who through fondness for ease spent his whole life in versifying and poetry. Muzaffer Jang was the first who after the death of the Nizam-ud-daulah employed the French to assist him, and brought them into the countries of Islam. Before his time the Nazarenes dwelt at the ports, and did not stir out of their own limits, and after Muzaffer's death the said Nazarenes took service with the Amir-ul-mamalik, and arrived at infinite power, as will be hereafter narrated, as also will be their ruinous fall.

Affairs of the Marathas.

They were first known as Barki horsemen, and then as accursed plunderers. Afterwards they were called Rao Pandit Pradhan in the government, and elsewhere they styled themselves Srimant Rao Pandit Pradhan. In the beginning Sahuji was a servant of Burhan Nizam Shah, ruler of Ahmadnagar, and in the next generation they attached themselves to the Adil Shahi dynasty, and in course of time they got possession of the royal castles in the Tal Konkan by stratagem and

* Quotation from the Kuran, 26, 228.

deceit, and lived by plundering and highway robbery. As their prosperity lies in the ruin of others, it happens that a cultivator, who gets his living by keeping two or three cows in a meadow rears a foal, gets a wooden spear and forthwith enrolls himself among their ranks. Horse and man for the most part are supported on ears of corn, either roasted or raw. They come abroad chiefly at harvest time, keeping their harness and spears ready, so one of the names they get is harvest-thieves.* By degrees their strength increased, and at last they became masters of Dehli, and owing to this extension of power they formed a sort of partnership with the government of the Nizams, or rather they became their rivals and opponents. They gave up writing in the form of petitions, and made no more offerings, and had recourse to violence. When the chastisements of the first Nizam were over, and also those of Nasir Jang, after vast exertions and the burning of Punah, the Nizams saw no good in war, and had recourse to conciliation and prudent counsels. They agreed to a fixed levy of the *chauth*, or twenty-five per cent. of the revenue, and always kept Marathas in attendance. Whenever anything of importance took place, and a chief was appointed to lead an army, 50,000 or 60,000 of their horsemen were sent with him. Apart from other things, one good in the relations with them was that in all the territory from the southern sea to the borders of Hindustan (the Upper Provinces) in their possession were thieves indeed, and brigands, but no strife in the cities, and no one dared either to draw knife or sword from its scabbard, and intoxicating liquors were forbidden, and, notwithstanding their extensive sway, they wrote petitions in favour of any poor young Brahman girl even, and subscribed themselves *Sewak*, which means "humble servant." Thus to the days of Balaji Rao fortune favoured them, until, after the death of his son Madhu Rao, their prosperity reached its zenith—territory belongs to the One Almighty God! Mir Ghulam Ali Azad in his *Khijānah-i-Amīrah* writes that ancient MSS. show that before the coming of the Muhammadans, as well as after it, there were vigorous rulers in India over the Dakhan who sent victorious armies and subdued the country as far as Ceylon, and in time the reverse came to pass, that is to say, the Marathas conquered all the countries of the Dakhan and Malwah and Gujarat, and most of the provinces of Hindustan, and ravaged them, except Oudh, which is separated by the Ganges, and was defended by Burhan-ul-Mulk and his descendants, and remained secure from the attacks of the Marathas, and also the provinces of Multan and Thathah escaped by their remoteness, though a lieutenant-general of the Marathas went even to Multan, but failed to fix himself owing to the arrival of the Durani monarch. As for Thathah and Bengal, though they did make their way into these provinces, they were not successful. The Nizam of Bengal made peace with them on condition of sending annual tribute. Marhat signifies Deogarh or Daulatabad and the districts around it, and the inhabitants speak Maratha, and are called Marathas. In the beginning the government of these people was in the hands of the Bhonslahs, and then in those of the Brahmaus. The pedigree of the Bhonslahs is allied with that of the Ranas of Udepur, who are the principal chiefs of Rajputanah. Rajahs of all other tribes when they first ascend the throne have a sectarial mark for the forehead sent them by the Rana of Udepur, whose genealogy is said to be allied with that of Noshirwan the Just. When Sad and Kas conquered Persia and the descendants of Noshirwan were expelled, an ancestor of the Rana came to India and rose to be a Rajah, and one of the descendants of the Rana, who was born to him of the daughter of a carpenter, left Udepur on account of disagreement with his brothers, and came and resided in the Karnatik, and, owing to his high lineage, contracted marriages with the great families of the Dakhan, and there were two branches of his descendants. One was Antobah, the other Bhonslah. From this latter came Sahuji, who entered the service of Burhan Nizam Shah, and then that of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who, at the end of his reign, assigned to Sahuji Punah and other parganahs as jagir. Sahuji lived there as a Zamindar, and for a time took service under the Emperor Shah Jahan. His son Siva continued in possession of

* Literally "sprouting thieves:" the expression is Hindustani, not Persian.

the jagir. Ibrahim Adil Shah's last illness was prolonged two years, and hence great disturbances arose in his territories and most of the soldiers of the Konkan went to Bijapur, and that province and the forts there were left without any garrison of Ibrahim Adil Shah's troops. At this epoch, Seva (Sivaji), who was the lord of the Marathas, and had great intelligence and cunning, as well as military skill, collected a number of men and set up the standard of rebellion, and got possession of many forts that were without defenders and munitions. Meanwhile Ibrahim Adil Shah died. His son Ali Adil Shah succeeded him on the throne, and owing to its being the beginning of his reign, and to his youth, he had not yet got a firm seat when a great convulsion took place in his kingdom, and Seva's power grew daily, and he conquered all the forts in the Konkan, and also built new ones, and with the support of these forts and the forty royal forts he had taken, and protected by the mountains and the jungles, he threw off the yoke of Adil Shah's government and engaged in open hostilities with him. He treacherously slew Afzal Khan, who was the strong pillar of Adil Shah's government, and plundered his army. He also utterly defeated Rustam Khan, who was another of that king's nobles, and having completely freed himself from all dread of Adil Shah he ravaged the whole Konkan, and as that province bordered on the sea he possessed himself of several forts, and added piracy to his plundering exploits on shore. Further, when occasion served, he made raids on various possessions of the Emperor. The Emperor on hearing of these acts issued his high commands to Shaistha Khan, the Amir-ul-umara, Viceroy of the Dakhan, to punish Seva. Maharajah Jaswant also was ordered to co-operate with the Amir-ul-umara, whose strenuous efforts to effect the objects of his sovereign were unsuccessful, and in 1073 A.H. Seva made a night attack on his camp and killed his son Alin Fath Khan, on which the Emperor removed the Amir-ul-umara and entrusted the viceroyalty of the Dakhan to Prince Muhammad Muazzam. (See Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 196, for a detailed account of this exploit of Sevaji, who descended from Sinharh and attacked Shaistha Khan in Dadaji Kondeo's house in Punah, where he had taken up his quarters.) The Emperor also summoned Rajah Jaswant Singh to his presence and sent Rajah Jai Singh to fill his place. Jai Singh inflicted such severe punishment on Seva that he despaired of resistance, and came to Jai Singh and besought him to pardon him, surrendering three royal forts^o and territory that brought in £30,000 a year. At Jai Singh's representation the Emperor issued an order pardoning Seva and conferring a command of 5,000 horse upon his son Sambha. Both father and son went to Agra to do obeisance to the Emperor on the 18th of Zil Kadah 1076 (1668 A.D.), and were received with favour. Seva, however, owing to his rustic manners and ignorance of royal etiquette, expected greater condescension from the Emperor than he met with, and told his vexation privately to Aram Singh, son of Rajah Jai Singh. By the imperial command he was then deprived of the honour of attending court, and guards were appointed to watch him, but his son, who had not offended, was not excluded, and was the object of the Emperor's favour. After some time, however Seva was taught how to behave, and after honours had been conferred on him was dismissed; but that ill-conditioned person, who was not intelligent enough to understand this treatment, after three months and nine days, on the 27th of Safar, changed his apparel and fled with his son Sambha to the Dakhan,[†] where he excited continual troubles. The viceroys of the Dakhan were constantly engaged in checking his inroads until his death on the 24th of Rabi-ul-akhir 1091 A.H., April 5, 1680. (See Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 290.) His son Sambha succeeded him and acted similarly. At last the Emperor himself moved down to chastise him, and on the 23rd of Rabi-ul-avval 1093 A.H. arrived at Aurangabad, and till his death, that is, for twenty-five years, spent his time in punishing the Marathas. But owing to the neglect of some of the nobles, who for selfish motives desired the struggle to

^o Grant Duff, vol. I., p. 209, says, "Of 32 forts taken or built by him he gave up 20 to Jai Singh, amongst which were Purandbar and Sinharh. The whole of the district dependent on these forts surrendered at the same time."

[†] Grant Duff says, "The road by which they returned to the Dakhan is not satisfactorily ascertained." The *Hadikah-i-Alam* says, "*Rah naward-i-tarik-i-furur gashit.*"

be prolonged, the extirpation of the Marathas was not accomplished, and at the end of his reign peace was made on condition that the Marathas should have nine rupees out of every hundred as *sardesmukhi*.^a The Emperor sent Ahsan Khan or Mir Malank to the Marathas with the deeds of *sardesmukhi* to make a treaty with their chiefs and take them into the imperial service, but after despatching this officer the Emperor's sense of honour was touched, and he resolved not to carry out the transaction. He therefore recalled Mir Malank, who had not yet handed over the deeds. In the reign of Shah Alam 10 per cent. was granted to the Marathas as *sardesmukhi*, to be levied on the cultivators, and confirmed by an imperial rescript. Shah Alam after finishing the affair of Kambaksh, returned to Upper India in 1121 A.H. (1710 A.D.), and gave the viceroyalty of the Dakhan to Zulfakar Khan, who made Daud Khan Pani his deputy. Daud Khan came to terms with the Marathas, to the effect that what was received from the land should be divided into three shares for the imperial government and one share for the Marathas, besides a tenth share for the *sardesmukhi* taken out of the cultivator's share before settled. Though this arrangement was already in vogue no imperial deed approving the *chauth* had been issued, but in the reign of Farrukhsiyar the Amir-ul-umara Husain Ali Khan, through fear of the hostility of the Emperor, in 1129 A.H. (1717 A.D.) concluded a treaty with Rajah Sahu through the intervention of Muhammad Anwar Khan of Burhanpur and Sankraji Malhar. Some articles also were framed prohibiting foragers and robbers on the highway, and engaging that 15,000 horse should be maintained in attendance on the Nazim of the Dakhan, and deeds were handed over to the Marathas securing the *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* of the six provinces of the Dakhan, sealed with the Viceroy's own seal, with the revenues of the Konkan and other territories which of old belonged to the Marathas. Balaji Wishwanath, a Konkan Brahman, was appointed *vakil* for the Rajah Sahu, as has already been fully reported in speaking of the Saiyids. After Rafi-ud-darjat mounted the throne in 1130 A.H., Sankraji Malhar obtained the chief control of the Dakhan, and coming with Balaji Wishwanath to Alam Ali Khan he acquired such influence as quite to leave Alam Ali Khan in the shade. In 1137, when the Emperor conferred the government of Malwah on Girdhar Bahadur, a Nagar Brahman, after one year and somewhat more, in 1139 A.H., 1727 A.D., Holkar of the shepherd tribe, who was a companion of Baji Rao, the son of Balaji Vishwanath, made an expedition from the Dakhan to Malwah and fought a battle with Girdhar Bahadur and killed him, and Girdhar's children had to defend the city of Ujain till another Governor came. In 1143 Muhammad Khan Bangash was appointed Governor of Malwah and came to Ujain, but owing to the swarms of Marathas who were constantly ravaging the country he failed to impress his rule on it, and in 1145 A.H. Jai Singh, the astronomer, was made Governor of Malwah in his place. He on account of being of the same sect as Baji Rao did all he could to support him, and in 1143 A.H. Baji Rao made an expedition from the Dakhan to Upper India, and Muzaffer Khan, brother of the Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, was ordered to repel him, and passing through Malwah got to Saronj, whereupon Baji Rao, not caring to fight, returned to the Dakhan. Again in 1147 A.H. he made a second expedition to Upper India, and Itimad-ud-daulah Kamr-ud-din Khan, Grand Vazir, and the Amir-ul-umara Samsam-ud-daulah were commanded by the Emperor to chastise him. They entered Malwah at the distance of forty or sixty miles from one another with a splendid array. Balaji divided his army into two and placed one division under Pila Jadu, confronting the Vazir. In three or four engagements the Vazir each time routed his opponents. The other division, commanded by Holkar, was opposed to the Amir-ul-umara, who against the will of Itimad-ud-daulah began to treat. Rajah Jai Singh, supporting the Hindus, desired that he should be removed from the government of Malwah and that it

^a For an explanation of this word see Briggs's *Siyar-ul-mutaakharin*, p. 146, *note*.—"The *Desmukh*, chief of the district, was an hereditary officer under the Hindu government, and as *Dessavi*, *Nat Gaur*, *Natankar*, *Naidu*, *Desai*, *Desmukh* and *Zamindar* we recognise the same officer from Ceylon to Kashmir. The Marathas imposed this tax in great part of the Dakhan held by the Muhammadans and demanded it from the remainder on the plea of their Rajah being *Sardeshmukh* or head of the *Desmukhs*."

should be given to Baji Rao, and he sent repeated letters to the Emperor through the Amir-ul-umara. In 1148 A.H. the Amir-ul-umara persuaded the Emperor to give the government of Malwah to Baji Rao, which he did. Thenceforward the people of Islam became weak, and in 1149 A.H., Baji Rao coming with a vast army from the Dakhan marched to Malwah and busied himself in making arrangements there, and then marched to attack the Rajah of Badawar, and what subsequently happened has been narrated. In short, during the reign of the Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah Nasir Jang, the foundation of friendship with Rajah Sahu was laid, and to the end of his reign, that is, for two and a half years, peace remained unbroken. After both were dead, in 1653 A.H.,^{*} Balaji's power increased and Sadaseo Rao or Bhao, cousin of Balaji, became principal manager of affairs. After the death of Rajah Sahu all affairs financial and political devolved on Brahmans, and the old chiefs of the Marathas became obedient, and placed no one on the throne in succession to the Sahu Rajah, or rather pretending to make a successor they kept him in prison. The rule that the Brahmans of the Konkan obtained after the deaths of Nawab Nizam-ud-daulah and Sahu Rajah in the Dakhan and Upper India will be referred to in narrating the history of the illustrious descendants of the first Nizam. From the time when Hamid Khan obtained the aid of an army of Marathas and sent it with Aman Beg, his commander of the horse, to the battle with Mubariz-ul-Mulk, they penetrated into every part of Gujarat, and by degrees the imperial rule and collection of the revenue wholly vanished, and the darkness of heathendom settled down over the whole province. Mirjib Arustani, the paymaster of Murshid Kuli Khan, admitted the Marathas into the province of Bengal, which happened as follows:—When Shuja-ud-daulah, Nazim of Bengal, died on the 13th of Zi Hajj 1151 A.H. = 1738 A.D., his son Sarafratz Khan succeeded him, but from his parsimony, a vice opposed to government, he dismissed the larger portion of the troops, and Allah Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang, who was one of the deceased Khan's servants, and who acted as his deputy in the province of Patnah, marched on Murshidabad with a large army on pretence of taking service with Sarafratz Khan, but really with the intention of conquering Bengal. When he got near, Sarafratz Khan was roused from the slumber of carelessness, and became aware of Mahabat Jang's intention, and advancing with a small force from Murshidabad went to encounter him, and by an action which was suicidal brought about his own death. Murshid Kuli Khan, whose sobriquet was *Makhmur*, "intoxicated," the son-in-law of Shuja-ud-daulah who at the time was Nazim of Andes, collected an army and advanced to encounter Mahabat Jang, and being defeated he took himself to the Dakhan to the first Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mirjib Arustain, who was Murshid Kuli Khan's commander of the horse, went to Raghu Ghonsla, Mukasadar of the province of Berar, and allured him to attempt the subjugation of Bengal. Raghu with a large army commanded by Baskar Pandit his Diwan, and Ali Karawal, who was a high chief and one of his companions, sent an army with Mirjib against Mahabat Jang of Bengal, and war raged for a month. At last Mahabat Jang bestirred himself for peace and invited Baskar Pandit and Ali Karawal with twenty-two officers, on pretence of a banquet, into his tent, and slew them all. Though the Marathas and Mirjib remained disappointed and unsuccessful in their attempt to conquer Bengal, still they got possession of the province of Katak, and every year the Mahratta army went to plunder and devastate Bengal until Mahabat Jang got ready an annual tribute for Raghu, and freed the land from ruin. Khafi Khan in his history states that what he learned from his friends in the Dakhan and the Marathas with regard to Seva is that that chief's family was originally collected with the Rana of Jodpur. It is a fixed idea among all Rajputs and Hindus that a son born of a high-caste woman of a different tribe to the father is base and ill-omened, and therefore they rank him with the sons of concubines and slaves, and they allow him no share in the patrimony, nor marry him into

^{*} According to C. P. Brown's *Ephemeris*, compiled by order of the Madras Government, Nasir Jang died in 1164 A.H., at p. 7, but according to p. 6 he was killed on the 16th of Muharram 1165. At p. 4 of the *Ephemeris* we read "The Hijarah year of 360 days is used only by Muslims," but Forbes in his *Hindustani Grammar*, p. 146, says the Muslim year consists of 12 lunations, amounting to 354 days and 9 hours very nearly.

their own tribes, but regarding him as a bastard they marry him to an illegitimate person like himself.

It is said that in the old time an ancestor of Seva, entitled Ghonslah, dwelt in the environs of the Rana's territory and became madly in love with a woman of low caste of a different tribe, and made her his wife without the ceremony that is usual among that tribe, and of her was born a son, whom, out of apprehension of the reproach that would fall on herself and her tribe, she kept concealed in a corner in a tent which she had purchased for it, and fed it secretly. Though Ghonslah's father and mother wished to marry him in his own tribe, yet out of love for that beautiful woman he would not consent. At last the basin of his love fell from the terrace,* and his companions discovered that the child was being reared. Then he secretly brought it forth from its place of concealment, and taking it and its mother went to the Dakhan. When he arrived in a strange country he spread the report that the said son was born of a woman of his own tribe, and he married that son to a Maratha female. Now the Marathas reckon themselves to be descended from an obscure branch of the Rajputs. The family of Ghonslah is traced back seven or eight generations to the son so born to famous parents. The name Ghonslah is explained thus:—Ghonslah is a thing small and narrow, and as that famous child was secretly brought up by his parents in a place of the kind it was called Ghonslah. But the name of Sahu is not Ghonslah but Bhonslah. Some writers who have translated Hindi into Persian explain the word thus:—Rana Bhim Singh, they say, was the ruler of Udepur, whose name was illustrious owing to his power and kind dealing with his subjects. He had many wives, and to one of these, who was very beautiful, he was much attached, and of her were born two sons, Ram Singh and Bhag Singh. When they reached years of maturity the Rajah died, and Ram Singh, who was the elder, sat on the throne, and his younger brother Bhag Singh, not being pleased to serve his brother, went out one day on pretence of hunting, came to Rajah Alimohan near the river Narbada, and was kindly received and took up his abode there. After some time the Rajah, as his son was of unripe years, gave up the management of his affairs to Baght Singh, and set out on the last journey. When his son was old enough Baght Singh, according to the will of the father, gave over the kingdom to him and went to the Dakhan, and as while he administered the government after the death of Alimohan he had strenuously put down rebels, and had thus been a thorn in the heart of disturbers of the peace and robbers, most of whom are Zamindars, he became known as Baght Bhonslah, for in Hindi “blu” means “ground” and “silah” means “thorn.” When he arrived in the Dakhan he fixed his dwelling near Punah at the village of Dewalgaun, and for his maintenance he chose the business of a cultivator. Two sons were born to him, one Maluji the other Banuji. Maluji also had two sons, Sahaji and Sharfaji, but Banuji had eight sons, Gahloji and Manaji and others. When these came to years of discretion they went to Kahl Karan, the Rajah of Bijapur, and took service with him until Aurangzib, in punishment of some offence they committed, put them to death. Maluji Bhonslah and Banuji quitted Dewalgaun on account of quarrels with the Zamindars, and came with their wives and families to the village of Dilondah near Daulatabad, and employed themselves in cultivation; but after an interval they went, to seek a livelihood, to the town of Sindkher with Lakhuji Jadu Rao, the desmukh of the government of Daulatabad, who held the office and command of 12,000 horse under Nizam Shah. They enlisted as Bargirs‡ with him, but being too fat to ride they were made gatekeepers. Maluji's son was a handsome boy, and Jadu Rao had a pretty daughter. One day, at the feast of Holi, being elated with drink, he took both children on his knees and said kindly, “What if these two were to be married, that they might have a beautiful progeny?” The instant he said this Maluji turned to those who were present, and said, “You are witnesses that from this day this girl is betrothed to my son.”

* A phrase for becoming known.

† In the Persian this word is twice spelt this way, twice as above.

‡ A Bargir rides a horse which does not belong to him. A Silahdar rides his own horse.

On hearing this Jadu Rao placed the seal of silence on his lips, and as silence gives consent Maluji's claim was established. Jadu Rao, when the entertainment was over, went into the inner rooms and left Sambhaji there, though he had been wont always to take him with him, but his daughter he took away. His wives, who had found out what had happened, cried out, "What have we to do with this needy vagabond of the desert, who has left his country to get his stomach filled, and wanders from door to door to seek for food, that he should live with us and be our connection? We wonder at you that you gave utterance to such a thought, and that you winked at his boldness and impudence." Jadu Rao said, "These words were uttered by me without reflection, without reference to the marriage ceremonies which are in force in our tribe. I shall now dismiss them." In this way he consoled his wives. Next day he did not allow Maluji's family to partake of his food, as he had been in the habit of doing, but sent them some trays, which Maluji sent back with a message, "Please God, we shall eat food together on the marriage day." Jadu after he had finished his meal went to his office and summoned his keeper of accounts, and made up the accounts of both brothers and sent them away, and at their departure observed. "You and I have no connection, and those foolish words I spoke unadvisedly, and no marriage ceremony was performed. You and your wives must take your things away and go where you like." They immediately went off bag and baggage to Dewalgaon and stopped there, and, having come to an agreement with the principal people, went on supporting themselves by tillage. Inasmuch as on account of their poverty the betrothal of their son with the daughter of Jadu Rao did not succeed, they were much dejected and prayed to the Divine Being after their fashion, and as He allows not prayer to be unavailing they obtained their wish. In a dream they were informed of treasure buried beyond the abode of men, and heard the good news that they should possess a kingdom for twenty-seven generations and that every wish they made would be granted. Glad at this they searched and found a royal treasure, removed it and loaded carts and filled a pit in their house with it, which was a receptacle for grain. Then by degrees they gave up tillage and went to the village of Chumar Kondah and disclosed the secret of their treasure to the Siva Naik, a rich banker whom they had known before. He, elated at hearing this, supplied their wants and took receipts in writing from them to the effect that whatever country came into their possession he should have the banking of it. In short, having purchased 1,000 horses through him they entertained riders for them and prepared saddles and harness and arms and armour and palkis, tents, and all things necessary for government. They then sent an agent to Nimbalkar, who lived at Phaltan, and had 12,000 plundering horsemen, and asked for safe passport, on getting which they went to him and told him their mind. They got the help of 2,000 horse from him. Then they left their superfluous things and with 3,000 unencumbered horsemen passed the Sadatbarah Ghat, crossed the Godavari, and at night killed a number of swine and threw them into the holy mosque at Rozah, which is near Daulatabad, and on the necks of the swine they hung this writing, "We demand the daughter of Lakhji Jadu Rao Desmukh, as he on the Holi agreed to the marriage of his daughter with our son, but, owing to the words of his wives, has gone from his promise. Nimbalkar's troops are with us, and we hope that the king will inquire into this matter and satisfy us, otherwise we will not fail to devastate his country on account of what has passed." When the attendants at Rozah represented these circumstances to Nizam Shah, the ruler of Daulatabad, he sent for Jadu Rao and gave him an account of the facts on paper. Jadu for the king's sake agreed, and asked for a command and jagir for them. Nizam Shah applauded his conduct, and consented to give what he asked, and issued a summons for Maluji and Ambuji and his son Sambhaji, and sent an agreement. When they drew near Daulatabad, Jadu Rao went out to meet them and took them with him to wait on the king, who was pleased to see Shahji, who was good-looking, and bestowed on him a handsome robe, a sword, an elephant, a horse, a jagir and the command of 12,000 horse, and ordered that Jadu Rao and his wife should be brought to Daulatabad, and that his

daughter should be married in the king's presence, which was done, and Jadu gave what portion he could to his daughter and sent her away. He sent with her Gopaji Naik Bansmall, his agent, to learn how it fared with his daughter and take care of her. After some time Maluji also came to Daulatabad with his wives and took up his residence in the shadow of the king's favour. As fortune favoured him he made Avaji Govind his assistant and brought his secret treasure from where he had left it; he expended it in gifts and recompenses, and in building houses and places of worship, and gardens and tanks. When Shahji was twenty years old Maluji and Ambuji both died, and the government devolved on Shahji, and he had by the daughter of Jadu, whose name was Jijibai, a son whom he named Sambhaji. At that time Nizam Shah also died, leaving two sons. As they were in need of some one to manage their affairs, their mother, by the advice of Sabaji Anant, honoured Shahji, who was endued with bodily beauty and mental excellence, with the robes of minister. He discharged the duties of Diwan well, and all persons were obedient to him; but Jadu Rai, his father-in-law, was reluctant to acknowledge his authority. As the reins of government entrusted to him by the mother of the young princes were firmly held by Shahji, and as Jadu's refractory conduct did not help him, he had no alternative but to write to the Emperor at Dilli and ask him to expel Shahji. The Emperor appointed Mir Jumlah with 60,000 horse to settle the affairs of the Dakhan. Jadu Rai, having got some chiefs of the Dakhan to unite with him, went to the Narbada, and took service with Mir Jumlah, and became the leader of his vanguard. Shahji having got intelligence of this sent the two princes to the fort of Mahuli, which at that time was a place of great strength, and went himself to repel Jadu, who with a powerful force besieged Mahuli, and for six months war raged. As it continued a long time and the stores in the fort grew short, Shahji sent a wakil to the king of Bijapur with a message that their house was on fire and they had no power left. If the king aided them and sent his promise they would draw tight round their waists the belt of obedience. The ruler of Bijapur, through the mediation of Murar Jagdeo, sent a treaty to Shahji, who with a force of 5,000 horsemen with his wives and his son Sambhaji issued from Mahuli, and broke through the entrenchments of Jadu Rao and took the boy to Bijapur. Meanwhile his wife, who was seven months gone with child, could not bear to ride on a mare any longer. After she had travelled six or eight miles, owing to the length of the way she broke down. Shahji, who was in flight, heard of this and despatched 100 horsemen as her escort, and said—"Jadu Rao, thy father is in pursuit of us, it would be dangerous for me to stop; but to thee, being his daughter, no harm will happen: rather he will send thee in safety to me." He then went on. Jadu Rao, hearing that he had fled, left Mir Jumlah to besiege the fort and hastened after Shahji. When he came to the place where his daughter was he gave her an escort of 500 horse, and sent her to the fort of Sewari, which belonged to Nizam Shah, but was then in Shahji's hands. Shahji then performed his devotions to Bhawani, who is also called Sevai, and whose temple was there, and made a vow that if a son were born to him he would call him by her name. It happened that some time after a son was born to him, in the year 1021 A.H., on Monday, and according to his vow he named him Sevaji. In short, Jadu Rao pursued Shahji as far as Ahmadnagar, and not coming up with him returned disappointed. Shahji, through the good offices of Murar Jagdeo, was admitted into the service of the king of Bijapur, and was honoured with the gift of a robe of honour, a horse, a sword, an elephant, and the office of Talukahdar (Superintendent) of the Karnatik, and the command of 10,000 horse. Mir Jumlah, as Jadu Rao was following up the object they had in view, turned back to Dilli. Jadu Rao, having gone as far as the Narbada, returned to Sinhgarrh and dwelt there. As owing to the departure of Shahji the management of the affairs of Nizam Shah was interrupted, they, by the advice of Samaji Anant, made Malik Ambar the Chief Minister. He arranged every thing and had frequent engagements with the troops of Upper India, and also ravaged the vicinity of Bijapur. On one occasion he marched with 60,000 horse to the village of Mahasur belonging to Bijapur. The governor of Bijapur deputed Murar Jagdeo and Shahji and Sharzali Khan and other chiefs to repel him with 80,000 horse. Malik Ambar, having devastated many of

the districts of Bijapur, returned to his own country, and when he arrived on the banks of the river Bhima, near the villages of Purgaon and Naligaon, the Bhima, being in full torrent, and it appearing difficult to cross it as the forces of Bijapur were in full pursuit of him, Malik Ambar addressed his humble supplications to the Court of the Most High, and by His grace a ford was discovered, over which his army passed safe and triumphant, and when the Bijapur army arrived there four or five hours after, the torrent of the Bhima was more swollen than before. The Bijapur chiefs were astonished and sent a peaceful message. Malik Ambar, as demanded by the exigency of the moment, assumed a submissive tone and went to Daulatabad. The Bijapur leaders stopped near Ahmadnagar, and Malik Ambar, learning this, made a nocturnal assault and broke the embankment of the lake of Azimabad, and in the night the inundation came down on the camp of Sharzah Khan when they were quite unprepared, and a terrible disaster ensued. Nearly twelve chiefs of Sharzah Khan's army were taken prisoners by Malik Ambar's men. Malik Ambar gave each of them a robe and a horse, and set them free. It is said that Shahji was at that time in the Karnatik, and Murar Jagdeo again advanced with a vast host. When he arrived at Nagargaon, where the Bhima unites with another river and flows to the south, there was an eclipse of the sun, and he halted there, and weighed himself twenty-four times against gold and silver and scrapings of precious metals and various kinds of grain; and as he was fond of a young elephant, he wished to weigh that too. Those who were present were at a loss how to weigh an elephant, but Shahji undertook to do it, and ordered them to take the elephant in a boat into deep water and draw a line to show how deep its weight sunk the boat. They then took out the elephant and filled the boat with stones till it went down to the same mark, and then weighed gold and silver against the stones, and gave that weight in precious metals to the Brahmans and the poor, whence the name of the village was changed from Nagargaon to Tulapur (weigh town). Others have done this before, as Mir Ghulam Ali Azad has written in his *Khizanah-i-Amirah*, in the translation of Amir Khusrau of Dihli. To be brief, Murar Jagdeo, having finished distributing his alms, laboured at the regulation of the affairs of that country. Now before that time, in 691 A.H., twelve men of African descent (Habshi) had united in building a fort at Chakan, and lived there as freebooters and long held the fort. After their death Nizam Shah got possession of the fort, and after that the Deshpandya^o of Little Puna, named Morô Man Deo, took it and became a source of great disturbances, and desolated the whole country from Ahmadnagar to the frontiers of Wai and Sarwai. Hereupon Murar Jagdeo appointed his Diwan, Rai Row, to punish him. The Diwan went to that zila and chastised the rebels, and razed the fort of Little Puna, took the said Deshpandya prisoner and incarcerated him; and having built another fort there, called it Daulat Mangal, and gave it over to Shahji to settle it. When Shahji had bought the whole district from the frontier of Puna, and the fort of Chakan to the borders of Wai and Sarwai, and Supi, and Indapur into a flourishing state, Murar Jagdeo gave it to him as a jagir. Shahji entrusted it to Dadaji Govind Deo, who was the Kulkarni of the Parganah† of Bhagtah, and a respectable and experienced man, and put under him 1,000 horse commanded by Sidi Halal, an African, and went himself to reside at Bijapur. Before leaving he gave many injunctions to Dadaji to seek out his wife Jiji§ and bring her from the fort of Sewari and to educate his son Sivaji, which he did. When Murar Jagdeo, after finishing his arrangements, went to Bijapur, Morra Man Dao, seizing an opportunity while *en route*, escaped, and coming to the village of Kakarah, a dependency of Chakan, concealed himself in the house of a Brahman. After Murar Jagdeo arrived at Bijapur he sent Shahji to collect the revenue, and the latter attacked the disturbers of the peace of Gangkheri

^o Deshpandyas are Brahmans who acted as district revenue officers in Maratha States. They had half the allowances of the Deshmukhs in land, kind, and money. (See Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, Vol. I., pp. 38, 39.)

† The principal person in a Maratha village next to the Patel is the Kulkarni, the clerk of registrar, who is generally a Brahman. (Ibid, p. 35.)

‡ Division of a province.

§ This name is variously written, and here appears to be "Chichabai;" but to avoid confusion I write it "Jiji."

and other places. In one of the engagements Sambhaji, son of Shahji, was killed by wounds from an arrow and a gun. Shahji attributed this to the evil disposition of Jadu Rai, and divorced his wife, Jadu's daughter, and being displeased with his son Sivaji he took another wife, a Maratha lady named Tuka Bai. To her was born a son called Ankaji or Vankaji. Shahji became very fond of this wife. Meantime Dadaji had taught Sivaji with great care, and in a short time made him a good rider and skilled in the use of the gun and other martial acquirements; and having sent for Moro Man Deo, who was hid in a Brahman's house and induced him by promises to come, handed over to him the districts of Chakan and others, which were quite deserted. In a short time he restored their flourishing state. Some places, which were unsafe owing to the multitude of wolves, he freed from danger by sending thither hill people called Mahwaris. A long time thus passed, and the king of Bijapur died. His widow grew apprehensive of Murar Jagdeo and put him to death, owing to which the country became unsettled. All that time Shahji was in the Karnatik with 12,000 horse. The Rajah of Madhol, who was at variance with the Rajah of Chinjawar, called Shahji to his assistance, and with his help subdued that district. The Rajah of Chinjawar was killed, and his effects taken by Shahji, on which the Rajah of Madhol attacked the conqueror. He too was killed, and Shahji got possession of both districts. Shahji then went to reside at Maharajgarh, near Balapur Kolar. Sivaji, his son, had now grown up and had become a freebooter, which Dadaji, his preceptor, did not approve, and finding his admonitions of no avail he poisoned himself; whereupon Sivaji took possession of all his father's property, which had been in Dadaji's care, and became quite independent. Shahji recalled his troops, but Sivaji enlisted new ones, and appointed Sita Ram his factotum, Raghu Balal his secretary, and Raghunath Balal his military accountant. Shahji was pleased on learning of these arrangements and sent his son a written grant of that province. At that epoch Aurungzib marched from the Dakhan to contest the crown with Dara Shikoh, and took many chiefs of the Dakhan with him. He addressed a summons^o to Sivaji, to the effect that he should accompany him, in which case he would be rewarded, and if he could not come himself he was to send his Diwan Sita Ram with a suitable force. Sivaji having informed himself of the contents of the Prince's letter, dismissed the persons who brought it with ignominy. Aurungzib, who was engaged in a matter of vast importance, deferred to a more convenient season the measures to be taken with regard to it. Sivaji, after Aurungzib had triumphed and taken the title of Shah Alamgir, demanded of Nilkanth Rao, an officer of the Nizam Shahi government, residing at Purandhar, the Fort of Karkoth as a place of security, and there abode some time. But a quarrel arose between the brothers of Nilkanth Rao. They, with the aid of Sivaji, seized on Nilkanth Rao, and Sivaji having got an opportunity imprisoned all who disturbed the peace, and got possession of the fort and all within it, turned out the garrison and placed hill men there in their stead. Some time after he captured his own half-brother, the son of Tuka Bai, who resided in Supa, and imprisoned him, and also got possession of 300 horse and property belonging to this brother, and also his district. After this he took the Fort of Chakan also, and made Harkoji Trisal Thanadar† there, and entrusted the neighbouring districts to Kasi Rao, the Deshpandya, living at Salur. He likewise fortified Rajgarh and other places, and captured Torna and other forts belonging to the Nizam Shahi government, and possessed himself of the royal treasure there. At this time he received a letter from the government of Bijapur complaining of his taking the royal forts without permission and plundering the treasure and oppressing the people. It said, however, that the past might be regarded as past, but he must express his contrition for what had happened and present himself at Court, where he would be favourably received. Sivaji consulted with his wife Kasi Bai, who was a very sensible woman, over this affair, and she advised him not to go to Bijapur, as his father was there. Meanwhile a letter from Shahji arrived with some

^o According to Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 161, Sivaji opened the correspondence. Grant Duff's narrative of the rise of the Maratha leader is no doubt more correct than that here given; but this is, nevertheless, valuable, as supplying many incidents omitted by the English historian.

† Thanadar = commandant of the fort.

valuable presents, among which were a sword worth 400 pagodas,* and a coat of mail and a helmet,† as a mark of his approbation. Sivaji thought the sword a strong omen of victory and commenced plundering and devastating the territories of the Nizam Shahi government, and enlisting soldiers. His armed force grew daily, and on the invitation of the people of the Konkan he entered that province and took the forts and strong places there, which he entrusted to officers in whom he had confidence. When he had captured Pradhangarh he went to examine the interior, when the thorn of a *kanar* tree fixed itself in his palki, on which he said to those who were with him that the thorn fixing itself there must signify something good. Thereupon he ordered them to dig at that place, and on their doing so they found a vast treasure of gold coins of the time of Akbar. When the king of Bijapur heard of this he spoke to Shahji with severity, and said that his son was raising disturbances and capturing and destroying the royal forts, and that he ought to restrain him from committing such acts. Shahji said he was disgusted with his disobedient son, whose mother he had divorced, and that he hoped the king would chastise him. On this the king of Bijapur appointed Abdullah Khan‡ with 12,000 horse to repel the inroads of Sivaji. When the Khan was near Wai, Sivaji placed his family in Pratapgarh, and prepared to fight with the troops he had about him, Mawaris and others, in all nearly 60,000§ men, horse, and foot. The Khan sent Diwan Kishnaji Bhaskar|| with a conciliatory message to Sivaji, asking him to meet him that they might go together to wait on the king of Bijapur. To this Sivaji replied that he would pitch his tent outside the fort of Pratapgarh, and invited the Khan to come there and satisfy him with promises and oaths, and then he would do as he pleased. But Sivaji had had a secret interview with Kishnaji, and had found out the hidden purpose of the Khan, and had won over Kishnaji with presents, and sent Pantaji Gopinath as his wakil to the Khan, and he and Kishnaji persuaded the Khan to come to Pratapgarh in order to plight his faith. Sivaji, on hearing from them, pitched his tent and made great preparations for the interview, with carpets and canopies and brocade, and placed 13,000 Mawaris, whom he ordered, under pretence of cutting timber in order to widen the ground that had been cleared, to conceal themselves there, and the instant they heard a gun fired at the fort, as a signal, to attack the Khan's forces and plunder his camp. Abdullah Khan left his baggage at Wai and took with him Kandoji Rao Hanghkar, who was the officer¶ commanding his vanguard, and proceeded to the meeting. The labourers had made a way by cutting down trees, but after they had gone a little distance, the elephant that was carrying the flag stopped, and though the drivers used their best efforts he would not advance a step. The Khan's followers thought this a bad omen and advised him not to go on; but he, incensed at the circumstance, ordered the elephant to be blinded, and putting the flag on another elephant they went on. The Khan after descending the hill of Antur halted at the village of Nanri, which is on the slope of the mountain, and sent Kishnaji his Diwan, and Gopinath the wakil, to Sivaji, to say that he had advanced so far and Sivaji might come in all confidence and meet him. Sivaji replied that he had pitched his tent where he was, and he would there await the Khan, and he would esteem it a great favour if he would come that distance further. Next day the Khan, leaving his son Fazil Khan in charge of the army, came on alone in a palki with only four or five servants, and Kishnaji the Diwan, and Gopinath, till he arrived at Pratapgarh. Sivaji had placed forty brave men, skilled in the use of the sword, in ambush in a cave close by, and himself having put on his helmet and coat of mail and prepared his sword and dagger and tiger's claws, advanced to meet the Khan, as soon as he set foot within the tent, and saluted him. The Khan, not knowing him, asked his Diwan if this was Sivaji. On being answered in the affirmative he asked what was the meaning of devastating the country and taking the royal forts. Sivaji replied that previously the country and the fort were full of bad characters and robbers, and that he had swept away the disorder and had made the country flourish by his endeavours, for

* About £ 140.

† In Grant Duff the name is "Afzal Khan."

‡ Grant Duff says Bhaskar was Sivaji's wakil.

§ This word I have not met with elsewhere.

¶ Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 171, says "many thousands."

|| Harawal.

which he was deserving of applause, not of wrath and detestation. The Khan said—"Well, what is past is past. Now hand over these forts to me and accompany me to wait on the king." Sivaji answered that if there was a royal command for him to attend he would be glad to see it, in order to receive it with respect and obey it. Kishnaji said—"First cast yourself on the protection of the Khan and ask pardon for your offences, and afterwards expect to see the order." Sivaji said—"I and the Khan are both servants of his Majesty. How can the Khan forgive my offences? But as I do not disobey your directions, I will place my head in the Khan's lap." So saying he embraced the Khan, who was a powerful man in the prime of life and proud of his strength, and grappling Sivaji close, he struck him with his dagger; but as Sivaji had on a coat of mail and one of quilted cotton the blow had no effect. Sivaji twisted himself, and with the sort of dagger called *bichhwah*, or tiger's claws, tore open the stomach of Abdullah Khan and freed himself from his grasp. The Khan tied up his stomach tightly and struck Sivaji on the head with his sword, with such force as to split his helmet in two and wound him slightly; but Sivaji with a blow of his long flat sword cut the Khan asunder. Kishnaji then gave Sivaji a blow on the head with his sword, but was himself struck down by Isaji, one of Sivaji's companions. In this scuffle Gopinath received two or three wounds, but not severe ones. Sivaji's men then cut off the Khan's head and hung it over the gate of the fort. The Mawaris being informed of this, attacked the army of Abdullah Khan and plundered his camp, killing Kandoji, his principal general.

Fazil Khan, his son, and the ladies of the family fled, but 12,000 horses, and the elephants, and kettle-drums and standards, all fell into Sivaji's hand. The rest of the booty he gave to the plunderers. To Gopinath he gave 200,000 pagodas (a coin worth three and a half rupees) in payment for his wounds. He also bestowed on him a jagir near Shahpur in the Punah province. After that victory the power and authority of Sivaji vastly increased till most of the chiefs of the Dakhan, seeing that their safety lay in submitting to him, came to an agreement with him, and all the forts which he had not yet conquered came into his possession. At this time he fixed his residence at Tulagarh. On hearing of the slaughter of Abdullah Khan and the increase of Sivaji's power, the king of Bijapur sent Afzal Khan and Sidi Halal with 80,000 horse to extirpate him. They marched expeditiously and besieged Tula, where Sivaji was; but Sivaji made a night attack upon them and put them to rout, and bestowed on Kurnuji Kogi, who greatly distinguished himself in the night attack, the title of Pratap Rao and the honour of beating kettle-drums. The Bijapur army rallied from its flight and attacked Pawangarh and took a hill which commanded the fort. They placed cannon there and began to bombard the fort. Sivaji had garrisoned the place with 8,000 men, and himself with 40,000 horse attacked the fortifications of the Bijapur army at night. A fierce fight ensued and he retired towards Visalgarh, which is eight miles from Pawangarh. When he had got another eight miles from Visalgarh, the first streak of dawn appeared, and a ravine was between him and Visalgarh, and the troops of Bijapur were seen in the moonlight behind in pursuit. Sivaji therefore placed an officer named Baji Marhu at the ravine with 8,000 horse to close the road and himself entered Visalgarh at his ease, and began to fire the guns. Baji for a watch and a half maintained his ground against the Bijapur troops. When he knew that Sivaji had entered the fort he was glad. Afzal Khan and Sidi Halal and Shargah Khan, and other leaders of the Bijapur troops, behaved gallantly with 700 men on the two sides had fallen. Baji had been wounded and had fallen on the field of battle, but his comrades carried him into the mountains, where they concealed themselves. The Bijapur troops bravely forced their way across the ravine and approached Visalgarh; but finding water insufficient there they retired to Tala, and thinking it useless to besiege that fort they went back to Bijapur. Sivaji, feeling himself safe, attended to the wounded and particularly to Baji, and set himself to improve the condition of the country, which had long been depopulated. He appointed Raghu Nathri to discipline his troops, and when the Emperor Alamgir heard of this he sent Shaistah Khan with 80,000 horse to settle these matters. What followed is recorded in such histories as that of Khafi Khan.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE AFFAIRS OF ASIF UD-DAULAH AMIR-UL-MAMALIK SALABAT JANG, IN THREE CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.

As to what concerns Salabat Jang from his first elevation to his ascending the throne and thence to the death of the Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang.

The Amir-ul-mamalik was the third son of the first Nizam-ul-Mulk, and his original name was Saiyid Muhammad. His father during his lifetime conferred on him the title of Saiyid Muhammad Khan Bahadur Salabat Jang, with the government of the province of Haidarabad, and after the death of the first Nizam, when the Nuwab Nizam-ud-daulah Nasir Jang hastened to Phulchari to quell the rebellion of Muzaffir Jang, then Salaba Jang accompanied him, and after Nasir Jang's death he returned towards Haidarabad with Muzaffir Jang, on whose death (which happened *en route*) he, as being older than his three brothers, viz., Asif Jah II., Mir Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jang, and Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang, and Nasir-ul-Mulk Mir Mughul Ali Khan, succeeded to the throne, and was honoured by the Emperor Ahmad Shah with a higher command and the title of Asif-ud-daulah Zafar Jang. Afterwards Alangir II. gave him the title of Amir-ul-mamalik. After he had ascended the throne he conferred on Rajah Raghunathdas the title of Bahadur, and, as in the reign of Muzaffir Jang, made him Viceroy with full powers. The said Rajah took into the service of the State all the French who had followed Muzaffir Jang, and most of the officials of the time of Muzaffir Jang were also retained. Salabat Jang then continued his march with his whole army, and a strong force of French, towards Haidarabad, and having arrived at Kadapa, he busied himself with settling affairs there, and when he arrived at Karnul he halted there and laid siege to it and took it by assault. The Afghans of Karnul, on hearing of the storming of that place, killed Mir Mahib Ali Khan and Mir Nazar Ali Khan and Mir Husain Ali Khan, the brothers of Mir Nasaf Ali Khan, who had been sent to Karnul by Raghunathdas to conciliate them; and as the Nizam's troops could not keep Karnul they plundered it and returned victorious to Haidarabad, where they turned and took the fort of Muhammadnagar and the treasure there, and then proceeded to Aurangabad, where they halted during the rainy season. But when the news of the assassination of Nasir Jang and of Muzaffir Jang's succession reached Dihli, the Amir-ul-umara Imad-ul-mulk Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, who was own brother to the martyred Nuwab, was much grieved. The Emperor strove to console him and gave him the government of the Dakhan with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Amir-ul-umara despatched confirmations of their tenure of office to the various officials, and letters of condolence to Muzaffir Jang and his four brothers, and the commission of governor of Burhanpur to Khwaajam Kuli Khan, who came outside the city and received the order, and sent a copy of it to Abul Khair Khan, and entered on the duties of his office. Abul-Khair Khan wrote an account of what had happened to the Amir-ul-mamalik^o and Rajah Raghunathdas. The Amir-ul-mamalik, with the concurrence of the Rajah, bestowed on Abul-Khair Khan the title of Imam Jang, and a commission continuing him in the government of Burhanpur, to this effect:—"At present it is advisable that you should remain fixed in the government of the province, and suffer no one to supersede you." Abul-Khair informed Khwajam Kuli Khan of this, and he became contentions, whereupon Abul-Khair exerted his influence with the citizens till it came to throwing up defences within the city, and some who came to look on were wounded. At last terms were

^o The Persian has "Amir-ul-umara," an evident *lapis penna*.

concluded between the parties, through the intervention of Mir Numan Khan, son of Abdul-manan and Mir Haider Ali and others. Imam Jang had given 12,000 rupees to Khwajam Kuli Khan to pay his troops with, but he now took the government of Burhanpur into his own hands, and, in accordance with the orders of Salabat Jang, began to levy troops. He also gave money from his own treasure to the Mansabdars whose jagirs had been seized by Balaji, son of Baji Rao, and thus acquired their friendship. As Balaji Rao was raising disturbances, Salabat Jang thought it necessary to chastise him. He therefore sent for Abu-ul-Khair Khan and Khwajam Kuli Khan and Nazar-Beg Khan. The same year Saiyid Shariff Khan Shujaat Jang died, on Friday, the 29th of Shaban, and the government of Birar was then given to Saiyid Lashkar Khan Nasir Jang, and Saiyid Sadr-ud-din Khan, son of Saiyid Sharif Khan, was granted his father's title. In Shawwal a sum of 5,00,000 rupees, which belonged to the estate of Ranoji Sindhia, was brought from Jhansi to near Burhanpur, and Imam Jang being informed of it sent a body of troops and seized it, and paid his soldiers with it. After peace was concluded he restored a small balance that remained over. After this, though ill, he obeyed a summons to Aurangabad, and went there in the height of the rains. On the 11th of Zil Hajj 1164 A. H., Salabat Jang moved out of the city with the intention of marching against Balaji, and appointed Imam Jang to lead the van and drove back the Marathas till he reached Ahmadnagar. There he left his baggage, and marching as light as possible moved on Puna, the centre of the war. Balaji encountered him with 50,000 good horsemen, and on the 12th of Muharram, 1165 A. H., a battle began. Balaji and his nephew Sadhoji with the vanguard fought, and Shamshir Bahadur Imam Jang, notwithstanding that he was palsied, displayed great spirit, and the French came to the assistance of the vanguard and drove the Marathas back, and day after day the fighting was renewed, and the champions of Islam repulsed the infidels and drove them fighting as far as Puna, burning their villages that were near the road and reducing them to ashes. Every day the French moved down the enemy with their artillery, but on the 14th of Muharram there was a total eclipse of the moon, and Balaji went to worship on the banks of the Godavari, and was praying to his images, when the French, being informed of it, made a night attack and killed a great many of his men and captured his tents and most of his baggage. Balaji, in alarm, fled with his head bare, half-naked, seated behind a horseman, and his apparatus for worship and golden idols fell into the hands of the Nuwab's soldiers. Afterwards, on the 19th of Muharram in the same year, Balaji having reassembled his scattered army, with a fine force attacked the Nuwab's army when they were in the disorder caused by being about to march. A fierce battle ensued, and Nazar Beg Khan, the paymaster, received two gunshot wounds and a slash from a sword, and Mir Muktada Khan was also wounded. Mir Numan Khan was so severely wounded that on reaching his tent he expired, and Fath-ulla Khan and Wase Khan, and other commandants of troops of horse were killed. On the side of Balaji ten jamadars of rank were killed. Balaji now, guided by some traitors in the Nuwab's army who had a secret understanding with him, gave out that he wished for peace and so wasted some time till a want of grain and grass began to be felt in the Nuwab's camp. In spite of this distress the soldiers of Islam behaved manfully and got to within twelve miles of Puna and plundered Naligaun, which was one of the best towns of the Marathas. Balaji, seeing that the Nuwab's forces were superior to his, sent to ask for terms, and Sadhoji came to the border of the Nuwab's camp and had an interview with Rajah Raghunathdas, at which peace was agreed upon, which, however, at the instigation of some mischief-makers, he again broke off. The Nuwab's army returned to Ahmadnagar, and leaving their baggage there moved on Sunir, and crossing some high hills and difficult ravines, arrived at Sunir, and there a furious combat took place between the enemy and the vanguard commanded by Abdul Khair Khan, in which his nephew Mir Ahmed and many men were wounded. The next day after this battle, in spite of all these efforts a peace was concluded on equal terms owing to the treachery of some unpatriotic persons. Salabat Jang then dismissed Saiyid Lashkar Khan to Aurangabad, and

giving Abul Khair Khan leave to go to Burhanpur, marched himself to Haidarabad. On the 23rd of Rabi-ul-akhir he bestowed on Khwajam Kuli Khan the title of Zul-Fakar-ud-daula Kaim Jang. He also gave him the government of Burhanpur, from which he removed Abul Khair Khan. The latter, however, was allowed to retain the office of Faujdar of Baglanah. On the 19th of Rabi-ul-akhir, Kutb-ud-daulah Muhammad Anwar Khan obtained leave to go from the army to Burhanpur, where on the 13th of Jamad-ul-avval, on the evidence of Rajah Raghunathdas, he put to death, by strangulation, Moro Pandit, who had been in chains since the month of Muharram in the house of Dilawur Khan. He was executed by order of Salabat Jang. On the 13th of Jamad-ul-akhir, Rajah Raghunathdas also, with Sita Ram his nephew, whose title was Rai Rayan, with five Europeans, were slain in the Plain of Bhalki by the hand of Abdul-Ghafur, commandant of a troop of cavalry. Thus they reaped the reward of their acts.

"Time, with its sabre drawn, stands ready to repay ;
What need have we of Vengeance to ponder out the way."

When Salabat Jang had returned to Haidarabad he sent for Rukn-ud-daulah and Samsam-ud-daulah, and when they arrived he bestowed the robe of honour belonging to the post of absolute viceroy on Rukn-ud-daulah. On a sudden, intelligence was received that Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang had received the robe of viceroy of the Dakhan from the Emperor Ahmad Shah and had started for the Dakhan. Rukn-ud-daulah then resigned the office of viceroy and went to Karmalah to Januji Nimbalkar, the reason being that the Amir-ul-umara was coming to the Dakhan in alliance with Holkar, the Maratha chief, and with the support of Januji Nimbalkar and Balaji, who had formed a friendship with him ever since the reign of the first Nizam. When Rukn-ud-daulah had left Haidarabad Samsam-ud-daulah, who remained, was made Governor of that city.

As to the coming of the Nuwab Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang from Dihli to the Dakhan, and the cause of his halting on the journey, and recital of his death.

Mir Muhammad Panah, eldest son of the first Nizam, was honoured by the Emperor with the title of his grandfather, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. The first Nizam remained in the Dakhan and Ghazi-ud-din at Dihli at the court of the Emperor ; and when the first Nizam, who in the year 1153 A.H., obtained leave from Muhammad Shah to proceed to the Dakhan, prepared to set out, he obtained for his son Firuz Jang the title of Amir-ul-umara, which had been bestowed on himself after Khwajah Asim, entitled Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, had been killed in the war with Nadir, with the office of deputy Vazir. After the death of the first Nizam in the reign of Ahmad Shah, the office of Amir-ul-umara was given to Sadat Khan, but after a few days he was removed, and it was restored to Firuz Jang, and after the murder of the Nuwab Nizam-ud-daulah Nasir Jang the office of Nizam of the Dakhan was conferred on the Amir-ul-umara. At first the Ministers, on account of certain matters, were not willing that leave should be granted him to go to the Dakhan, on which account his coming was delayed. The detailed explanation of this affair is as follows :—The Grand Vazir Abul-mansur Khan Saffdar Jang, sister's son and son-in-law of Burhan-ul-uulk, had a dispute with Ahmad Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Bangash, as to a matter which is narrated in the *Khizanah-i-Amirah* and other histories. Ahmad Khan assembled a great force of Afghans, with which he attacked Nol Rai, who was a principal agent of the Vazir, and his deputy in the province of Oudh, and defeated him, and then fought with Saffdar Jang, who had come to his support, and defeated him also. In consequence Ahmad Khan conceived the idea of conquering Oudh and Allahabad, and invaded both those provinces. However, before he had got firm hold of them the Nuwab Vazir, in order to repel him, obtained the aid of Holkar and Jai Apa, father of Janko, both of whom were principal chiefs of the Maratha, and in the early part of Jamad-ul-avval, 1164 A. H., he moved from Dihli to Agra, and made an alliance with Suraj Mall the jat, obtained troops from him, and then marched against the Afghans. After repeated battles and the slaughter, wounding, and capturing of thousands of them, they retreated to

the foot of some hills which are a branch of the mountains of Kamayim, and the army of the Nuwab Vazir, with the Maratha allies, swept up everything in the way of plunder throughout all Rohilkhand. The Marathas pitched a camp there, and the Vazir, in requital for their aid, assigned to them the territory from the frontier of Koel and Jaler and Mewa and Farrukhabad and Kinauj to Jahanabad. Then gradually the Marathas possessed themselves of the country to the environs of Allahabad, which is the limit of the Antarbed or country between the Ganges and the Yamuna. At last the Afghans, being very much reduced, made use of intermediaries to obtain terms, and accepted what the Vazir imposed on them and so preserved their lives. After settling this, the Vazir returned to Oudh, and at that time the report spread of the gradual approach of the king of the Durrani, and Kalandar Khan, his ambassador, arrived at the capital at the Court of Ahmad Shah, who, as well as his nobles, repeatedly wrote to the Nuwab Vazir with urgent importunity to obtain Holkar's assistance, and hasten with winged speed to Court to repeal the Durrani. The Vazir, as requested, induced Holkar by a large sum of money to accompany him, and in the month of Rajab 1165 A.H., came to Dihli; but Jawid Khan, the eunuch, whose title was Nuwab Bahadur, and who was the pivot of the State, and the other Ministers had made peace with the Durrani king before the arrival of the Vazir, and had conceded all he asked, and had made a treaty, and so dismissed Kalandar Khan, his ambassador. The Vazir was incensed at this, saying that he had brought Holkar on the promise of a vast sum, and now he knew not what answer to make to his demands. He was so angry that he would not enter the city, but pitched his tent on the brink of the river. At that time the Nuwab Nasir Jung had recently been assassinated, and the Amir-ul-umara wished that the vicereignty of the Dakhan should be assigned to him. The ministers demanded an offering from him and he wished to secure it for nothing. Hence delay. At the time, however, that occasion served, he said to the Ministers—"If the vicereignty of the Dakhan is given to me gratuitously, I know how to talk Holkar over, so that he will not demand the money promised to him." On this the government of the Dakhan was conferred on him, and the Emperor gave him the robes of honour with a horse, an elephant, and a sword. On the 4th of Rajab 1165 A.H., Ghazi-ud-din entered his tents with the intention of reducing the Dakhan under his control and sent messages to Malharji Holkar and Jay Apa to assist him, as he was in dread of the Amir-i-mamalik, who was already on the throne. They agreed to join him on condition of his bestowing Khandesh for the pay of Holkar and Jay Apa and Balaji Rao, and that he should clear away the claims of all the Mansabdars small and great, and of the attendants at saints' tombs, who had allowances in that country from the time of Aurangzib. The Amir-ul-umara had no knowledge of the subject, nor of the tricks and stratagems of the Marathas, and therefore assented, and got them to be his allies. He then journeyed down in the height of the rains, and in the end of Shawwal arrived near Burhanpur with his troops from Upper India and the Marathas. As they were with him, and it was publicly said that the Nuwab Firuz Jang had not the chief command, but Holkar had it, Zulfakar-ud-daulah wished not to admit them into the city; but Kutb-ud-daulah Muhammad Anwar Khan and Mir Ali Akbar Khan thought it not desirable to use force, and joined Firuz Jang. First Mir Mansur, the commandant of the fort of Asir, submitted, and Firuz Jang confirmed him in his post, and entered the city, where he endeavoured to conciliate the principal men. Abul-Khair Khan, in spite of his illness, waited on the Nuwab, who bestowed on Mir Ali Akbar Khan an increase command of 3,000 horse and a flag and kettle-drums, and the government of Burhandur; and Zulfakar-ud-daulah and Kutb-ud-daulah the Nuwab took along with him, and by regular stages arrived at Aurangabad, and in the month of Zil-Kadah entered the city. At that time Saiyid Lashkar Khan dwelt at Karmalah, which is eighty miles from the city. Firuz Jang sent Kutb-ud-daulah to bring over the said Khan to his side, and himself stayed in that city till the 7th of Zil-Hajj, and was debating whether the Nuwab Salabat Jang would submit and take service. He, the Amir-ul-mamalik, who was at Haidarabad, moved thence and marched a long

way in order to give battle. The Marathas, on hearing this news, having found a favourable opportunity, demanded a grant of the land promised to them. The Amir-ul-umara, who had recently arrived and was reinforced, and who was engaged in a great enterprise, viz., a struggle with the Amir-ul-mamalik, gave Holkar a grant of the province (of Khandes) and some districts in the government of Aurangabad as demanded, sealed with his own seal; and this vast province in this way passed into the hands of the Marathas gratuitously, and as for the people of Islam they had not so much as a drink of sherbet left them. As, however, fate had decreed that the rule of the Dakhan should remain with Salabat Jang, the Amir-ul-umara, seventeen days after he entered the city on the 7th of Zil-Hajj, the last day of that year, died of cholera. Some say that poison was mixed with the food by persons connected with Salabat Jang's harem. God only knows. What is certain is that his men of business, Saiyid Hashmat Khan and Terandaz Khan, his Bakhshi, having washed the body and placed it in its shroud, went back to the capital with the treasure and the cattle and requisite effects of the office, and in consequence of Holkar's consenting, no one dared to oppose this. So they arrived at Dihli and there interred the body.

CHAPTER II.

Events which happened after the death of the Amir-ul-umara Firuz Jang in the reign of the Amir-ul-mamalik Asif-ud-daulah Salabat Jang, till the deaths of Samsam-ud-daulah Shahnamaz Khan and Haidar Jang, and till the arrival of the Nuwab Asif Jah II. in Birar.

As soon as Khwajam Kuli Khan heard of the death of Firuz Jang he wrote to his son Nazar Muhammad Khan announcing the event, and saying that he was the Governor of Burhanpur appointed by the Amir-ul-mamalik Salabat Jang, and it was his duty to prevent Mir Ali Akbar Khan from doing anything, and to transact all the business of the office himself. He gave the letter to a swift courier and sent him to Burhanpur. Muhammad Khan gave the message to Mir Ali Akbar Khan, and an altercation ensued. At last a grant of the government of Burhanpur came from Salabat Jang to Ali Akbar, and this put an end to the dispute. Salabat Jang was thus fairly seated in his government, and he sent a kind letter to Saiyid Lashkar Khan, the Rukn-ud-daulah, who was at Karmalah, and he, in accordance with the order, left Karmalah, and set out for the court of Salabat Jang. The Marathas wished that Salabat Jang before hearing of his brother's death, should grant them a grant of the territory of Khandes, as Firuz Jang had done. They therefore stopped the way, to prevent Saiyid Lashkar Khan and those who were with him from reaching the Nuwab Salabat Jang, who had advanced from Haidarabad in order to oppose his half-brother. In this way they hoped to get the whole province of Khandes as well as some parganahs of Aurangabad besides the city of Burhanpur. But afterwards Rukn-ud-daulah gave in his allegiance to the Amir-ul-mamalik and received the post of absolute representative, and Samsam-ud-daulah, who had been made Governor of Haidarabad, being deposed, came to Aurangabad. In 1166 A. H., an imperial rescript reached Salabat Jang granting him the title of Asif-ud-daulah Sayid Muhammad Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang, Commander-in-Chief, and with this came a grant of the viceroyalty of the Dakhan. The Nuwab Salabat Jang went with Saiyid Lashkar Khan to Aurangabad, and Saffshikan Khan Bahadur, who was formerly known by the name of Abdul-Husain, was appointed his Chancellor and Kutb-ud-daulah Mahammad Anwar Khan was made Governor of Burhanpur on the removal of Mir Akbar Ali Khan. His pupil Abdul Kadir Khan was made his deputy. Mir Ghiyas-ud-din Khan, who was manager for Abul Khair Khan went before the arrival of Salabat Jang at Aurangabad, to settle matters in Lonkher, of which place Abul Khair was Fauzdar. There, in a battle with the factions, he lost his life. On the 16th of Rabi-ul-akhir, 1166 A. H., Abul Khair Khan died of palsy and paralysis at Burhanpur. In the beginning of 1167 A. H., the army encamped at Aurangabad on account of the rains, and

Rajah Raghunathdas was killed by the French under the command of M. Bussy. This force had a disagreement with Rukn-ud-daulah also about their pay. That high officer resigned owing to the depletion of the treasury, and the pressure put on him by his master and the disturbances with the soldiers and the malice of envious persons. He was succeeded by Samsam-ud-daulah Shahuwaz-Khan Bahadur Samsam Jang. At the same time Saffshikan Khan was removed from the office of Diwan and was transferred to the government of Haidarabad, and the Nuwab Haidar Yar Khan was made Diwan. It is recorded that Samsam-ud-daulah held the office of Wakil-i-mutlak (absolute vicegerent) for four years, and by his judgment and foresight brought matters into admirable order, and considering his want of means, did wonders, for when he acceded to office the affairs of Salabat Jang were in such a deplorable state that it came to selling his household furniture. So excellent was Samsam-ud-daulah's administration that, so to speak, the water that had flowed away returned to the stream, and order was restored where disorder prevailed, rebels became obedient, and the people reposed under the shade of justice. During his period of office he equalized the expenditure with the revenue and gave out that, God willing, he would have a surplus next year. However, a short time after his accession to office Salabat Jang marched to Birar to chastise Raghu Bhonslah, after doing which and receiving 5,00,000 rupees as tribute, he moved to Narwal, and by skilful management reduced the troops and Zamindars of Narmal to submission, though from the time of the first Nizam they had been in rebellion and had repeatedly plundered his army. Now their lands were confiscated to the government. In the first year of the administration of Samsam-ud-daulah these two important things were accomplished. He then returned to Haidarabad and passed the rainy season there. At the end of the year Raghuji Bhonslah died. Haidar Yar Khan Shir Jang was replaced in the office of Diwan by Abul Fakhr Khan, and in the same year Saiyid Lashkar Khan went to Birar, of which he had been before governor. Kutb-ud-daulah Muhammad Anwar Khan accompanied him, but left him to go to Burhanpur, of which place he became governor. In the same year the Emperor Ahmad Shah was blinded* by Akibat Mahmud Khan at the instigation of Imad-ul-Mulk, only son of Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang and Sultan Aziz-ud-din, son of Muiz-ud-din, son of Jahandar Shah, son of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, ascended the throne on Sunday, the 10th of Shaban, and was proclaimed by the title of Alamgir II. Imad-ul-Mulk became his Vazir. After some time Akibat Mahmud Khan, too, was slain in a mutiny of the soldiers at the instigation of Imad-ul-Mulk. At the end of Zil-Kadah in the same year Abul Mansur Khan died a natural death. That year also the command of the fort of Asir and the superintendence of the customs of Burhanpur were given to Naja Ali Khan, son of Mir Dost Ali Khan by Salabat Jang. On the 17th of Shaban in the same year, he, by skilful management, got possession of the fort, for which he obtained much applause, a robe of honour, a sword, an ornament for the head and a horse of a good breed. In the second year of the vicegerency of the same high officer, 1168 A. H., he conducted the Amir-ul-mamalik to Maisur, and there obtained tribute to the amount of fifty lakhs=£500,000, and returned to Haidarabad at the beginning of the rains. In this year the Emperor Alamgir II. sent to the Nuwab Samsam-ud-daulah the ensign of the fish.† The following line gives the date :—“ *Az shah-i-Hind amad mahi dihum maratib.*” This year, too, Muhammad Muin Khan Shankat Jang superseded Abul-Fakhr Khan in the office of Diwan to Salabat Jang. In the third year of the vicegerency, viz., 1169 A. H., the Maratha chiefs subject to the son of the deceased Raghu, according to their annual custom, offered battle in the province of Bidar and the vicinity of Nander, but Shankat Jang and Mubariz-ul-Mulk Amanat Khan, who were appointed to chastise them, by great efforts put them to the rout, and took prisoner their Diwan. Muzaffir Khan Gardi, who held the office of Bakhshi, resigned the service owing

* Literally, “had collyrium applied to his eyes,” a euphemism for the passing a red-hot *mil* or anointing bodkin across the eyes.

† “Of the tenth rank is added.”

to the want of kindness shown by Salabat Jang, and joined Abdul-Hakim Khan, son of Diler Khan Mianah, ruler of Samvar. Thereupon Abdul-Hakim formed an alliance with Murar Rao, grandson of Santaji Ghorparah, who had a considerable force, and began to plunder the jagirs belonging to Balaji, who that year marched to Sanwar and Bankapur from Punah, and while *en route* appointed his brother, who was a Muslim, and named Shamshir Bahadur, to the post of Malhar Rao Holkar, and sent him to Upper India, and himself, by regular marches, arrived at Burhanpur on the 22nd of Rabi-ul-akhir, and sent a message to Kutb-ud-daulah, that as his grandfather had had a brotherly friendship with him he expected he would receive him well. Kutb-ud-daulah, in order to protect the city, agreed to supply him with 12,000 rupees as entertainment. But when he demanded this sum of the merchants they all agreed to a *Hartal*, i.e., they stopped buying and selling and closed their shops. Kutb-ud-daulah having no alternative pawned his elephants and got the sum from Mir Ali Akbar Khan, Diwan of the province. Salabat Jang, on hearing this, dismissed Kutb-ud-daulah from the government of Burhanpur, under the impression that he had instigated Shamshir Bahadur to make the demand and appointed Muhammad Islam Khan in his place, and gave him the title of Hashmat Jang, with a dress of honour accordingly, and he appointed Mir Ali Akbar Khan to be his deputy. So, on Wednesday, the 28th of Rajab, he entered on his duties. When Balaji Rao, with his whole army, had arrived at Bankapur, he entered on a struggle with Abdul-Hakim Khan and threw up entrenchments. The Afghans of that place strengthened the fortifications of the city and fought manfully. They made frequent sallies and cut up the Marathas in their entrenchments. At last Balaji was in great straits owing to the dearness of grain and the difficulty of procuring fodder and the fierceness of the Afghans, and asked help through Samsam-ud-daulah, of Salabat Jang, and with the utmost abjectness and importunity wrote that it was incumbent on the Nizam to assist him, because the Afghans were a tribe who are traitors to their benefactors and are always on the watch for their own ends. Witness their acts to Nasir Jang and Muzaffir Jang, whereas the Marathas, notwithstanding the opposition of creeds and constant warfare, had never been guilty of a breach of respect or dishonourable or treasonable actions. Samsam-ud-daulah Shahnawaz Khan, who was the wisest statesman of his time, persuaded Salabat Jang to assist Balaji, and thinking it prudent to confer an obligation on Balaji and take revenge on the Afghans, moved the army of Birar to Sanwar and Bankapur. When the troops got near the Marathas, Balaji came out some miles to meet them. The Generals of the Nizam's force, after consultation, advanced their trenches and made great havoc of the Afghans with their cannon, served by the French. The Afghans were thus compelled to pay the sums required of them to the Nizam and to the Marathas. After this Balaji Rao, with the concurrence of Samsam-ud-daulah, obtained the title of Nizam-ud-daulah with the government of Birar for Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asad Jang, it having been till then in the possession of Saiyid Lashkar Khan, and similarly obtained the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk and the government of Bijapur for Mir Muhammad Sharif Khan Basalat Jang from the Amir-i-mamalik and permitted them to go.* Subsequently Basalat Jang received the title of Shuja-ul-Mulk. The Nuwab Nizam Ali, with a detachment of troops and many nobles of repute as Shekh Ali Khan Haidar and Sarmast Khan, the Afghan, and Lachhman Rao Khanda Kalah, set off for Birar, and Saiyid Wajid Ali Khan was appointed by the Court to be tutor to Basalat Jang, after whose arrival in Elichpur Kirandia, the deputy of Bhonslah came to the town of Purgaon and began to cause disturbances. Basalat Jang, therefore, resolved to chastise him, and a fierce battle ensued, after which the enemy came to terms. Soon after Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who had been sent by M. Bussy to arrange matters in Srikakol, after finishing the refractory in those parts, gave up connection with the French, and wrote to the Nuwab Asif Jah II. desiring to re-enter the service. His petition was granted.

* These nobles were in command of the Nizam's army which came to Balaji's assistance, and Balaji obtained from the Nizam their promotion.

Ibrahim passed with his artillery and family across the Northern Hills, difficult as they are, and was admitted to serve. The French who had Srikakol, Rajamahendri, and other places in lieu of pay from the Amir-i-mamalik, had obtained strange authority there, for the rule was theirs. Elated with this, they asked the Nuwab for the fort of Bidar. Although Samsam-ud-daulah tried to reason with them, they would not listen and he began to think of getting rid of them, and spoke to the Amir-i-mamalik about it. The Nizam assented, and the French, on pretence of settling their districts, Srikakol and Rajamahendri, given them in lieu of pay, took leave and marched to Haidarabad and wanted to take the fort of Muhanmadnagar. The commandant of the fort seeing their disloyal purpose, showed the necessary caution and did not allow one of them to wander about the fort; and Ibrahim Ali Khan brother's son and son-in-law of Shankat Jang, who was the deputy governor of Haidarabad, took care that the city was safe. Haidar Jang, son of Khwajah Kalandar Khan, who was chief agent of the French, devised a plan in his own mind for getting rid of Ibrahim Ali, and sent Rumi Khan, who was M. Bussy's interpreter, and whose destruction he wished, with four determined men under pretence of arranging as to grain for the journey, to Ibrahim Ali Khan. When Ibrahim Ali was busily engaged in conversation with Rumi Khan, the four young men who accompanied Rumi Khan killed him with stabs of their daggers and swords, and the companions of Ibrahim Ali killed Rumi Khan. On this the French without further quarrel captured the city and took up their abode in four quarters of it, called the Kutb-Shahi. They then placed cannon on the Daud Mahall and the Four Minars, and made the most cautious dispositions. The alarm among the citizens was great. The Nuwab Salabat Jang and Shahnawaz Khan, on receiving this intelligence, came to the spot with the utmost expedition and besieged the city. After the siege had lasted two months, M. Bussy was hard pressed, and sent to the governor of Thulchare for assistance. He sent a French officer, M. Lys, with 300 infantry and 20,000 artillerymen, to assist him. The officer commanding the succours got to Haidarabad in spite of the road being closed with bodies of horse and foot. Some fighting ensued, and at last, owing to treachery, the matter ended in a peace. M. Bussy, who commanded the French with the title of Saif-ud-daulah, Umadat-ul-Mulk, and Haidar Jang, had an interview with their plenipotentiary. Haidar Jang's original name was Abdur-rahman. His father, Khwajah Kalandar, was a native of Balkla, who came from his country in the time of the first Nizam and obtained credit and was appointed Faujdar of Machhlibandar (Masulipatam). In this post he became acquainted with several Europeans, and his accounts being under the scrutiny of the Nizam's Government, he was induced by the influence he had acquired with the Europeans to go to Phulchhari, and he remained in shelter there. At that time Haidar Jang was quite young, and the governor of Phulchhari was much attached to him; and when Muzaffur Jang became ruler, the governor of Phulchhari sent a force of Europeans with him under the command of M. Bussy, and sent also Abdur-rahman, who was the connecting link between the Muhammadans and Europeans. Abdur-rahman's fine talents secured his promotion, and he became the prime mover of the French affairs, and obtained the title of Asad-ud-daulah Haidar Jang. When during the siege of Haidarabad the settlement of the jagirs granted to the French became disturbed, Umadat-ul-Mulk and Haidar Jang took leave and went to Rajamahendri and Srikakol. Ajiram Raj always had 1,00,000 footmen and 2,000 horsemen, besides artillery and a hundred elephants; and between him and Ranga Rao, a zamindar, hostilities took place. Ranga Rao was of the tribe of Yalmah, who muster 700 fighting men, and these were victorious in fights which took place in the mountains. Ajiram being thus in difficulties, regarded the arrival of M. Bussy as a favourable circumstance, and through the mediation of Haidar Jang got him to come with him, and fell upon Ranga Rao, who seeing no escape from this peril killed 900 women, his wives, and fought. His men, 700 in number, inflicted great losses on the French and Rajah Ajiram, but were themselves all slain. Only one son of Ranga Rao was left who was saved from the battle by

a woman. It happened, however, that in retribution for this slaughter Ajiram met his death, for three days after at night, in spite of all those troops and retainers, three warriors of the Yalmah dared to make their way into Ajiram Rajah's tent and slew him with their daggers.

After the departure of Umdat-ul-Mulk and Haidar Jang in this direction, Samsam-ud-daulah passed the rainy season in Haidarabad, and in the fourth year of his vicegerency, 1170 A.H., he went from Haidarabad to Adoni and Raichur, and taking with him Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang moved to Aurangabad. On the way he resolved to seize the jagirs of Ramchandra, a Maratha, who had held ever since the reign of the first Nizam several districts, such as Bhalki, &c., in the province of Bidar, and from being disaffected and fond of pleasure had not performed due service. Ramchandra prepared to fight, but was constrained to submit; and his jagirs, except Bhalki, were confiscated to the Nizam's Government. Samsam-ud-daulah in the beginning of the rains arrived at Aurangabad in attendance on Salabat Jang, and he then sent a force to besiege Daulatabad. During the investment two or three supporters of the Saiyids of Bukhara, who had been commandants of the fort since the time of Aurangzib, were slain, and the rest were induced by the gift of offices and estates to surrender. After this, deceitful fortune began to turn over the leaf and girt up its loins with malice—to ruin Samsam-ud-daulah and deprived him of understanding and good sense. The monthly pay of the soldiers was two years in arrears, and mischief-makers excited a tumult in which they demanded their pay. On the day of breaking the fast of the Muhammadan Lent, they came tumultuously to the Idgah, or place of assemblage for prayer, so that Samsam-ud-daulah did not alight from his elephant, but by a thousand evasions escaped out of their hands; but the mutinously inclined did not desist, but daily contrived something new to get Samsam-ud-daulah dismissed, till on the 6th of Zil-Kadah in that year, they stirred up the soldiers and got them to resolve on getting him displaced, and they assembled for that purpose. Wherefore, in order to quell that riot, the office of vicegerent was conferred on the Nuwab Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang, who had come from Bijapur to Aurangabad. On that day there was a prodigious disturbance, and the mob of the city rushed to pillage the house of Samsam-ud-daulah, but at night they dispersed. Samsam-ud-daulah closed the gates of his residence and fortified himself there. Although Shah Mahmud and Mir Ghulam Ali Azad and other well-wishers exerted themselves to extinguish the fire and told him that 1,00,000 rupees would be sufficient to allay the excitement, still he would not listen, as the time for his fall had come. Under the idea that next day the soldiers might assemble and bring their lord (the Nizam) with them, and that it would be impossible for him then to face them, he resolved to remove out of the way. So on the night of the 8th of Zil-Kadah in the same year, he packed such things as were absolutely required, on elephants at midnight, left his house open with goods of great value and a variety of precious objects, and with all his family, male and female, set off for Daulatabad. About 500 of his friends loyally accompanied him; and with lighted torches, and his companions fully armed, he set out towards the Zafar Gate of the city rampart. Some of the guard at the gate were killed, and the others not finding themselves strong enough to resist took to flight. Samsam-ud-daulah and his party then broke the lock of the gate, and near dawn on the 8th of Zil-Kadah reached Daulatabad. After his departure some of his property was plundered by the mob and the rest was seized for the government. Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang heard of the circumstance the same night, and went in pursuit with the troops he had by him, but returned unsuccessful. After an interval, a force was directed to Daulatabad and laid siege to it, and hostilities ensued. It is said that Samsam-ud-daulah secretly stirred up the Marathas to attack the besiegers. At all events a Maratha army advanced and began to plunder the villages in the environs of Aurangabad. Shuja-ul-Mulk and the Amir-ul-mamalik saw no course open but apply to the Nuwab Asif Jah II. for assistance, and they did so with all speed. Balaji Rao being informed of this, out of friendship for Samsam-ud-daulah sent a message to Asif Jah II.

not to comply, but he out of regard for his brothers and fear of injury to the State would not listen to Balaji's message, and advanced to their assistance. The Ministers of Salabat Jang regarded the advent of Asif Jah II. as injurious to their master, and thought it best to send a letter from the Nizam forbidding his brother to advance. Asif Jah, however, considering that insidious persons had been the cause of this letter being written, thought it inadvisable to return, and marched on to Aurungabad. But before he could arrive Mir Ghulam Ali Azad, as he states in the preface to the *Maasir-ul-umara*, went to him and laid the foundation of an accommodation with Samsam-ud-daulah. In order to complete this work he paid several visits to the fort and succeeded in getting the siege raised; but before the place was quite settled the Nuwab Basalat Jang arrived from Birar in Aurungabad, and encamped on the Fath plain. After a consultation it was resolved that he should first punish the Marathas, for which purpose they thought it well to summon Samsam-ud-daulah from the fort and send Mir Ghulam Ali Azad with a conciliatory message to bring him, and having signed his accounts as requested, gave them to Ghulam Ali. He took the accounts to Samsam-ud-daulah and persuaded him into wishing to come. Asif Jah II. sent high officers to meet him; and on the 1st of Rabi-ul-avval, 1171 A.H., he came forth from the fort and met those sent to him outside, and on the same day he waited on Asif Jah and the Amir-ul-mamalik and was graciously received. He was then appointed to take charge of the baggage in rear of the army, and Shuja-ul-mulk and Ibrahim Khan Bir Jang was made leader of the van, and other chiefs of the right and left wing and the reserve. Meanwhile the mischief-makers again persuaded Salabat Jang that he ought to finish this affair himself and not yield to his brother's advice, for if he did so he would lose control over peace and war. Asif Jah being informed of this, sent first Saiyid Wajid Ali Khan and next other persons to the Amir-ul-mamalik to clear up the misunderstanding. They said that he ought not to accept the statements of envious persons, and that the sole wish of Asif Jah was to confirm the government. By such reasonings Salabat Jang was satisfied, and he appointed the Nizam-ud-daulah to the high dignity of his heir, with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah and gave the reins of government to him. At this Balaji Rao moved to near Aurungabad with the intention of fighting. His son Wishwas Rao led the van, and Rajah Ramchandra, who had come from his home with the intention of waiting on the Amir-ul-mamalik, and had got to Sindkher, sixty miles from Aurungabad, was besieged by them. The Nuwab Asif Jah II. left the Amir-ul-mamalik to protect Aurungabad, and taking with him Shuja-ul-mulk and Samsam-ud-daulah fought his way to Sindkher, and rescued the Rajah from destruction, and composed the quarrel with the Marathas by conceding to them territory bringing in 27,00,000 rupees out of the provinces of the Dakhan. He then returned to Aurungabad. Meantime news came that Umdat-ul-Mulk, M. Bussy, and Haidar Jang having finished the arrangements of their jagir and returned to Haidarabad, were intending to wait on the Amir-ul-mamalik. Haidar Jang wrote letters to Samsam-ud-daulah expressive of sincere friendship, and the latter, relying on his professions, took no precautions whatever against his treachery. The army of the Nizam after returning from Sindkher had arrived near Shahgarh, when Haidar Jang waited on the Amir-ul-mamalik, and after the interview encamped between the city walls and the Muhammadi Garden. Directly after that Asif Jah arrived at Aurungabad and after waiting on the Amir-ul-mamalik, encamped on the Fath plain, and Haidar Jang cajoled the Nuwab Salabat Jang into taking the seal of vicegerency from Asif Jah, and giving it a second time to Basalat Jang while he kept in his own power the control of State affairs. As for Samsam-ud-daulah, although his acquaintances, who saw through the deceit of Haidar Jang, directly and indirectly warned him of it, still he reposed on the professions of his enemy, and gave no credence to his well-wishers. When Haidar Jang saw that Asif Jah was surrounded by a powerful force, and unless he could disperse it he would not be able to get complete power, he advanced 8,00,000 rupees for the pay of the

soldiers, and made them the servants of M. Bussy, and so isolated the Nuwab Asif Jah ; and on the 4th of Rajab, 1171 A.H., by the slanderous accusations of some mischief-makers, he got Wajid Ali Khan put to death by the Africans in the service of the Government. Haidar Jang next planned how to imprison Samsam-ud-daulah, and each day invented some new device ; and Samsam-ud-daulah, in spite of his clear judgment and sound sense, was deceived, owing to the openness of his nature, by the fawning and flatteries of Haidar Jang and the French, and visited them without suspicion. On the occasion of a princely banquet which he gave in honour of the birth of a grandson, he invited the Europeans and Haidar Jang, and gratified them by presenting them with robes of honour and valuable jewels, and imagined that he had quite conciliated them and was unsuspecting of the foul treachery they nursed within their hearts. At the suggestion of Haidar Jang, the French with a great show of friendship asked of Samsam-ud-daulah permission to view the fort of Daulatabad, and after rising from the party, they sent a message to Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang to invite Samsam-ud-daulah and Mir Muhammad Husain Khan to take a walk in the Bigam Garden, which is outside the city, and when he heard the report of a cannon in the fort, without delay to make them prisoners. Accordingly, on the 26th of Rajab, Basalat Jang as the French had suggested, took the Nuwab Salabat Jang to walk at the tomb of the Bigam, and sent for many of the chief noble with Samsam-ud-daulah and Mir Muhammad Husain Khan, entitled Yamin-ud-daulah, "right hand of the State." Mans Jang and he himself, ascending the terrace, waited for the sound of the gun. The instant that he heard the report, and it was fired after arranging about the gates of the fort, they made Mir Muhammad Husain Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah prisoners, and took them to camp, and gave each a place in a separate tent, and Mir Abdul Haqq Khan, and Mir Abdus Salam Khan, and Mir Abdun Nabi Khan, sons of Nuwab Samsam-ud-daulah, were also sent for by them and imprisoned with their father in a tent round which French sentries were posted. The house of Samsam-ud-daulah was then plundered a second time, and the Saiyid ladies of the family were shamefully turned out of doors. The kinsmen and dependents of Samsam-ud-daulah were thrown into prison with every accompaniment of severity, and their money was seized. Such was the cruelty with which these Saiyids were treated that in reality Karbala,^o was acted over again. The guilt of these scenes was justly imputed to Haidar Jang and the Nuwab Asif Jah was meditating the removal of the trace of his being from the page of existence, for it was he who broke faith with Samsam-ud-daulah, and he first denuded Asif Jah of his followers, and then caused the imprisonment of Samsam-ud-daulah, and after he had secured himself on all sides wanted to send Asif Jah to Haidarabad, on pretence of making him Governor, with the intention of confining him in the fort of Golkondah, and so clear the field for his own manœuvres. But it is a saying that fate laughs at counsels. In short, Salabat, by the advice of Haidar Jang, went to the house of Asif Jah, and took him up behind him on his own elephant, and brought him to his palace and communicated to him his appointment to the Government of Haidarabad instead of Elichpur, with a salary of 20,000 rupees a month. Asif Jah, situated as he was, accepted the proposal, was clothed with a robe of honour, and was granted leave to depart, and so returned to his tent. He then consulted with his partizans, and it was determined that Haidar Jang should be removed out of the way. Asif Jah then sent to him to say that he had fixed to start next day, and that he had something to communicate to him by word of mouth, and therefore Haidar Jang must come to him. On the 3rd of Ramzan 1171 A.H., in accordance with the request, the doomed Haidar Jang came unhesitatingly to the tent of Asif Jah unguarded, with two ensigns and some servants and Habibullah Khan, son of Khwajah Abdulla Khan. Asif Jah summoned his partizans one by one and put the hand of each into Haidar Jang's, and said—"I now commit these my faithful servants to your care ; bear them in mind and look after them." Then, as he had secretly settled

^o Karbala, a town about sixty miles south of Baghdad, where the family of Ali were slaughtered.

with his counsellors that Haidar Jang should be put to death, he rose up on pretext of repeating his ablutions for prayer. His partizans who attended the special council, at the sign, put an end to Haidar Jang. The story is that Kamkam Jang seized him and held both his hands, and Zabardast Khan and Shahsawar Jang struck him two blows with a poniard one after another, under the short ribs, and Rajah Pratabwant gave him a cut with his sword on the head, and then they slaughtered him and hastily rolled up the corpse in the carpet, and cast it into a corner of the tent. Asif Jah then tore his way through the inner curtain, mounted his horse, and left the camp alone. At this moment the soldiers who came with Haidar Jang fired, but the Almighty preserved the Nuwab till he had gone some distance to a hill, where his partizans joined him. They then fired two rockets towards the French and Haidar Jang's force, which alarmed their generals, and all their artillery remained idly where it was. In short, the Nuwab showed such courage as to efface the story of Rustam and Afrasiab, and M. Bussy lost his presence of mind on hearing that Haidar Jang was slain. Basalat Jang, at the suggestion of Khwajah Rahimatullah Khan, went to the French, where he felt secure. Asif Jah then proceeded to the camp of Rajah Ramchandra, and after a short pause sent Wafadar Khan to the Rajah and informed him of the state of things. The Rajah thought it best not to come himself, but sent 200 or 300 horsemen with Asif Jah and Asif Jah gallantly advanced with them. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who had been involuntarily separated from him by the overruling authority of Haidar Jang, and had joined the French, had halted midway with a considerable force and a strong body of artillery. The French sent a message to him stop the way by some means or other. He, acting with circumspection, and remembering what he owed to his former patron, joined the train of Asif Jah, and collecting the gun bullocks of the French that were out grazing, took them with him, which caused a great uproar in the French camp, and confounded their generals. In this new conjuncture of affairs they put to death Samsam-ud-daulah and Yamin-ud-daulah and Mir Abdun Nabi Khan, the youngest son of Samsam-ud-daulah. The strange thing is that Haidar Jang, who was the real murderer of the Saiyids, was killed four hours before, and Samsam-ud-daulah heard the noise of his murder, and exclaimed, "Now our safety becomes visible!" He then with all dignity turned to the point of prayer and remained seated until a Hindu named Lachhman, a follower of the French, came and shot him in that attitude. He and his son were laid in the ancestral tomb towards the south of the city near the shrine of Shah Nur, and Mir Muhammad Husain Khan was interred in his ancestral tomb below the tomb of Shah Nur. Mir Ghulam Ali Azad found the date of the slaughter in verse 80, 38 of the Kuran. "In that day some faces shall be bright," and he also composed a quatrain* which gave the chronogram. Mir Abdul Haqq Khan and Mir Abdus Salim Khan, on the day of their father's murder, were preserved, inasmuch as by a pretext they had separated previously—Abdul Haqq from his father, and Mir Abdus Salam had been sent to his house on account of illness. The Almighty saved them since it was their destiny.† The Nuwab Asif Jah spent that day at the village of Chikalthanah and the night also, and in the morning went to Khandesh by way of Burhanpur, and on the 13th of Ramazan arrived at Burhanpur, and alighted in the garden called Alam-ara—"world adorning," and Tegh Jang, son of Inam Jang deceased, entered his service, and was favourably received. The Nuwab's treasury was at a low ebb, and he therefore took from the wealthy inhabitants of the city, such as Kutb-ud-daulah Anwar Khan and Shekh Shams-ud-din and Shekh Abdullah and Hafiz Muhammad Hafizullah, and others, a considerable sum. On the feast of breaking the Muhammadan Lent, after performing the proper prayers, he raised Mir Ali Akbar Khan to the command of 4,000, with the title of Bahadur, and with the right to use drums and flags; and his sons, Sadr-ud-din Khan and Hashmat Jang and Muhammad Bahadur

* The words are—*Rabai mustanzad*, augmented quatrain; there being a short line as a chorus or burthen.

† The Persian text adds—"The words *Haqq* and *Salam*, 'Life' and 'Safety,' which occur in their names, and belong to the names of the deity, did their work."

Khan, and other principal men of the place he promoted to various offices. He then went to quarters in the town of Basim, but left Shekh Amin Ahmad in Burhanpur to prepare the artillery. On the 17th of Zil-Kadah in the same year, Mahammad Anwar Khan died of grief at the mulcts imposed on him and the severity of the officers appointed to exact money from him, and was interred at the shrine of Shah Isa Jindulla. Thence Asif Jah proceeded to Birar. At this time the news-writers brought intelligence that Salabat Jang, under the guidance of some envious and malicious persons, had written to Balaji Rao and Janoji Bhonslah to do their best not to let Mir Nizam Ali Khan Asif Jah enter Birar or interfere with it. On this account Asif Jah sent Ghulam Saiyid Khan, and went himself into quarters at the town of Basim.

The Virtues of Samsam-ul-daulah Shah Nawaz Khan, as mentioned by Mir Ali Azad in the preface to the "Maasir-ul-umara" (Memorials of Nobles.)

He was acquainted with many sciences, and incomparably skilled in poetry and law. He set apart two days every week, Friday and Tuesday, for trials, and conducted the examinations himself. He had no rival in literary skill, or in knowledge of history, and was a living record of the families of the nobles and princes of the Timurian dynasty in India. The truth of this is proved by the work called *Maasir-ul-umara*, which we owe to him. He was distinguished by magnanimity, sound judgment, dignity, stateliness as well as by humility, sympathy with the people, modesty, fidelity, sincerity and candour. He loathed falsehood. As soon as he received money he distributed 10 per cent. of it to the deserving. He never held consultations, and had no counsellor. Persons who wished to communicate could always do so by word of mouth, for he saw them himself. In public in his office, he sate with becoming dignity, but in private society he was humble and full of *bonhomie*.

CHAPTER III.

Events which took place after the Slaughter of Samsam-ul-daulah and Haidar Jang, and the Arrival of Asif Jah II. in Birar, down to the Death of the Amir-ul-mamalik Salabat Jang.

After arriving at Basim, Asif Jah went into quarters; and when that season was over, Kirandia, instigated by Janoji Bhonslah, created disturbances and ravaged the country in all directions, and the Nuwab marched to punish them. Just then he received the report that the artillery at Burhanpur was ready, and that Kirandia was lying in ambush in order to seize the artillery as soon as it left the city. On hearing this he wrote to the superintendent of the artillery to be on his guard, and keep the artillery carefully where it was till he arrived. He himself followed on the heels of his messenger, marching by way of Ankolah to Burhanpur. Fighting ensued every day, and the infidels were put to flight. In short the Nuwab fought his way in two months to within sight of Burhanpur, where he arrived on the 1st of Rabi-ul-akhir, 1172 A.H., and encamped on the banks of the Tapti. There he halted five days, and taking with him ammunition for his guns and rockets he set out for Nagpur. When Janoji Bhonslah saw that Kirandia was not able to confront Asif Jah's army, he hastened with a vast force to support him, and a fierce battle ensued. Every day when the Nuwab's forces marched the infidels attacked them on all sides, but were dispersed by the discharges of artillery and rockets till they arrived at the banks of the Purna. One night Sidi Ambar Khan and Kadir Sahib, as they were ordered, made a night attack on the Hindu army, who were not on their guard. Bhonslah and Kirandia, in great alarm, mounted horses unsaddled, and fled and escaped. Janoji reassembled his troops after this discomfiture and made fresh struggles, but was put to flight; and seeing no advantage in continuing the contest, sent to ask for terms through the medium of Rajah Bahadur Pratabwant and others. Asif Jah, for the sake of his nobles, accepted the proposal; and this peace, of which one condition was that aid should be given to Janoji in besieging Dewgarh Chanda, was based firmly on treaties. After that Asif Jah, as agreed, marched to Dewgarh

Chanda. About this time Ghulam Saiyid Khan, who had gone to Punah to inquire for Rao Balaji, returned thence and waited on the Nuwab and was informed of what had happened, and then represented that the advisable course for Asif Jah was to abandon this undertaking and march to Haidarabad and remain with Salabat Jang. Rajah Bahadur did not agree with this advice, but out of respect for his patron kept silence. Thus Asif Jah resolved to go to Haidarabad by way of Mahur and Narwal. When he arrived at the limits of these two forts, Mujahid Jang, who was guarding that division of the country under orders from Salabat-Jang, collected stores for the defence of the forts and made a show of opposition, but seeing that he could not succeed, submitted. Asif Jah entrusted the defence of the district to Khwajah Shahib Khan, son of Azu-ud-daulah, and having settled his arrangements, turned his course to Haidarabad. Mujahid Jang, it is said, died that same year.

Account of the Fall of M. Bussy and Zulakar Jang, brother of Haidar Jang.

After Haidar Jang was slain, Salabat Jang, with the concurrence of Shujan-ul-mulk Basalat Jang, moved from Aurangabad to Haidarabad with the intention of going into quarters there, and while he was *en route*, M. Bussy and Zulfakar Jang, brother of Haidar Jang, who was his representative, obtained leave to go Srikakol and Rajamahendri. When M. Bussy departed from Haidarabad to his district, a great number of English officers in whose possession most of the seaports were, hearing that he had gone, moved on Phulchhari. M. Bussy had deputed Zulfakar Khan to oppose Anant Raj, who had 100,000 footmen and 1,000 horse, and who, supported by the English, acted independently. A fierce battle ensued at forty miles distance from the road to Rajamahendri, at the plain below the fort of Bathpur, which ended in the flight of Zulfakar, and all his office stores and jewels and Commissariat stores and elephants and artillery were captured, and with a few men he escaped to Rajamahendri. In this battle Lachman, the assassin of Samsam-ud-daulah, and Muhammad Husain, Jemadar of a body of the artillery who was appointed to guard, with a number of men, the person of Samsam-ud-daula and his relations and companions, and who was guilty of misconduct towards them in various ways, were killed, and M. Bussy, who had gone to Phulchhari, came from thence and besieged Chinapatan (Madras), which port belonged to the English. Engagements repeatedly took place, but at length the English were victorious, and the French, utterly defeated, fled to Phulchhari. This was the beginning of the decline of the French power and the success of the English, which up to this day has continued.

Events which took place after the arrival of Salabat Jang at Haidarabad.

Salabat Jang arrived at Haidarabad and took up his quarters there, and made Shankat Jang his private Diwan, and the Nawab Shir Jang he made Diwan of the Dakhan. Affairs of state were managed with the concurrence of Shaja-ul-Mulk. After the rainy season was over, Salabat Jang marched towards the fort of Muhammadabad Bidar, as Mir Muktada Khan, commandant of the fort there, had deviated into rebellion. After a month's siege he took the fort and made the same person commandant. Thence Salabat Jang, at the request of Khwajah Rahmatullah Khan, moved on to chastise the zamindar of Srikakolam, who had so completely defeated Zulfakar Jang. When the Nizam's army got near the fort of Bhongir, Nakshband Khan, who commanded there on the part of the French and Haidar Jang, fired the cannon of the fort on the army. The soldiers at once charged and levelled to the ground all the outside town, and besieged the fort, and after a month took it by surrender. Salabat Jang then gave the command of it to Saulat Jang, son of Saiyid Muhammad Khan. Thence the Nizam passed through the jungles with long and rapid marches to the outskirts of Machhlipatan (Masulipatan). Zulfakar Jang here came in a distressed condition and was received into the service. At this time news of the approach of Asif Jah II. to Haidarabad was bruited abroad. On this account the Amir-ul-mamalik immediately dismissed Zulfakar Jang and returned

to Haidarabad and encamped in the environs. Asif Jah had already arrived, and on the 3rd of Shawwal went out to meet the Nizam. After the three brothers had met they quarrelled over certain matters, and at last the Nuwab Shuja-ul-mulk Basalat Jang with his troops, and Rahmatulla Khan and Karun Khan, Gardi hurried off to Imtiazgarh, which was before in his possession, and the Amir-ul-mamalik and the Nuwab Asif Jah were friendly and united, and the management of State affairs was put in the hands of Asif Jah, who began to arrange all matters, and who released from the fort of Golkondah Mir Abdul Haqq Khan, entitled Shams-ud-daulah Dilawar Jang, who had been confined there, and conferred on him his father's title Samsam-ud-daulah Samsam Jang, and the command of 6,000 horse with the number of 5,000 actually serving under him. Mir Abdus Salam also, in conformity with orders, came forth from the fort of Daulatabad and joined his family. After some time Ibrahim Khan, taking offence at Rajah Bethaldas Pratapwant, gave up his service and joined Balaji Rao.

Account of the battle with Balaji Rao and the death of Shankat Jang and the loss of many forts and districts to the Marathas.

When the Nuwab Asif Jah II. was firmly settled in the chief management of State affairs, the Marathas, united by some mischievous persons, began to cause disturbances, and in 1173 A.H., Bahadurgarh, that is to say, the fort of Hargaoon, and other districts were wrenched from the grasp of the Nizam's officers, and Sadaseo Bhao and the son of Balaji's uncle agreed with commandant of the fort of Muhammadnagar, and on the 18th of Rabi-ul-avval in the same year captured the said fort, and through the junction of Ibrahim Khan, the disturbance caused by the Marathas increased. Meanwhile Sarba Rao, the Zamindar of Narmal, the same whom Samsam-ud-daulah put in prison, by a clever stratagem got free, and took Narmal and the adjacent district and imprisoned the commandant of the fort. Ghulam Khan was appointed to punish him, but that wild animal escaped the snare, but was tamed by prudent management, and about this time Asif Jah with Salabat Jang went to encounter Balaji Rao, who had come forth with 200,000 horse, and halted in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bilkemdah, which is twenty miles from Narmal. Ghulam Saiyid Khan and his troops came from Narmal, and took service with the Nizam. Thence Salabat Jang and the Nuwab vicegerent went towards the fort of Udgir, which had abundance of water and grass, and on the 22nd of Jamad-ul-avval the Marathas made their appearance on all sides, and a battle began. The Amir-ul-mamalik and Asif Jah thought it right to go from Udgir to Dharur, where they might unite their forces with those of the Zamindars of that place, who had assembled to stop the way against the Marathas, and then proceed to Punah the centre of the war. This the two Nawabs did, but the Marathas surrounded them, they having 7,000 horse and the Marathas at this point 60,000. The Marathas cut off the supplies, and seeing their opportunity, fought fiercely, the hottest part of the fight being about the guns, which had been placed round the army. On this occasion, in consequence of Ibrahim Khan Gardi assisting the Marathas, the battle assumed the form of their usual banditti fighting and that of European warfare, that is, with artillery. As the Nizam's army within the chain of their guns were thickly collected together, scarcely a shot of the Maratha guns failed of effect, but the Marathas fought in loose order, and the Nizam guns did little execution among them. Though Ibrahim Khan called himself a Muslim, he exerted himself wonderfully to defeat the Muhammadan army, and on the march, or at encamping, he brought up his guns day or night and served them, and never gave the Nizam's troops a moment's rest, and thus wore them out, besides killing many. In spite of this, Salabat Jang's soldiers fought their way on, till on the 26th of Jamad-ul-akhir in the same year, worn out with the artillery fire, they threw themselves on Ibrahim Khan and the Marathas and cut up a great number of them, and took eleven flags from Ibrahim Khan's division. In this battle the nephew of Ibrahim Khan and many chiefs of the Marathas were killed, and on the side of the Muslims fell Saiyid Adghala Khan and Nika Pandit,

sister's son to Sarga Rao. In short, fighting every day the Nizam's army reached a fort within twenty miles of Dharur. The Marathas saw that if their opponents got to Dharur, and the troops there joined them, it would be hard work to beat them. So on the 15th of Jamad-ul-akhir in the same year, about 40,000 horse, a fine body of troops, fell upon the general of the rear guard of the Nizam's army, Shankat Jang, who by halting on the march to pick up baggage that had fallen, had become separated from the main body. After a great struggle and much slaughter, as the enemy were very numerous, and the Muhammadans only about 3,000, the rear guard of the Muslims was dreadfully cut up. Shankat Jang and Kadir Sahib Jalal-ul-daulah and Husain Munanwir Khan and Ghulam Nakhband Khan were killed, as were also Basant Rai and the brother of Bhali Rao, by name Gorbaksh, and Bal Kishn Pandit, and Balwant Rao, and on the side of the Marathas a thousand horsemen departed to Hades. After slaughtering the rear guard the Marathas in great force attacked the main body. The Nuwab Asif Jah, fierce as a lion and brave as Rustam, repelled the assault, and with his own hand emptied several quivers of their arrows, and every arrow he shot carried death. At last but a short space intervened between the Maratha army and the elephant on which the Nuwab was riding, when the Almighty brought about his safety; for droves of Brinjari bullocks, which were following the army laden with corn, intervened and saved the Nuwab from falling into the hands of the Marathas. The battle raged till night, but ceased when the sun set. Next day the forces were so exhausted that they were obliged to agree to terms, and conclude a peace which was pregnant with a thousand mischiefs. It is said that Ghulam Saiyid Khan was the medium through whom this peace was made. The Marathas obtained territory of the yearly value of sixty lakhs (£600,000), that is to say, all the province of Aurangabad except the city itself and the parganahs of Haweli, Harsol, and Satarah, and the rest of the province of Bidar and Bijapur, and the forts of Daulatabad and Asirgarh, and the city of Burhanpur, and the fort of Bijapur; so that each city which had been a capital of a Muhammadan dynasty was taken, together with the jagirs of the Nizam, and his nobles and officers. Except the province of Haidarabad and some part of Birar, and a part of Bijapur, and a little of Bidar, nothing was left to the Nizam. Even what remained was not all his, for the Marathas had a fourth part of it, so that as it were bad blood circulated in the veins of that country. However, though Islam was thus greatly weakened, still it did not go so far as the Bhao* desired, that is that the Nizam's Government in the Dakhan should be utterly subverted. As the beginning of this disaster was the loss of Ahmadnagar, the date has been preserved in the following chronogram:—

“Islam's unbelieving foe,
Crafty, took the fort, and lo!
Lost is Ahmad's royal town—
With it went the Dakhan's crown†

After the conclusion of the treaty the Marathas sent a force to take possession of the fort of Daulatabad. The commandant, Shujaat Jang, a descendant of Saiyid Muhammad of Kinauj, stood out. The Marathas then demanded from the Nizam an order to give up the fort, saying that according to the treaty he was bound to deliver it up. Having no alternative, the commandant surrendered the fort to the Marathas on the 19th of Shaban 1173 A.H. But Mir Najaf Ali Khan, the commandant of Asirgarh, refused to give up that fort to the Marathas, who therefore laid siege to it, but the said nobleman defended it for a year. At last when his stores failed, he peacefully surrendered on the 12th of Rabi-ul-akhir, on a Friday, 1174 A.H. Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgiramī says as to the date:—

“Hindus the Gate of Islam took,
For so'twas written in Fate's book;
Wisdom recorded thus the date,
Asir's strong fort was lost by fate.”

* Cousin of the Peshwa and son of Chimmaji Apa, and then the great leader of the Maratha armies.

† The last line, *Raft Ahmadnagar va Mulki Dakhan*, is the chronogram.

The last line, *Rakam zad ajab Hisn-i-Asir aft*, is the chronogram. In short, the Marathas having taken territory worth sixty lakhs a year, returned to their capital, and the Amir-ul-mamalik and Asif-Jah went to Haidarabad.

Account of the expedition of Wiswas Rao, son of Balaji Rao Bhao, with a countless host and many munitions of War to Upper India, and his destruction there.*

When Balaji Rao returned after this conquest, news arrived of the slaughter and plunder of his army and of Holkar's, by the Durranis. Balaji appointed his son Wiswas Rao to command another army, and his uncle's son, Sadaseo, commonly known as Bhao, to be Prime Minister, and sent up a vast force with all the distinguished chiefs and veteran soldiers and a train of artillery, after the European fashion, to Upper India. Now the way in which hostilities arose between the Shah of the Durranis and Data and Holkar, which led to the destruction of Data and his army, and to Holkar's troops being stripped of all they had, is thus recorded. When the Shah of the Duranis left his son Timur Shah and Jahan Khan in Lahur, the latter made Adinah Beg Khan governor of the Duab, sending him a commission and a robe of honour. This Adinah Beg was formerly governor of Lahur in the time of Imad-ul-Mulk, grandson of the first Nizam, but after the coming of the king of the Durranis to Lahur, not feeling himself strong enough to resist, he bought waste land in Laki, and on that account and his knowledge as Amaldar (tax-collector) Jahan Khan† sent him the commission and robe of governor of the Duab. Adinah Beg thought this great promotion, and carefully arranged matters in the Duab. After some time, however, Jahan Khan summoned him to appear before himself, but Adinah Beg did not feel himself safe with Jahan Khan, and therefore withdrew into the mountains. Jahan Khan then appointed one Murad Khan to the government of the Duab, and directed Buland Khan and Sarafaraz Khan to support him; but Adinah stirred up the Sikhs, and got them to attack Murad, and sent with them some troops of his own. A battle was fought in which Buland Khan was killed, and Murad and Sarafaraz, feeling themselves unable to resist, betook themselves to Jahan Khan. The Sikhs then, at the instigation of Adinah, plundered all the Duab, especially Jalundar. Meanwhile the brothers of Balaji Rao, that is to say, Raghunath Rao and Samshir Bahadur with Holkar and other chiefs and a numerous army, came from the Dakhan to Upper India and the neighbourhood of Dihli. Adinah wrote repeated letters inviting them to come, and the Maratha chiefs, who were always on the look out for such occasions, marched towards Lahur. They first fought with Abdus Amad Khan, who had been appointed by the Durrani king Faujdar of Sarhind, and took him prisoner, and then they hastened on to Lahur.‡ Their advanced posts encountered those of Jahan Khan, and he, owing to the paucity of his troops, thought it imprudent to fight, and hurried toward Kabul with Timur Shah in the greatest distress. This was in Shaban 1171 A.H. His danger was so great that he left behind him stores which he had been collecting for some years, and they were captured by the Marathas. Timur Shah marched without a halt to the Atak River, and crossing it conveyed himself to a place of security. The advanced guard of the Marathas pursued him to the Jhalam (Jhelam) and then turned back. After this the territory to Multan and Derah Ghazi Khan and on the other side to the waters of the Chanao fell into the hands of the Marathas. As the rains were approaching they gave over the province of Lahur to Adinah Beg Khan, on condition of his paying a tribute of seventy lakhs§ (£700,000) a year. They then returned with speed to Dihli, and after halting a few days set out for the Dakhan. But one of their chiefs named Janko, who had been appointed to reduce the country of the Rajahs in the province of Ajmir, was detached to Dihli. In the month of Muharram, 1172 A.H., occurred the death of Adinah Beg. Janko gave the office of Faujdar

* So in the Persian.

† The Persian is not clear here.

‡ Which city they entered in May 1758. See Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 132.

§ Grant Duff (*Ibid.*) says seventy-five lakhs, but the *Hadikah-i-Alam* is probably right on this point.

of Sarhind to Sadik Beg Khan, and the Duab to the widow of Adinah Beg, and the province of Lahur he gave to a Maratha named Saba Patel, who took up his residence there, and his troops advanced as far as to near Atak. The Durrani king, on hearing this news, and induced also by the entreaties of the leading men in India, that is to say, the ancient Rajahs and the Muhammadan chiefs, such as Najib-ud-daulah, who were driven to despair by the rising power of the Marathas, marched rapidly from Kabul towards India. His troops had a slight encounter with those of Saba Patel* beyond Lahur, but they soon drove them in consternation into Lahur. Saba himself then fled with them towards Dihli, and Sadik Beg Khan and the widow of Adinah Beg also fled, and in Safar, 1173 A.H., went to Jammu in the hills near Lahur, and after exacting a contribution from the Rajah of that place proceeded to Dihli. Just then negotiations were going on between Data† and Shuja-ud-daulah, but peace had not been concluded, when intelligence was received that the Durrani king was marching in that direction from Lahur. Data, breaking off the negotiations, marched to encounter the Durranis. Data had a numerous and well appointed army of 80,000 horse. When the Durrani king found after advancing from Lahur that in consequence of the invasions of the Maratha armies, grain and grass and water were deficient on that road he crossed the Chaman (the Jamna), and entered the Antarbhed, that is the country between the Ganges and the Jamna.‡ These two rivers run from the hills of Kumayun, which is in the northern part of India, and form the Antarbhed, which terminates at Allahabad, where is their confluence. When the Durrani king had arrived in the Anturbhed Sadullah Khan and Najib-ud-daulah and Ahmad Khan Bangash and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and Dundi Khan, whose country lies near the beginning of the Antarbhed, joined the king. The king himself, marching down the Antarbhed, ordered his advanced troops to go by roads well-known against Data§ and himself making a long circuit arrived at Sarhind, where his vanguard encountered the Marathas, when charging them with such fury as to sweep them before him; he followed them up as far as Dihli, causing them to make a disastrous retreat to the plain of Baoli, which is in the suburbs of Dihli. Here Data's army was surrounded. Data sent off his nephew Janko with a small force and they escaped, but Data himself and all his cavalry alighted from their horses and held their ground. The Durranis with their swords and muskets inflicted dreadful loss upon them, and Data and most of his men were killed, and a victory, which might be called the Bismillah, or beginning of a still more glorious one, was obtained by the Durrani king. It took place in Jamad-ul-akhir, 1173 A.H.

" King of the age, and of Durrains lord,
Thou showest Data with the trenchant sword;
Azad the date of this great victory sings,
When he ascribes it to the king of kings."

The last line, *Nusarat-i-padshah-i-Alijah*, is the chronogram.

After Data was killed Ahmad Shah pursued Janko, and on the very day the battle was fought, followed hard after him for thirty miles as far as Sarai Alah, where he halted. He continued the pursuit in the same way as far as Narnul. Meantime news arrived that Holkar, who had been at Makandarah, near Jainagar, after hearing of the death of Data, had betaken himself with all speed to Suraj Mall the Jat, and asked him to unite in repelling the Durrani king. Suraj Mall said he was not strong enough to encounter the Durranis in the open field, but if Ahmad Shah should enter his territory he would know what to do. About that

* This Saba was Sabaji, a relation of Ranoji Sindhia.

† Data or Dataji Sindhia was the second son of Ranoji Sindhia, and had been induced by Mir Shahbud-din, grandson of the first Nizam, to attack the Rohillas, who were defended in this instance by Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh. It was at this time that Shahbud-din put the Emperor Alangir II. and Intizam-ud-daulah to death.

‡ Throughout this river is called the Chaman in the text.

§ Grant Duff says, Vol. II., p. 137 :—" Whilst the Abdali vanguard occupied the attention of the Marathas in front, Ahmad Shah, assisted by the local knowledge and activity of Najib-ud-daulah, suddenly crossed the Jamna near Dihli, took the division of Dataji Sindia in flank and completely surprised them, and scarcely one-third of their number escaped. Of that number were Mahadoji Sindia, and his nephew Jankoji, the son of Jai Apa, but Dataji and Jutaba were killed." Observe that Grant Duff writes the name of this chief Sindia, as here, but it is more usual to write it Sindhia.

time the Afghans of the northern extremity of the Antarbéd* with treasure and stores of grain which they had brought from their own territory for Ahmad Shah, had arrived at Sangdaraht† which is forty miles east of Dihli in the Antarbéd. Holkar pounced with all speed upon the treasure and grain. But the Afghans, directly they heard of the meeting of Holkar and Suraj Mall, were prudent enough to transfer to the other side of the Ganges as much of the treasure and stores as they could. The rest was captured by Holkar. When Ahmad Shah heard of it, he despatched Shah Pasand Khan and Shah Kalandar Khan Durrani with 15,000 horse to chastise Holkar. Those officers marched in twenty-four hours from Narnul to Dihli, which is 140 miles, and rested during next day at Dihli, crossed the Jamna at midnight, and marching in hot haste the rest of the night reached Sangdaraht early next morning, when they came upon Holkar, who with 3,000 horsemen, mounted bareback, escaped. The other chiefs and the rest of his army were all killed or taken prisoners and all their goods were plundered. After this Ahmad Shah came from Narnul to Dihli, and as the rains were at hand he encamped on the far side of the Jamna at Sikandarab, opposite Dihli. Wiswas Rao and Sadaseo Rao, commonly called Bhao‡ and the other Maratha chiefs, on hearing this news, moved from the Dakhan to Upper India. When they arrived at the outskirts of Agra, Suraj Mall the Jat, introduced by Holkar and Janko, came to see the Bhao. The Bhao himself came forth to meet him. Imad-ul-mulk, grandson of the first Nizam, also came to Mathura, and was introduced by Suraj Mall to the Bhao, who agreed that, as the flood in the Jamna prevented its being crossed to fight Ahmad Shah, he would take Dihli if he could. He accordingly marched on Sunday, the 9th of Zil-Hajj, 1173 A.H., at about 8 o'clock A.M., and entered Dihli and took up his position near the house of Sadullah Khan. His troops attacked the citadel at the Lion Tower of the Khizr Gate. For some time too fighting went on at the Dihli Gate. On this side ten or twenty Mughals and Durrani's fired their muskets from the top of the fort. Janko's men drew up near the breastwork of the fort, under the windows of the private hall of audience, and on this side the sound of musketry was heard from time to time. They fired one cannon shot from Salimgarh, the ball of which went up towards the sky. At that interval Holkar and Janko, standing at the Khizr Gate, made desperate efforts to break it. As the gate was immensely strong, the doors being of bronze with iron spikes, they had made no progress in breaking it even after four hours.§ Meanwhile nearly 500 men of Patel Rao's corps had got over the wall, and were followed by Holkar's and Janko's men from the Lion Tower, and began to plunder the royal palace. Whatever came to hand they threw down from the top of the wall. While thus plundering not one of them gave any heed to what was being done in the fort, so ten or twenty Durrani's and Mughals with muskets in their hands came from Salimgarh, and with their muskets and swords struck down ten or twenty men into the dust. The rest with insane cries, quite bewildered, threw themselves down from the breastwork of the wall, breaking their arms and legs, and abandoned the fort, though it was now thrown open. The Maratha chiefs were thus compelled to

* The Rohillas. Grant Duff (*Ibid.*) says it was a convoy escorted by the troops of Ahmad Khan Bangash.

† Grant Duff appears to have fallen into a mistake here. He says, Vol. II., p. 138, note:—"I have, after a comparison of the Persian and Maratha authorities, perhaps on insufficient evidence, rejected the former, wherein it is stated that Holkar was in the Jaipur country when Dataji retreated, and that it was at the Sikandra near Dihli where he was surprised." The Sikandarab, where Akbar was buried, is close to Agra, 115 miles south of Dihli. The word in the *Hadikah-i-Alam* here is clearly Sangdaraht, and its position, forty miles east of Dihli, shows clearly that it is not Sikandarab, but some place near Rohilkand. Sardhanah would exactly suit this description, but the word in the text is Sangdaraht. Another reason why we may take Sardhanah to be the place is that Ahmed Shah's troops that surprised Holkar came seventy kos from Narnul, resting at Dihli after a twenty-four hours' march, and reaching Holkar next morning early, in six or seven hours. That exactly accords with the position of Sardhanah, which is 120 miles as the crow flies from Narnul, then in the Jaipur territory, and forty miles from Dihli. Ahmad Shah, after Holkar's defeat, came from Narnul to Sikandarab. The word is quite plain in the Persian, and this seems to be Sikandarabad, so that as the Bhao reached the Jamna, in flood, owing to the rains, it kept him from crossing to Dihli.

‡ The word in the Persian is always written Bao or Bawo without h, but following Grant Duff I write it with h.

§ The word "ghari" is generally translated "hours," but it may mean a space of twenty-four minutes.

assemble in the house of Sadullah Khan, which is near the fort, round which they threw up batteries. Imad-ul-Mulk and Suraj Mall, who in a time-serving spirit had joined the Bhao, did not take any part in this skirmishing, but looked on from a distance. The Marathas pressed the siege closely, and Ibrahim Khan Gardi, whom the Bhao had brought along with him from the Dakhan, and who had artillery served after the European fashion under his command, brought up three guns in the sandy plain under the fort and fired them. The cannon shot fell like rain on the rooms of the Lion Tower and the Octagon Tower, and on the private Hall of Audience, and the Seraglio and the Pearl Palace and the Royal Tower, in which a huge gap was made. But owing to its strength the fort was not injured. Thus a strong battle went on daily. Yakub Ali Khan Bahmanzai, brother of the noble Vazir Shah Wali Khan, who was commandant of the fort, seeing that his supplies were cut off, and that it would be difficult to get any reinforcements from Ahmad Shah on account of the Jamna being in flood, sent to say that he would surrender the fort if his honour and property were guaranteed. The Bhao assented, and after the terms had been ratified, Yakub Ali Khan came out of the fort with his baggage, and stopped at the mansion of Ali Mardan Khan, and then embarked in boats and crossed the Jamna to Ahmad Shah. On the 19th of Zil-Hajj 1173 A.H., the fort passed into the hands of the Bhao, and the Seraglio of the Emperor, and all his imperial offices fell into their power. Such was the decree of the Almighty. The Bhao entrusted the fort to the care of Naru Shankar, a Brahman, and gave him a body of troops to protect the fort. After some days the said Brahman went as envoy to the other side of the Jamna to Shuja-ud-daula with this message:—"The Marathas and Brahmans of the Dakhan have conquered Hindustan, and all this mischief has arisen from the faithlessness and greediness and rapacity of this tribe; that is to say, the nobles and Rajahs of this country are driven to desperation by the bad faith and bad conduct of Raghunath Rao and Data, who has been killed, and Holkar and Ambaji, and the rapacity of their officials, and so they have invoked the Purrani king to preserve their honour and property." The said Brahman, through the intervention of Shuja-ud-daulah, came and went in the camp of Ahmad Shah and proposed terms of peace, but failed. One of many causes why peace could not be concluded was that the Maratha chiefs were all vain and of perverted judgment, ill-tempered, and mean and greedy and cruel. Just so Suraj Mall the Jat, observing their manners, saw that this tribe would rule badly and left Dihli and went to Balamgarh, one of its forts. The Bhao, though claiming the sovereignty of the Dakhan and of Upper India, carried his meanness so far that he tore up the planks of the private Hall of Audience, which were of silver, and coined them, and took the gold and silver utensils which had been bequeathed to the mosque of the Prophet's foot, and the shrine of the king of holy men, Nizam-ud-din Auliya, and the tomb of Muhammed Shah, and the censer and canopy and the lamps. In short, the Bhao with his army lodged in Dihli, till the paucity of grain and grass made his soldiers there distressed, so he wished at the end of the rains to leave the city and plunder the villages, and take on himself the control of the circumstances of the people, high and low, of those who are the creatures of God entrusted to rulers by Him. On leaving the city, which was on the 29th of Safar, 1174 A.H., he deposed Shah Jahan (the Second), son of Mahui-samat, and placed on the throne Mirza Javan Bakht, son of Shah Alam Ali Gauhar, and appointed Shuja-ud-daulah, in his absence, Vazir. His intention in this was to make Shuja-ud-daulah suspected by Ahmad Shah, and to set them at variance. He then left Naru Shankar (Rajah Bahadur) in Dihli, and moved with his whole army to Kunjpurah, where Abdus Samad Khan Abdali and Kutb Khan Rohillah and Najabat Khan, Zamindars, dwelt and furnished supplies of grain, &c., to the army of Ahmad Shah that side of the water. This is the Abdus-Samad, who, when he was Faujdar of Sarhind, fell into the hands of the Marathas, as before related, and having at last got free, he allied himself with the other two. On the 7th of Rabi-ul-avval, 1174 A.H., the Marathas besieged Kunjpurah. As with European artillery it is an easy matter to take a

fort, it soon fell into their hands. The Bhao put to death Abdus-Samad and Kutb Khan, and pillaged Kunjpurah of every thing. Ahmed Shah was infuriated when he heard this, and though the Jamna was not yet fordable he ordered his army to cross, and on the 18th of Rabi-ul-avval, 1174 A.H., it entered the river at the ford of Pakbat, near Dihli, and got across,* some by fording and some by swimming. Some, whose predestined time was come, were drowned. The Bhao was alarmed at this daring passage of the river by the Afghans, and starting from Kunjpurah with the intention of plundering Sarhind, in two marches reached Panipat. At this time the Bhao had 40,000 veteran and experienced horse, and a vast train of artillery served after the European fashion, and yet he felt himself unable to cope with the Durrani in the open plain. Having no alternative he took up a position in a fortified camp to the north of Panipat, so studded with guns that it might be called a circle of fire. On the 21st of the month aforesaid, the triumphant army of Ahmad Shah arrived before the entrenched camp of the Marathas, and began to teach them their alphabet in their first sword lessons,† and every day the Muslims and the idolaters sought out one another, and daily a number of persons travelled on the road of eternity, sent by the cannon, the swivel guns, the rockets, muskets, and swords. On all sides the Durrani cut off the enemy's supply of grain, except in the direction of Lahur, where is Adajat, a noted place on the confines of Sarhind, whence grain was brought. There too the Durrani, when they got an opportunity, made a foray. When Ahmad Shah saw that the Marathas, in spite of the scarcity of food, did not move beyond the circle of their guns, he resolved on the 28th of Rabi-ul-akhir, 1174 A.H., to attack their fortified camp, and ordered his men to mount. Jahan Khan and Shah Pasand Khan and Najib-ud-daulah led the van, and behind them came Shuja-ud-daulah with his *corps d'armée*, with Ahmad Khan Bangash and Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dondi Khan and Faizullah Khan, son of Ali Muhammad Khan Rohillah, and in support of them Ahmad Shah, with his noble Vazir Shah Wali Khan. The Marathas on their side were ready drawn up at the distance of a rocket shot in front of their camp. After a long fight, which began at early noon, when only two hours of day were left, the Rohillah infantry with Najib-ud-daulah, who were proverbial for their courage, about 10,000 in number, after a volley of musketry came to a hand-to-hand fight with the enemy, after forcing their way into the camp. Balwant Rao, son of the father-in-law of the Bhao,‡ who was his principal man of business and his right hand man, fell from his horse wounded by a musket ball and spurred his way into eternity. The Rohillahs would have finished the Marathas that very day, but night§ coming on friend or foe could no longer be distinguished. The Rohillahs were, therefore, compelled after a brilliant success to retire from the Maratha camp to their own. Govind Pandit, who was the collector of taxes in Atawah (Etawah), with 10,000 horses, much treasure, and stores of grain, arrived at Shah Darah on the other side of the Jamna opposite Dihli, and intended to plunder Mirat, which belonged to Najib-ud-daulah, and then ascend the Anterbed and cross the river at the ford of Kanjpurah, and join the Maratha army. Accordingly, he marched from Shah Darah and arrived at the parganah of Jalalabad, which is twenty-four miles from Dihli. As Ahmad Shah had heard before of his coming, he detached Atai Khan Durraui and the son of Abdus Samad Khan Abdali with 5,000 horse to punish him. The said officers crossed the river by the fords of Ramarah and Pakbat, and hastening on reached Shah Darah on the second day, and slew the deputy of Naru Shanker, whom they found there and his men, and following that up close, they hastened to Ghazi-ud-dinnagar, which is twelve miles from Dihli, and killed the Marathas that were there and then attacked Jalalabad, where Govind Pandit had halted, having arrived that very day, viz., the 9th of Shawwal in the aforesaid year.

* The whole army had crossed by the 25th of October 1760. See Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 144.

† A singular expression.

‡ This account somewhat differs from that in Grant Duff as to Govind Pant Bundelah's death. See Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 145. Nor does it mention that the party bringing treasure to the Marathas from Dihli were cut off; nor that Holkar attacked the left of the Abdali camp and killed 2,000 men. Grant Duff relates the battle in which Balwant Rao was killed very differently, and makes it a Maratha success.

Him too and all his men they slew with the sword, and obtained a vast plunder of cash and goods and quadrupeds, which with the head of Govind Pandit they took to Ahmad Shah. As the siege of the Maratha camp lasted long, and heaps of carcasses and ordure made it full of stench, and cutting off of supplies occasioned a famine, so that every day a number of men and quadrupeds died of hunger, the besieged, becoming desperate, agreed that if they remained in the camp their food would diminish and they would perish without a blow, and therefore it was better to rush out on the enemy in a body. Fate would decide whether it would be a throne or a bier.* On Wednesday, the 6th of Jumad-ul-akhir, 1174 A.H. = 7th of January 1761, they ranged their forces, and put the artillery, which was managed after the European fashion in front, and came out of their camp and marched towards Ahmad Shah's army, who like hunters were watching their prey, and gave their desperate quarries just time to issue into the plain, uttering "Ram Ram"† and then relying on the assistance and protection of the King of Kings, they drew their bloodthirsty swords and rushed upon them, and in a moment breaking through their ranks they sent a multitude to Hades. First of all Wiswas Rao, who was in the flower of youth, was killed by a bullet, and directly afterwards the Bhao disappeared, and Janko and other chiefs were slain early in the day. Ibrahim Khan Gardi was taken prisoner and kept in a cage like a bird and shortly afterwards decapitated. The battle-field was red with blood, 23,000 male and female slaves of the Dakhan race were divided amongst the Muhammadan chiefs, and so much plunder that that fortified camp could not contain it: jewels and great sums of money, and goods and artillery, 50,000 horses, 2,00,000 cattle, some thousand camels, and 500 elephants, fell into the hands of the victorious champions of the Faith. Those who escaped the sword wandered in the waste of despair, and the people of the villages settled their business, and nothing was left undone in the way of slaughter and slavery and plunder. Shamsir Bahadur, illegitimate brother of Balaji, born of a dancing girl, perished on the road, and of the great chiefs of the Marathas only two or three escaped. One of these was Holkar, who with a thousand difficulties got off to Malwah and went thence to Puna. Five months and thirteen days after this defeat Balaji died of grief. It is said that a few months before his decease he seized the allowances made to village officers,‡ such as the Mukaddam, the Patwari, the Dher, the washerman, the barber, the carpenter, the smith, and the rest, and let them out to contractors, and so replenished his empty treasury with a large sum. But this had an unfortunate ending, for before this novel system had been introduced into all the districts under his control the Almighty stopped his hand from vexing the poor.

Ahmad Shah after this grand victory§ moved in triumph from Panipat to the environs of Dihli, and stopped a considerable time there. On the 16th of Shaban, 1174 A.H., he set out at night for Kandahar, and they found the date in—"He returned to Kandahar" (*Murjaat-i-Kandahar mamul*). On arriving at Lahur he appointed a viceroy there and went on. Ahmad Shah came seven times to Hindustan; the first time in the end of the year 1150 A.H., with Nadir Shah, and next year he accompanied him on his way back to Persia. He came the second time in 1161 A.H.; when he moved his army from Kandahar to India, and when Prince Ahmad Shah in obedience to the orders of the Emperor Muhammad Shah marched to repel him, he fled, taking the road to Kabul and Kandahar. He came the third time, in 1162 A.H., from Kabul to Lahur, and had a slight engagement with Muin-ul-Mulk, which ended

* This is a popular saying, like "Death or glory." *Takht* is a "throne," and *takhtah* a bier.

† Name of the god Ramah, used as an interjection or exclamation.

‡ At p. 31, Vol. I, of *Grand Duff* will be found an account of these functionaries.

§ The account of Panipat in the *Hadikah-i-Alam* is jejune and wanting in details. It does not notice the arrangement of Ahmad Shah's army, in which the Shah Wali Khan commanded the centre, Ahmad Khan Bangash, Hafiz Rahmat and the Rohilahs formed the right wing, and Shuja-ud-daulah, with the Oudh troops, and Nejit-ud-daulah with some Rohilahs, the left, with Shah Pasand Khan on the extreme left. Ibrahim Khan and Damaji Gaekwar broke the right wing of the Durrani army, and killed or wounded 8,000 Rohilahs. The Durrani under the Vazir in the centre were also broken by the Maratha horse, and it was to the good generalship of Ahmad Shah that his success was mainly owing.

in a peace. The Shah, after the fashion of Nadir, fixed the tribute that was to be paid to him from Sialkot and other places, making Muin-ul-Mulk responsible, and then went to Kabul. His fourth invasion was in 1165 A. H., when he came again to Lahur. Muin-ul-Mulk fought for four months, but on account of the hostility of Adinah Beg and Kora Mall, who were his chief ministers, was vanquished and had to submit. The Durrani king made him his Viceroy at Lahur and returned to Kabul, and in Muharram 1167, Muin-ul-Mulk was killed by a fall from his horse. Ahmad Shah sent the commission of Viceroy from Kandahar to Mir Mumin, son of Muin-ul-Mulk, and on account of his tender years gave the control of affairs to his mother. As women are not adorned with the ornament of reason, all the nobles like Bhikari Khan Rustam Jang, who was the Prime Minister, were disgusted at her irregular life, and just then Mir Mumin died a natural death. In his place Khwajah Musa Ihrari, father-in-law^a of Muin-ul-Mulk, was appointed Viceroy. Rustam Jang wished to be Governor himself, and the widow of Muin-ul-Mulk, finding this out, sent for him to the women's apartments, where by her command the female slaves killed him with sticks. After an interval Khwajah Abdullah Khan, son of Abdus Samad Khan Saif-ud-daulah, obtained supreme power and imprisoned the Bigam, and asked Ahmad Shah to make him Viceroy; but Aman Khan, brother of Jahan Khan, came to Lahur on the part of Ahmed Shah, and acted oppressively and plundered many persons. After some time Khwajah Abdullah Khan, who could not keep his position on account of the disturbances raised by the soldiers about their pay, fled, and the government of the province again devolved on the Bigam. Then Khwajah Mirza Khan, who was one of the chief officers (Jamadar) of Muin-ul-Mulk, imprisoned the Bigam, but at last they came to terms. The fifth invasion of Ahmad Shah was in 1170 A.H., when he came to India on account of the disturbances raised by Imad-ul-Mulk, son of Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang, son of the first Nizam, who had overthrown the Shah's Government in Lahur and taken the rule from the Bigam, whose daughter was betrothed to him, and given it to Adinah Beg. Khan Ahmad Shah on hearing this came from Kandahar to Kabul and from Kabul to Lahur. Adinah Beg did not venture to resist, but slipped away into the desert of Hansi Hisar, which is entirely without water. Ahmad Shah came with speed to Sonpat, which is forty-miles from Dihli, and Imad-ul-Mulk, who had no resources, saw that the best thing he could do would be to submit, so he hastened to make obeisance to the Shah. On Friday, the 7th of Jamad-ul-avval in the said year, Ahmad Shah entered the fort of Dihli, and had an interview with Alamgir II., and plundered and dishonoured the citizens to the utmost extent. Those people who were jealous of their honour committed suicide by taking poison, or by turning their weapons against themselves. Ahmad Shah remained nearly a month in Dihli, and celebrated the marriage of his son Timur Shah with the daughter of Aziz-ud-din, own brother of Alamgir II. He then marched from Delhi and resolved to chastise Suraj Mull the Jat, who for a long time had held possession of the province of Agra. He took one of his forts, called Bikamgarh, situate thirty miles from Dihli, with mortars in three days, and at once put all the garrison to death. Thence he marched against Mathura, an ancient sanctuary of the Hindus, and carried out to the full a general massacre, burning and pillage. The Jats fled from the plains and hid themselves in forts. The king then moved to Agra. Mirza Saifullah, the ancient commandant on the part of the Emperor, did not submit, and by the fire of his guns prevented any one from moving about the fort. The king then ordered Khan Jahan to reduce the Jat forts, and that officer was busily engaged in that duty, when suddenly from the vicissitudes of destiny, and through the good fortune of Suraj Mall, an epidemic (either the plague or cholera) broke out in the camp of Ahmad Shah, which was near Bakrah with such violence, that it was impossible to remain there. On this the Durrani king withdrew his troops from the Jat country and hastily took the road to Afghanistan. When he had arrived abreast of Dihli, Alamgir II.,

^a *Damad* generally means son-in-law; but here, as Muin-ul-Mulk was so young, it must mean father-in-law, as it sometimes does.

with Najib-ud-daulah, came to the tank of Maksudabad and met him. At this time Ahmad Shah married the daughter of Muhammad Shah, after which he made Najib-ud-daulah Amir-ul-umara (chief of nobles) of India and went to Lahur, where he made his son Timur Shah ruler of Lahur and Multan and Thahthah with Jahan Khan as commander-in-chief, and returned by way of Kabul to Kandahar. He came the sixth time in 1173 A.H., and defeated the Bhao and other leaders of the Marathas, as related. His seventh invasion of India, in 1175 A.H., was caused by disturbances raised by seditious persons after he had beaten the Marathas, and had appointed a viceroy at Lahur and had returned to Afghanistan. The Marathas, who had lost life after the death of the Bhao, revived again and fought with Asif Jah II. In 1174 A.H., Suraj Mall the Jat got the fort of Agra from the Imperial Governor by private arrangement. The tribe of the Sikhs, who dwell in the Panjab, and from ancient times have been full of the leaven of sedition, are bigoted foes of the Muhammadans, and though they had seen the Durrani king come so often to India and vanquish it, still owing to want of foresight, they set up the standard of rebellion and killed the Shah's Viceroy in Lahur, and made one of their tribe, Jasasak,* king, and getting possession of Lahur and the surrounding country they molested the people, especially the Muhammadans. The Durrani king, on hearing these tidings, in his usual way marched upon India. When he arrived at Lahur news came that the Sikhs to the number of about 200,000 horse and foot were assembled in the Zila of Rohi, which is on the frontier, the mass of them being near Sarhind in the territory of Alajat. Ahmad Shah, marching with all expedition, crossed a distance of ninety kos in two days, and came upon the Sikhs just in time. On the 11th of Rajab 1175 A.H., a battle ensued. The champions of Islam charged the idolators furiously and inflicted on them great losses, killing about 8,000. They took plunder, the amount of which is known only to the Almighty. After his victory the Shah entered Lahur in triumph, and fixing his residence there employed himself in occupying and bringing into order the country round that city. He also despatched Nur-ud-din Khan Durrani, who was a son of the paternal uncle of that noblest of Vazirs, Shah Wali Khan, with an army of Durrani and Kazilbash and Khurasanis and hill men of Jammu, to conquer Kashmir and attack Jagjaiun, who was governor of that country. Jagjaiun sent an army to secure the mountain passes and repel the attack. The Durrani after much fighting were victorious and drove the Kashmirians out of the passes and slew many, and pursued them into the city of Kashmir. Jagjaiun gave battle with the troops he had about him and made what resistance he could. At length his troops could stand no longer and fled, and Jagjaiun† with his family were taken prisoners. The Durrani king made Nur-ud-din Khan Governor of Kashmir, and in 1176 A.H. departed to Kabul.

Account of the events which took Place after the peace with the Marathas to the Death of the Amir-ul-mamalik.

After concluding the peace with the Marathas, the Nawab Amir-ul-mamalik and Asif Jah II. returned towards Haidarabad. While *en route* the Amir-ul-mamalik sent Asif Jah to Elur and Rajahmahendri, and entered Haidarabad; and after some time, at the suggestion of certain seditious persons, appointed Hamidullah Khan his absolute vicegerent; but as the seal of that office was in the possession of Asif Jah II., he had another cut, and began with it to settle public affairs. Asif Jah, on hearing this adverse news, hastened with all despatch to Haidarabad, and waited on his brother, and endeavoured to ameliorate his feelings towards him by expressing the utmost regard and loyalty. The Amir-ul-mamalik, although in outward appearance he evinced friendship and attachment, still did not allow the bitter impression which had been made on his mind by the calumnies of sycophants to be altogether effaced, and after much

* The *Siyar-i-Mutaakhirin* calls him "Chinta."

† The word is written here as above. The *Siyar-i-Mutaakhirin* calls him (Vol. iii., p. 208), "Djivan," which is an incorrect way of writing "Jiwan."

debate he sent Asif Jah towards Yalgandil to form a permanent camp there, and this accordingly Asif Jah did, and after settling the new quarters, he set off to chastise Raghunath Rao, brother of Balaji Rao, who had begun to raise disturbances and had attacked the districts of the Nizam's Government. After he had pitched his camp near the fort of Medak, Nasir-ul-mulk Mir Mughal Ali Khan, who had been appointed by Salabat Jang to the Government of Nander, came from Haidarabad with Ismail Khan Pani to pay him a visit, and then placed his baggage in the fort of Medak and prepared to fight. Meanwhile news came that Wiswas Rao and other Maratha chiefs had been destroyed with their army, on which account Raghunath Rao being terrified and too apprehensive to give battle, offered to conclude a peace. Asif Jah, too, viewed this as a fine opportunity, and moved off to punish Mir Muktada Khan, the commandant of the fort of Bedar, and after a short siege took the fort, and appointed Siyadat Khan to the command, and returned to Haidarabad and encamped in the plain near the palace. At that time Salabat Jang had appointed Bahadur-dil-Khan to the Government of Haidarabad, and had gone to the other side of the Kishna to the districts near Anagundu. Bahadur-dil-Khan went out to meet Asif Jah, who passed the Muhammadan Lent there, and after the festival of the Id-ul-fitr went to Kalbarga (Gulbarga), where the Amir-ul-mamalik had arrived. After waiting upon him, Asif Jah renewed his promises and engagements to him. They then went to Muhammadabad Bidar and fixing on it for the halting-place dismissed the troops in the usual way to places of pasturage. While at Bidar news came that Balaji Rao, on Tuesday the 19th of Zil Kadah, 1174 A.H., had died, and his son Madhu Rao had succeeded to the throne, being quite young. His elder brother, Raghunath Rao, had become a devotee. In 1175 A.H., Asif Jah II. assembled an army, and first of all moved with Salabat Jang to Aurangabad, and Raghunath Rao* and Madhu Rao also marched with a great force and a train of artillery. The faithful and the idolators drew near one another in the plain of Shahgarh, and before Aurangabad was reached, fighting took place. The two Nuwabs on reaching Aurangabad halted there one or two days to get supplies and to leave their superfluous baggage. On the 23rd of Rabi-ul-akhir, 1175 A.H., they marched thence to the house of War Punah, and fighting continually with the Marathas reached Tokah, which is a town on the river Godavari† full of temples and fine buildings erected by the Marathas. The Nizam's army set fire to the town, destroyed the idols, and leveled the temples with the ground.‡ Thence it moved to Ahmednagar, and when near the town of Chunargonda was attacked by the Marathas, and repulsed them. When they arrived at the outskirts of Ahmadnagar, Raghunath Rao with his whole army encountered them and made repeated charges on the left, where the Rajah with his own troops had posted himself with Nanakdas. So fierce was the attack that the Muslims were near being broken. Just at this time Murad Khan and Sultanji Nimbalkar, and close after them Saif-ud-daulah, hurried up to assist the troops who were so hard pressed, and broke the ranks of the Marathas. When they arrived near Turkabad they resisted with obstinate courage, and disregarding the rain of bullets and balls, they advanced kindling the flame of battle. Asif Jah placed the Amir-ul-mamalik in safety in the camp, and himself led on the troops to repel the enemy, and after a fierce fight the enemy fled, and the champions of Islam pursued them to the distance of ten miles from the camp, and slew many. The Nawab Asif Jah then returned victorious at nightfall. The Nizam's army then moved that night without being opposed, and after arriving at Ghornadi,§ the Marathas again assembled to bar the way. The Nizam's troops marched from that place also at night, and crossed the river, and no fighting took place. In short, in the same way bravely and prudently advancing every day, they arrived within fourteen

* This Raghunath was the uncle of Madhu.

† On the side nearest Aurangabad, and about half way from that city to Ahmadnagar. The river is quite unfordable and very deep and swift in the rains, but fordable in the spring and hot weather.

‡ This took place in 1761 A. H., when Madhu Rao was seventeen years old. See Grant Duff, Vol. II., pp. 161—165.

§ Or *Sirur*, about twenty-eight miles from Punah.

miles of Punah, which city nearly met the same fate as Tokah, when suddenly Nasir-ul-Mulk, sixth son of the first Nizam, on account of the ill-feeling he had against his brother, together with Rajah Ramchandra, who was a distinguished leader of the Nizam's army, on account of his being of the same race with the Marathas, went over to them on the 27th of Jamad-ul-avval in the same year, and did a thing that ought not to have been done. After this event the Marathas thinking that the balance inclined in their favour made a furious attack from all four sides of the compass and brought up guns, which they served with spirit. The champions of Islam advanced beyond the circle of their own guns and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, and by the power of their swords broke the ranks of the enemy, and slew many. The Marathas withdrew from the field. They saw that the victorious troops of the Nizam had come this long expedition to within fourteen miles of Punah, and that their attempts to stop the way had been unavailing, and that next day Punah would be burnt. The inhabitants of that city, too, came to Raghunath Rao, and made bitter complaints, saying,—“You wish to give our families into the hands of the Muslims.” Having no alternative, Raghunath and Madhu Rao sent envoys and asked for terms, and delivered over in return for peace, territory bringing in an annual revenue of twenty-seven lakhs belonging to the provinces of Bidar and Aurangabad. This peace was concluded on the 6th of Jamad-ul-akhir 1175 A.H. (A.D. 1762). Asif Jah then marched towards the Panch Mahal districts, belonging to Ramchandra, and as a punishment for his desertion trampled down his lands under the hoofs of the cavalry. In the beginning of the rainy season, on the 14th of Zil Hajj, 1175 A.H., Asif Jah, with the Amir-ul-umara, went into winter quarters in the fort of Bidar, and that very day, with the consent of the principal nobles, confined the Amir-ul-mamalik, who at the instigation of mischievous persons, was the source of actions which disturbed the course of Government, and occasioned constant outbreak of dangers, which obliged the Nuwab Asif Jah to use his utmost efforts to extinguish them. Salabat Jang lived one year, three months, and six days in confinement, and died on the 20th of Rabi-ul-avval, 1177 A.H., on a Thursday, and was buried near Shekh Muhammad Multani. May his tomb be holy ! Mir Aulad Muhammad Zaka has given the chronogram of his death thus :—

“ Almighty Lord, grant that his spirit sublime
Shall wing itself free from the sorrows of time ;
Zaka his happy release has thus dated—
Amir-ul-mamalik to Heaven was translated.”

The last line, *Amir-ul-mamalik ba jannat shudah*, is the chronogram.

BOOK IV.

AS TO THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE NUWAB NIZAM-UL-MULK, NIZAM UD-DAULAH, NIZAM ALI KHAN
BAHADUR ASAD JANG ASIF JAH, CONTAINING THREE CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.

As to the transaction of that great personage, Asif Jah II., and the mention of other events from the time of the Nuwab's arrival at the Fort of Bidar for winter quarters, to the Death of Mir Musa Khan, Prime Minister.

The Nawab Asif Jah was the fourth son of the first Nizam, and was born on the 1st of Shawwal 1147 A.H. His original name was Mir Nizam Ali, and he was brought up under his father, and received the title of Asad Jang with that of Khan. As he showed signs of courage and an auspicious career, he was employed when quite young against the Marathas, his guardian being Shekh Ali Khan Bahadur, and under the rule of Salabat Jang, he was made Governor of Birar in 1169 A.H. When Salabat Jang concluded peace with the Marathas by the surrender of territory bringing in sixty lakhs of rupees, he obtained leave and went to Rajahmahendri to obtain supplies of money. On his return, as the pay of the soldiers of Salabat Jang was in arrears, and in consequence they would not obey orders, he raised the amount from some districts of Haidarabad, and took the responsibility of payment on himself, and spent the rains at Elgandil. Next year, when Raghunath Rao, brother of Balaji, came with an army and caused various troubles, Asif Jah followed him up, fighting with him to the town of Medhak, and there a peace was concluded. Asif Jah then took a fort from Mir Muktada Khan and then moved to near Haidarabad. At that time Basalat Jang had taken Salabat Jang with him to the other side of the Kishna in order to raise money from the Zamindars of Bijapur, which was under him. As no profitable result ensued, Salabat Jang quitted him and went to the fort of Kalbarga. On hearing this news, Asif Jah quickly joined Salabat Jang, consoled him and took him with him to winter quarters at Bidar. As Balaji Rao died that year, and his brother Raghunath and his son Madhu Rao were at variance, Asif Jah thought it a fortunate opportunity to chastise them, and in 1175 A.H. came within 12 miles of Punah fighting his way, and when peace had been ratified returned to Bidar. That same year the viceroyalty of the Dakhan was conferred upon him by the Emperor, wherefore he confined his brother and himself assumed the government; and the author of the *Khizanah-i-Amirah* writes that when the Nawab Asif Jah II. was firmly seated on the throne he made Rajah Pratapwant,* Prime Minister, who was a Brahman of the Yajurvedi tribe, dwelling at Sangamnir. Next year, having resolved to punish the Marathas, he crossed the Bhima. His object was as follows: Between Raghunath Rao and Madhu Rao, who had both gone to quarters in Punah, in the year 1175 A.H., a difference arose, and the officials under Madhu wished, if an opportunity offered, to imprison Raghunath. He, getting information of this, left Punah on the 3rd of Safar, 1176 A.H., almost alone, with only a few horsemen, and took the road to Nasik. Muhammad Murad Khan of Aurangabad, who was the most confidential officer of the Nuwab Asif Jah II., and was appointed by him to conciliate the Marathas, and who resided at Aurangabad, heard of Raghunath leaving Punah, and setting off with a body of horse to the vicinity of Nasik, fell in with Raghunath, who was in great destitution and distress. Considering the arrival of Muhammad Murad Khan, a fortunate circumstance, he greeted him with the utmost respect. The Maratha chiefs saw, by Muhammad Murad's accompanying Raghunath, that the Nizam was favourable to him. Most of them sided

* His real name was Withal Sundar, and Nizam Ali gave him the title of "Rajah Pratapwant." See Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 171.

with him and neglected Madhu Rao, so that Raghunath had soon a considerable force assembled about him, and he hastened from Aurangabad to Ahmadnagar. Madhu Rao, too, advanced from Punah with an army, and on the 25th of Rabi-ul-akhir, and 24 miles from Ahmadnagar, fighting took place. Madhu Rao was defeated, and withdrew from the battle-field, and next day asked for quarter and came to Raghunath. The Nawab Asif Jah had advanced from Bidar to support Raghunath, and had arrived near the place where the battle was fought, and meanwhile the quarrel was settled. When Asif Jah reached the village of Meshadgaon, Raghunath, too, hastened there, and in the first ten days of Jamad-ul-avval in that year, interviews and entertainments took place. Raghunath, in requital of the service done to him, made over territory bringing in fifty lakhs, and the fort of Daulatabad to Asif Jah and prepared the deeds and gave them to the vakils of the Nizam's government. As this brilliant service was accomplished by the wise counsels of Mahammad Murad Khan, Rajah Pratapwant would not look at it, and before the territory and the fort of Daulatabad were handed over, he managed to break off the peace, and induced Asif Jah to detain Raghunath Rao. He then induced Janoji, son of Raghu Bhonslah, the Mukasahdar of Berar, by hinting that he would appoint him in place of Raghunath, to come and attend Asif Jah. Nasir-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of the first Nizam, who had gone to the Marathas, offended at the disrespect with which he was treated, came to join Asif Jah on the 14th of Shaban in that year. Asif Jah then moved with a great force to attack Raghunath, who feeling himself unable to cope with it, preferred to wander about and plunder, as is the original habit of the Marathas, and with 30,000 horse moved against Aurangabad, and occupied the western suburb and demanded a fixed sum of the citizens. Mutamin-ul-Mulk Salar Jang, governor of Aurangabad, notwithstanding his small force, prepared to defend himself with the utmost cheerfulness and vigilance by strengthening the bastions and the city ramparts, and distributed the care of the batteries to the Kutwal Himmat Khan Bahadur, own brother of Muhammad Murad Khan, and the other officers and principal men of the city, and in expectation of assistance from the Nuwab Asif Jah amused the Marathas with fine words. Raghunath Rao, discovering this deception, resolved to take the city, and brought up scaling ladders. On the morning of the 20th of Shaban at sunrise, his fighting men began to plunder the suburbs outside the city walls. Raghunath Rao himself with a select force posted himself on the north of the city, and his soldiers planted their ladders at the foot of the wall and brought elephants up to it, and some soldiers advanced and tried to break the panels of the gate in the wall of the Gulabi Garden in the citadel and to enter, but Himmat Khan and Mirza Muhammad Bakir Khan and the citizens who were looking on repelled their assailants (*literally*, reprobates) by raining on them bullets and arrows and stones. The sons of Mir Kazim Rizawi deceased, who were Saiyids of Daulatabad, displayed distinguished courage; and sent many disappointed enemies to the lowest pit of hell. In other directions too many Maratha soldiers were killed or wounded by the citizens. When the fight was at the hottest a bullet struck the driver of Raghunath Rao's elephant, and that same shot parted the combatants. Raghunath gnawed the finger of regret and rubbed the dirt of despair upon his countenance, and withdrew from the assault. He then heard that the Nuwab Asif Jah was approaching, and departed on his wandering to Baglanah. On the 26th of Saban Asif Jah arrived at Aurangabad. As the Marathas were intending to go to Birar and plunder there, Asif Jah moved on the 1st of Ramzan by long marches to near Balapur and stopped the way. The Marathas returned from that direction and passed near Aurangabad, moving on Haidarabad. The Nuwab also changed his route and followed them to the river Godavari, and there after consultation it was resolved that it was better to lay waste the Maratha country than to follow the enemy. The Nuwab, therefore, gave up the pursuit and moved on Punah, the head-quarters of the war. After passing the hill of Ahmadnagar he sent band after band of soldiers to every district and in every

direction to plunder and destroy the habitations of the Marathas. He himself, on arriving within four miles of Punah, encamped. The inhabitants of Punah had previously fled to forts and strongholds, and the champions of Islam utterly consumed the buildings at Punah and reduced them to black earth, and the army omitted nothing that could be done in ruining and destroying the environs of Punah and the Konkan. In the days of Balaji and the Bhao, who was strong enough to meddle with their smallest possession? Now their goods were plundered, and buildings on which they had expended lakhs of rupees were fuel for the flames of the wrath of the Almighty. Mir Aulad Muhammad Zaka says :—

“Asif Jah II. with the flag of Sulaman,
Set in flames the Brahman's city ; throughout the fire ran :
From Zaka's ardent soul hear now the glorious date,—
From the army of the Faithful great Punah met its fate.”

The last line, *Atish Zad Punah ra sipah-i-Islam*, is the chronogram.

Raghunath Rao went to Haidarabad, and on the 1st of Zil Kadah attacked the city and used excessive efforts to capture it. Shuja-ud-daulah Bahadur Dil Khan of Aurangabad was the governor of the city, and having a considerable number of soldiers in his pay had prepared for the defence. He and his men fought valiantly, and with cannon shot, musketry, and arrows repelled the attack, and slew many of the assailants. Thence, too, Raghunath had to retire baffled. The news-writers then informed Asif Jah that Raghunath had decamped from the environs of Haidarabad, and was moving towards Punah. On hearing this the Nuwab Asif Jah, as the rainy season was at hand, turned his face towards Muhammadabad Bidar. When he arrived at Dharur, Janoji, who accompanied him, said to Rajah Pratapwant that that year it was best to make Aurangabad his winter quarters, as it was near Punah and also not far from Nagpur. The Rajah, by the specious words of that mischief-maker was deceived, and advised the Nizam accordingly, and obtained his consent. When, therefore, they arrived at the fort of Usa they lessened the loads of the baggage animals, and turned towards Aurangabad. When they arrived at the Godavari and found the stream in flood they passed some days in crossing and the army was divided into two ; one passed the river with the Nuwab, the other with the Rajah was delayed on the near side of the river. Janoji, who, owing to his blood connection with the Hindus, was secretly intriguing with Raghunath, got separated from the Rajah on pretence of his troops being clamorous for their pay, and halted at about six miles off Raghunath, who was on the watch for this, came up at speed, and charged the Nizam's troops. The Rajah, notwithstanding his inferiority of numbers, stood his ground manfully, and formed up his men, who fought desperately and broke the enemy's ranks, and getting near the iron haudaj (seat on an elephant's back), cut the ropes which fastened it, and were about to decapitate Raghunath, when the traitors who befriended him called out that that was not Raghunath but another Brahman, and that Raghunath was on another haudaj. The Muslims abandoned him, and went off to another elephant, whereupon Raghunath retired. Just at this moment the bullet of destiny struck the Rajah and his life was sacrificed in the service of his lord. It is said that Murad Khan, who had a secret grudge against the Rajah, made a signal to one of his attendants in the midst of the battle to kill the Rajah, and accordingly that attendant shot the Rajah dead. Immediately the Rajah fell his troops gave way, and a victory was turned into a defeat. The Marathas, who were flying, turned round and charged the Nizam's troops on all sides, and these being panic-stricken made no stand and were cut to pieces. Some surrendering their property, saved their lives by flight, but the majority were killed.* Many threw themselves into the river and were drowned, and a few were made prisoners. However, the Nuwab, who had crossed the river before the Rajah was killed, hastened to Aurangabad without a halt. Raghunath, when the Rajah Bahadur had been killed, crossed the river, and occupied the suburbs of Aurangabad. Mir Musa Khan, who had escaped from the rout with

* The Marathas (see Grant Duff, Vol. II. p. 175) call this the battle of Taurdalza. The Marathas say the Nizam lost 10,000 men.

one garment and a turban on foot, contrived to reach the Nuwab Shir Jang Haidar Yar Khan, who at that time was at Punah. Shir Jang, regarding the coming of Mir Musa Khan, who was a Saiyid of agreeable manners and one of the Nizam's intimate associates, as an advantage, held a council, and in agreement with Muhammad Murad Khan laid the foundation of a peace. In the treaty it was agreed that Mir Musa Khan should be Prime Minister; and an agreement was made with Mir Musa that whenever, after obtaining his release from Punah, he should join the Nizam and become chief minister, he should send for the Nuwab Shir Jang, and should carry on the affairs of government with his approval. Accordingly Murad Khan, by the directions of Shir Jang, went to the Nizam and laid the foundation of a peace according to the bases agreed on, and the Nizam, in consequence of the heavy loss his army had sustained, agreed to the terms. So twenty days after Rajah Bahadur was killed, Mir Musa Khan arrived at Court, and was honoured with the title of Rukn-ud-daulah Bahadur Ihtisham Jang and with the robes of office of Prime Minister, consisting of four garments and a jewelled ornament for the head, and a pearl necklace. Afterwards the Nuwab Shir Jang came to Court from Punah with the concurrence of Rukn-ud-daulah, and obtained employment. As in the time of Salabat Jang he had been honoured with the office of Diwan of the provinces of the Dakhan, he was acquainted with all matters of government great and small, and was on good terms with all the leaders of the army and most of the troops. Thus, though publicly Rukn-ud-daulah was Prime Minister, yet really the management of all State matters was with Shir Jang. As a measure required by the state of things, he gratified Ghulam Saiyid Khan—who, by his baseness and malevolence, after having obtained influence over the mind of the Nizam, was always on the watch to ruin the great nobles, and by untruthful representations turned the mind of the Nizam from his well-wishers—with the title of Muin-ud-daulah Sulrab Jang and the government of the province of Birar, and by rubbing in goose oil, removed him from Court. At this time intelligence was received that the lamp of life of Salabat Jang had been extinguished* by the cold boisterous wind of death on Thursday, the 20th of Rabi-ul-avval, 1177 A. H. Asif Jah observed mourning for his brother for three days, during which the music in the gallery of the guard did not sound. After this Asif Jah went to Sholapur and took offerings from the zamindars of that part, and then proceeded to Haidarabad. Madhu Rao, as he felt safe as regards the Nizam, made an expedition to punish Haidar Ali Khan, commonly known as Haidar Naik, who had imprisoned the Rajah of Maisur, and had got possession of his whole country, and had forcibly seized many towns of the Afghans, such as Sanwar and Bankapur and Souda and Badnur and Sara and Haskot, and had got together a considerable force, and was causing disturbances. Raghunath left the neighbourhood of Aurangabad and went to Madhu Rao, and Holkar went up to Upper India. Madhu Rao sent forward a vast army under Gopal Hari and Bapu Rao Pharnaves† against Haidar Ali, who appointed Faizullah Khan, son of Mir Muhammadi Khan, son-in-law of Saiyid Dilawar Khan, to repel the Maratha invasion. After a fierce battle Faizullah put the Marathas to flight. After this Madhu Rao and Raghunath‡ with the most distinguished Maratha chiefs, like Trimbak Mama, and Banu Naik, and Naru Shankar, set out to encounter Haidar Ali, and after taking most of his forts offered him battle. On the occasion Haidar was defeated, and retired to Shirangpatanam, and employed himself in strengthening the fortifications. He also entered into negotiations for peace, which he concluded after paying thirty lakhs ready money and territory bringing in several lakhs a year. Madhu Rao then returned to Punah.

* Grant Duff says, Vol. II., p. 167, that Nizam Ali secured his usurpation by the murder of a brother whose natural imbecility would have prevented his ever becoming a formidable rival. The *Hadikah-i-Atam* does not admit unfair dealings with the deposed Nizam, and from Asif Jah's previous conduct it is highly improbable that he was stained with this crime.

† This is a Maratha corruption of *Fard navis*, "writer of lists or rolls," i.e., Secretary.

‡ Raghunath did not join till Madhu sent for him, as the army was about to cross the Wardha river. See Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 116

Mula Ahmad, who in good sense and experience surpassed all his ministers, to Rajah Jai Singh to put matters right, and make his apologies and renew his assurances. Mula Ahmed's heart's desire was now realised, and in the year 1076 A.H., he joined the Rajah at the fort of Purandhar, and made known his secret wish. When this was communicated to the Emperor, an order was sent summoning him to the presence. By the imperial favour he was raised, even in his absence, to the rank of a commander of 6,000 horse, with the actual command of 6,000. The Mirza Rajah also was told that when Mula Ahmad arrived at Court he would be honoured with the title of Sadullah Khan and with an office suited to his merit, and that he was to have money given him for his journey, and to be sent on. The Rajah, according to the imperial command, gave him 2,00,000 rupees and 50,000 rupees to his son, and sent him to Court. Mula Ahmad, however, on arriving at Ahmadnagar, died; but his son Muhammad Asad, as directed by the Emperor, hastened to the presence and got employment in the ninth year of Alangir's reign, and was raised to the nominal command of 1,500 horse, with the actual command of 1,000, and the title of Ikram Khan; and Mula Yahiya, younger brother of Mula Ahmad, owing to his happy fortune, in the sixth year of Alangir's reign, turned from Bijapur to the Imperial Court before his elder brother, and was raised to the nominal command of 2,000 horse with the actual command of 1,000, and was sent to the Dakhan along with the Mirza Rajah, and did good service in wasting the territories of Bijapur. Afterwards he was distinguished with the title of Mukhlis Khan, and chose to reside in Aurangabad. His son Zin-ud-din Ali Khan and his kinsman Abdul Kadir Mutabar Khan were promoted each to a respectable command. The office of Faujdar of the Konkan was conferred on Mutabar Khan; and with such vigour and vigilance did he devote himself to the management of that province, which was the home and habitation of that troublesome tribe the Marathas, that he completely impressed the Emperor with his trustworthiness and business-like qualities. In fact, he so established his reputation that all he did was approved, and the Emperor was relieved from any anxiety as to that seditious locality, and was frequently pleased to repeat that he wanted such servants as Mutabar Khan. In short, Shekh Muhammad Ali, son of Shekh Ovis, had two sons by the daughter of Mula Ahmad, Shekh Muhammad Bakir and Shekh Haidar Ali. Adil Shah made Shekh Muhammad Bakir his steward, and Shekh Haidar accountant-general of his government. Shekh Ali Khan, who was one of the chief nobles of Ali Adil Shah, had two sisters. He gave one in marriage to Shekh Muhammad Bakir, and the other to Mula Yahiya, entitled Mukhlis Khan, of whom was born the aforesaid Zin-ud-din Ali Khan. Shekh Muhammad Bakir and Shekh Haidar remained in office in Bijapur till the reign of Sikandar Adil Shah. At length a disagreement arose between them and Mustafa Khan, the Vazir of Sikandar, and they sent a petition to Alangir, who summoned them to his presence. After being received into the service, Shekh Muhammad Bakir was appointed to the command of 2,500 horse, and the office of Diwan of Dihli and Kashmir. Shekh Haidar was raised to the command of 1,500 horse, with 300 horsemen actually present, and the office of Diwan to the Prince Muhammad Azim Shah's army. They passed a long time in these offices, and were held in much regard by Asad Khan, the Prime Minister and his son, Zul-fakar Khan Amir-ul-umara, and the other great courtiers. At length Shekh Muhammad Bakir, with the recommendation of Asad Khan, presented a petition to the Emperor, stating that the climate of Upper India did not agree with him, and he desired to be sent to the Dakhan. The Emperor then conferred on him the office of Diwan in the Tal Konkan, in the territory of the Nizam Shahi kings, and also in that of the Adil Shahi kings, and sent him to his destination. Shekh Muhammad Bakir having arrived in the Dakhan passed his life much respected. At length he resigned the service, left the jagir, which went along with the office of Diwan of the province, and took up his abode in the city of Aurangabad. During his life his personal jagir was continued to him, and he was excused from the feudal service attached to it. In the year 1126 A.H. he died. He was well skilled in science and *belles lettres*, prudent, pious, and the author of some esteemed works. Asad Khan and Zulfakar Khan and

the other great nobles of the time all listened to him. One of his works is *Talkhis-ul-maram fil Ilmul kalam* ("Explanation of what is desirable in the science of Rhetoric") and another voluminous work is on "Quinquiliteral roots," in which many obscure questions are dealt with. In the preface of this book it is mentioned that the most learned man of his age, Maulana Muhammad Fasih of Tabriz, after reading the book through from beginning to end, called it the "garden of light and the cream of meditation." Shekh Muhammad Taki, son of Shekh Muhammad Bakir, held the command of 300 horse in the reign of the Emperor Alangir, and in that of Bahadur Shah the command of 500 horse. In the reign of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar he was the superintendant of the capitation tax in Aurangabad. When the first Nizam became Viceroy of the Dakhan, Shekh Muhammad Taki was appointed to the superintendence of the troops in all the forts of the Dakhan. In 1145 A.H. he died. His son Shams-ud-din Muhammad Haidar was born 1113 A.H., and historians have recorded the date of the birth of that fortunate son of the heaven of prosperity. While quite young he had the command of 100 horse given him by Alangir, and when he arrived at manhood he entered the service of the Nawab Asif Jah, and was promoted to the command of 200 horse, and the superintendency of the elephant department. After the death of his father Shekh Muhammad Taki he was advanced to the command of 300 horse, and at the time when the first Nizam went to Dihli he accompanied him, and as he became each day a greater favourite, he was promoted to the office of Arzbegi ("Secretary of Petitions.") After the war with Nadir he was raised to the command of 500 horse with the title of Haidar Yar Khan, and the rank of confidential adviser, and when the Nizam went to the presence of Nadir Shah he never took any one with him, but the said Khan and Dargah Kuli Khan; and when the Nizam returned from Dihli after the capture of Nasir Jang an increase of 100 horse was made to his command, and after the capture of the fort of Trichinopoli, an increase of 200, so that he had the command of 800 horse with 800 horsemen actually present. In the time of Muzaflir Jang he rose to the command of 1,500 horse with 500 actually present, and under the Amir-ul-mamalik in the first place to the command of 5,000 horse with 4,000 actually present. At the same time he obtained a palki ornamented with fringe, a flag and kettle-drums, with the title of Munir-ud-daulah Shir Jang, and again after that he had an increase of 2,000 horse with the total command of 7,000 and with 7,000 actually present. He also received the insignia of the fish and the appertaining rank, and the title of Munir-ul-Mulk, and the office of Steward to the Nizam. He then got the office of Diwan to the Nizam, and then that of Diwan to the provinces of the Dakhan. During the reign of the Nuwab Asif Jah II., at first the Prime Minister Rukn-ud-daulah transacted the business of the State, with the concurrence of that enlightened nobleman. After that, though owing to his great age he withdrew from that ministration, still the essential control of the government was in his hands, and the rectification of affairs with the Peshwa's Government, and with Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah and others, was dependent on that firm pillar of the State, and all discussions in which the interests of his patron the Nizam were concerned, were decided upon his approval. When he perceived the decay of his physical powers on account of his great age, after the temperament of his ancestors he became desirous of seclusion; but at the earnest request of the Nizam, he accepted the office of Nazim or Governor of Aurangabad, and passed five years of his life in administering justice, and amassed golden opinions, and in the year 1179 A.H. he departed this life. The chronogram of his death has been framed by many writers. He had attained to seventy-eight years. He was a nobleman of majestic presence and dignified manners, generous and brave, one who assisted in almsgiving and all good works, a sympathising companion, a friend of learned men, and few there were who did not participate in his bounty. Most of the nobles and ministers of Nuwab Asif Jah II. considered themselves small in comparison with his greatness. Thus the Nuwab Rukn-ud-daulah, during his prime ministership, called him his father's brother, and in writing to him used the word *arzi* "petition," and that high personage treated the said noble as great men treat inferiors—condescendingly. He left

two sons. The elder was Muhammad Saffdar Khan Ghayur Jang, and the younger Naki Yar Khan Zulfakar Jang, who after the death of his father passed seven years under the shadow of the kindness of his elder brother, and then died of palsy and paralysis. The birth of Muhammad Saffdar Khan Ghayur Jang took place on the 24th of Jumad-ul-akhir, 1145 A.H. In the reign of the first Nizam he was honoured with the command of 200 horse, and the deputy superintendentship of the elephant department, and in the time of Muzaffir Jang he was raised to the command of 500 horse with 600 actually present, and the title of Khan. In the reign of the Amir-ul-mamalik he was first of all Kutwal of Aurangabad, and then had the command of 3,000 horse with 2,000 actually present, with a flag and kettledrums, and the title of Bahadur; and thirdly, in 1174 A.H., he had the command of 4,000 horse with the title of Ghayur Jang Bahadur Ashja-ud-daulah.

This line is the chronogram—"The title proud of the bravest of the State"—*Khitab-i Ashja-ud-daulah humayun.*

In the fourth place he obtained the command of 5,000 horse with 4,000 present and a fringed palki. In the reign of the Nuwab Asif Jah II. he was promoted to the command of 6,000 horse with 6,000 actually present; and afterwards on the 26th of Ramazan, in 1197 A.H., he was promoted to the office of Diwan of the provinces of the Dakhan with the title of Ashja-ul-Mulk, and on the 8th of Safar, 1205 A.H., he received the title of Khan Khanan. On the 14th of Shaban in the same year he expired in quarters at Pangal of palpitation of the heart. His corpse was brought to Aurangabad and buried in the tomb of his father, Shir Jang. The said Nuwab was a nobleman who had no equal in firmness, and patience, and quick sense of honour, and courtsey, and faithfulness, and regard for friends, and benignity and charity. He had also much taste in expressing himself and versification. Specimens of his verses are given in the *Hadika-i-Alam*. The Nuwab had, by his wife, the daughter of Dargah Kuli Khan Salar Jang, four sons, and his estates were equally divided after his death among the four. The eldest, Ikram-ul-Mulk Ikram-ud-daulah Muhammad Taki Khan Kawi Jang, was chosen for the office of steward to the Nuwab Asif Jah II., and performed the duties admirably, so as to please his master. His dignity increased daily. He died on the 4th of Jamad-u-sain, 1213 A.H., of dysentery. His second son, Hasan Riza Khan Shakat-ud-daulah Munir Jang, who was in the first instance selected to superintend the kitchen of the Nizam, and afterwards to be governor of the town of Aurangabad, died on the 28th of Saban in the year (not given in the Persian) of dysentery. The third son, who was the most distinguished for ability and high advancement, was Ali Zaman, who received from the Nizam the title of Haidar Yar Khan Ghayur Jang Munir-ud-daulah Munir-ul-Mulk, and the command of 5,000 horse, 3,000 being actually present, and a flag and kettledrums and a fringed palki, and the office of Imperial Diwan of the provinces of the Dakhan; and when Gulam Saiyid Khan had gone to Puna, the Nizam appointed Haidar Yar Khan to arrange the affairs of State and the army, which had been the duty of that officer. As Khatun-i-jamat, daughter of Rasul-u-sakalayni Abul Kasim (the Prophet of men and demons, i.e., Muhammad), was, by the intervention of Jibrail, the faithful spirit, betrothed to Haidar Saffdar, in correspondence with that betrothal the daughter of Abul Kasim, who was a descendant of the Prophet, was betrothed to that Haidar son of Saffdar, by order of the Nuwab Asif Jah, during the lifetime of his father, the Nuwab Ghayur Jang. After the death of Ghayur Jang, Asif Jah II., with infinite condescension, sent for Munir-ul-Mulk to the palace and bestowed the Gulshan Palace as a place for the marriage, and from the 7th of Rabi-ul-avval, on which the marriage began, His Highness visited the assembly every day, arrayed in costly garments, until the marriage was completed. He also paid all the expenses, and himself took part in the sprinkling coloured water with great hilarity. On the 14th of Rabi-us-sani, which was the day of presentation of the bride, himself with his own royal hand fastened on for the bridegroom the ornament of the turban and the jikah and the plume and the turban end and bracelet, all of jewels. He also adorned the bride by a bestowal of jewelled ornaments of great value, and he gave the mother of the bridegroom, too, jewels of great value.

The fourth son was Amir-ul-Mulk Amir-ud-daulah Riza Yar Khan Hisam Jang, who was appointed by the Nizam superintendent of the elephant department of His Highness, equalling Sulaiman in rank, the son of Asif Jah II.

Account of the Nuwab Dargah Kuli Khan Salar Jang.

He was the son of Khandan Kuli Khan, son of Nauroz Kuli Khan, son of Dargah Kuli Khan, son of Khandan Kuli Khan, who was of the Borbor Turks of the tribe of the Khans of the Black Tents in the neighbourhood of Holy Mashhad. Khandan Kuli Khan Turk in the reign of Shah Safi was despatched to Kandahar with Ali Mardan Khan. The latter broke his connection with Persia on account of the little appreciation of merit shown by Shah Safi, and offered his services to Shah Jahan, the Emperor of India, and first of all he despatched to the Court of that Prince Khandan Kuli Khan, who arrived there on the 1st of Jumad-ul-akhir, 1048 A.H., and presented the petition of Ali Mardan Khan, and received the present of a robe of honour and 1,000 rupees. Ali Mardan Khan obtained admission into the Emperor's service on the 15th of Rajab in the said year, and was honoured by having the government of Kashmir conferred upon him, and kept Khandan Kuli Khan with him, treating him with the utmost respect. At Khandan Kuli's death his son Dargah Kuli Khan obtained, through the aid of Ali Mardan, a command and a jagir near Tattah from the Emperor, and the office of steward to Ali Mardan in addition. After the death of Ali Mardan, Dargah Kuli Khan was included in the number of officers attached to the Prince Aurangzib, and sent with him to the Dakhan. He returned, however, to Upper India, and died. His son Nauroz Kuli Khan was promoted to the office of commandant of the fort of Darwar, a dependency of Bijapur, and there handed over the life which had been entrusted to him. His son Khandan Kuli Khan received a command and a jagir, and was enrolled among the officers appointed to defend Aurangabad, and in the time of Shah Alam was made news-writer at Sangamnir and Faujdar of the districts there. The Nuwab Asif Jah named him for employment under his own jurisdiction, and the building of Nizamabad, above the hill of Fardapur, thirty *kos* from Aurangabad, was accomplished under his supervision. His son, the Nuwab Dargah Kuli Khan Bahadur Salar Jang, was born in Sangamnir on the 29th of Rajab, 1122 A.H., as he himself declares in this chronogram:—

"Fate told the year of the nativity
Of Dargah Kuli Khan of lineage high."

The second line, *Dargah Kuli-za-Khandan-i-wala*, is the chronogram.

When he was fourteen years old the first Nizam gave him a command and a jagir, and appointed him when of the age of twenty to be one of his body attendants, and employed him in many duties near his own person. He performed his duties well and creditably, and as long as the Nizam lived he heaped favours upon him and at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion he performed devoted services, which are more than can be described. In the reign of Nasir Jang, too, he was much honoured, and in that of Salabat Jang he was raised to the command of 6,000 horse with the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah and the government of Aurangabad. When the supreme control of affairs in the Dakhan devolved on the Nuwab Asif Jah II., he was promoted to the command of 7,000 horse with the insignia of the fish and corresponding rank and the title Mutaran-ul-Mulk. He also received other favours. Thus the litter of the elephant on which he rode was ornamented with two fringes. After a time he was given the title of Khan Dauran, and at the time when Rajah Bahadur was slain on the banks of the Godavari, and afterwards quarters were taken in Aurangabad, the Nizam honoured his house with a visit, bringing with him his ladies and stopped for some days. Afterwards owing to a change of fortune, on the 1st of Rajab, 1179 A.H., he was removed from the government of Aurangabad, and on the 5th of Zil-Hajj in the same year he removed from Aurangabad with all his furniture and went to his own jagir at Nizamabad. Again he was about to be restored, when suddenly the messenger of death arrived, and on the 18th of Jumad-ul-avval, 1180 A.H., he died of delirium. His body was conveyed from Nizamabad to Aurangabad, and was interred in his

father's tomb to the south of the city. On the day of his interment there were great lamentations. Mir Ghulam Ali invented this line, which is the choronogram of his death :—" In grief for Salar Jang all beat their breasts," *Ahl-i-Alam sinah chak az matam-i-Salar Jang*. Another chronogram is—" Eighty-one hundred and a thousand years:"—*Yak hazar va yak sad va hashtad sal*. The said Nuwab left a daughter and two sons. The daughter's mother was the child of a descendant of Hanif-ud-din Khan—on whom be mercy!—the grandfather of whose mother was Saiyid Zin-ul-Abidin, who was one of the great men of his time and of the counsellors of the Faithful. A sarai in Aurangabad remains as a memorial of the munificence of that eminent person. His genealogy is traced up to Ibrahim Adham. His chaste daughter possessed such good qualities that she might have been called a second Rabiah.* She was married to Muhammad Saffdar Khan Bahadur Ghayur Jang, eldest son of the Nuwab Shir Jang. From that chaste one of the age and Rabiah of the time four noble sons were born and one daughter, as has been mentioned before. Two sons also were born to Ghayur Jang of two other handmaids, Imam Kuli Khan and Wasi Kuli, who after the death of their father, through the influence and aid of the Nuwab Shir Jang, were promoted by Asif Jah II. Imam Kuli Khan, who was older than Wasi Kuli, received as inheritance from his father, with the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah Salar Jang, the personal jagirs in Birar and Aurangabad, and Wasi Kuli with the title of Dargah Kuli Khan, and personal jagirs in the said localities. Their father, Mutama-ul-Mulk Salar Jang, was a nobleman of great wisdom, with many virtues and good qualities. In courage he carried off the palm from Rustam. His majesty was such that the heart of a raging lion turned to water in his presence. He was unequalled, too, in his fostering care of the people and encouragement of the poor and observation of what was due to each class, and conciliatory manners, and clearness of judgment, and vivacity of intellect, and quickness of repartee, and fluency of discourse, and extemporaneous speaking, and knowledge of history, and skill in the full *belles lettres* and full employment of his time, and cheerfulness and social liveliness. In witty sayings also he was unique. Of these, examples will be found in the *Hadikah-i-Alam* at page 454, as also some verses which show that the mind of the author was indued with the spirit of Persian poetry.

Account of the Journey of the Nizam to assist the English Chiefs in punishing Haidar Ali Khan, and what happened subsequently until his return to Haidarabad.

As the power and forces of Haidar Ali Khan increased daily he began hostilities with the English. They having resolved on the destruction of this formidable enemy, applied through Rukn-ud-daulah to the Nizam for assistance. The Nizam, as Haidar was headstrong, prepared to exert himself vigorously in support of the English, and marched from Haidarabad. The English, too, accompanied him, moving in front as his vanguard. When they had crossed the Kishna, Haidar Ali, being much alarmed, applied to the Nizam through Mahi-ud-din, son of Karim Sahib, one of the holy men of Adwani, for alliance and help. Letters also came from Madhu Rao, urging the Nizam to assist Haidar. Rukn-ud-daulah showed his friendly feelings towards the Peshwa, and turned the Nizam from aiding the English to assisting Haidar Ali. The English, when they saw that the aspect of affairs was changed, departed from the environs of the fort of Bangalur (the place of conference) without taking leave, and set off for their own country, taking the places which belonged to Haidar Ali which were in the way. After the departure of the English, Rukn-ud-daulah and Rajah Ramchandra and Mahi-ud-din Sahib with some other high nobles paid a visit to Haidar Ali and remained there a

* After a long interval that shell of the sea of chastity was pregnant with a pearl, resplendent and bright starred; but as the will of the All-wise was adverse, that pure lady was seized with an illness during her conception which physicians could not cure. So on the 28th of Muharrain, 1214 A.H., two hours after bringing forth a son, she turned her face to the gardens of paradise. Asif Jah II. then sent Ghulam Saiyid Khan to the house and named the child Saiyid Abdullah, and in 1219 bestowed on the boy a title, command, and jagir. In 1219 A.H. that valiant man of high birth married the sister of the deceased lady, with the approval of the Nizam.

month in consultation. After that they moved with a considerable force against the territories of the English, and represented to His Highness the Nizam the friendship and loyalty of Haidar Ali Khan, and set the Nizam's army in motion. Rukn-ud-daulah and Haidar Ali Khan preceded the main army by a distance of about twelve *kos*. Hakhdum Ali Khan, wife's brother to Haidar, and most of his officers, went in advance intent on battle and on closing the road against General Smith. An engagement took place at the small fort of Kavaripatam. The English, though they lost an officer, made their way, with much firmness and courage to Jangam. In order to support the army in advance Rajah Ramchandra and other Maratha chiefs were sent by the Nizam until on the 7th of Rabi-us-sani, in the middle of the way they came to a ridge of mountains. Haidar Ali, who was leading the army of Rukn-ud-daulah, then found the road closed, and sent word to Rukn-ud-daulah, who quickly joined Haidar at the beginning of the action, and they made a resolute attempt to capture the hill. The English, after the Nizam's troops had come up, occupied the hill in force, and began to pour out the fire of their artillery, and Hashmat Jang, with the cavalry under his command, rode against the English on one side, while Rukn-ud-daulah with Nasib Yar Khan mounted on an elephant pushed up with the intention of charging. When they came to the hill they mounted their horses and set out to ascend it. The English from the said hill rained down bullets which wounded many men, and Fazl Ali Khan was there killed. When night intervened the English descended from the back of the hill and traversed a distance of fourteen *kos* in the night, and took up a strong position in the temple of Trinamal. Haidar Ali Khan, at a short distance to the east of the hill, held a council with Rukn-ud-daulah, and arrived next morning at the temple spoken of, and besieged it. The English, in some way known to no one, got out of the said temple, and took the road to Chinapatan (Madras), and coming to a strong place, went round it, and then received reinforcements from Madras. Haidar Ali Khan, in spite of perfect vigilance, did not hear of this for two days and nights, and then went in pursuit. After going a short distance he found the European troops in a plain, on one side of which were rice-fields, while the other side was close to a tank flanked by a high mountain. Haidar Ali with his forces and the army of the Nizam halted at the foot of that range of hills with the intention of fighting, and passed the night on the watch. On the next morning on the 2nd of Jumad-ul-avval, 1179 A.H., they were prepared to engage the English. As has been said, the Nizam moved first on this expedition in alliance with the English against Haidar Ali Khan, but while *en route* was induced by Mahi-ud-din Sahib, who was on very cordial terms with Rukn-ud-daulah, to transfer his support to Haidar Ali against the English. Hence it happened that the Nizam's artillery officers relied in the first place on the support of the English artillery, and next on that of Haidar Ali, and hence were careless about their own. At this time that Rukn-ud-daulah and Haidar Ali Khan had placed their guns to check the advance of the English and commenced firing, the English turned their attention from that side, and began to discharge their artillery on the Nizam's army, and thereupon some of the scum of that army, who had collected in groups looking on, began to scatter under the storm of shot, and produced great disorder in the Nizam's army. The Nizam himself with his immediate attendants stood firm to repel the enemy, but as they had no guns they could do nothing against the European artillery,* so Rajah Ramchandra and Raumast Khan Bahadur and other leaders retreated from the enemy's fire. In the evening the Nizam turned aside from that locality, and went to a palace which was half a league off, and passed the night there. Haidar Ali, however, halted at the place where the action was fought, opposite the English, and represented that it was not advisable that the Nizam's troops should be at a distance from the hills, in a place surrounded by rice-fields, where there was mud, and that it was dangerous for the baggage and the women also to be at such a place on such an

* Haidar Ali and the Nizam lost in this action 4,000 men, sixty guns, and many stores. See Wilks, Vol. ii., p. 101, quoted in Wilson's Ed. of Mill, Vol. iii., p. 474.

occasion, and that his Highness would do well to leave that spot and encamp in a plain on higher ground. In consequence next morning the Nizam moved thence and got out of that tract of hill and forest, while Haidar Ali, who had halted there with 8,000 men, much baggage, and many guns, made a shield of his breast and maintained his position by fighting. On the 15th of the said month, the Nizam moved from his encampment towards Sathgarh. Rukn-ud-daulah, on the 17th, arrived in the presence, and represented the loyal conduct of Haidar, and his desire to wait on the Nizam. His Highness, for Rukn-ud-daulah's sake, accepted what had been proposed, and on the 6th of Jumad-us-sani sent Rukn-ud-daulah to meet Haidar, and after Haidar had obtained the honour of being introduced the Nizam presented him with a diamond ornament called *jikah* for the turban, and a jewelled *sarpech* with a string of pearls, and a sword with a silver hilt, and a dagger with a hilt of jasper, and a bracelet of gold and a betel-holder, and gave him leave to depart. The Nizam then after two days went to the tent of Haidar, who came with his sons and relations to meet His Highness, and presented an offering of 51,000 rupees, *mushakkkhas*, that is to say, gold coins with wages stamped on them; and having made the Nizam sit on the gold, he submitted to his inspection trays of jewels and pieces of stuffs for garments and two elephants, and also two or three cannon, which he had plundered from the English army. On the 12th of the said month the Nizam's army marched thence, and Haidar laid siege to the fort of Ambur, and the Zamindars of Kankhe Durg came with their troops and joined Haidar's army, and a severe fight took place with the besieged. Siraj-ud-daulah Wala Jah, on seeing this, thought it was his best plan to be at peace with the Nizam, and with the concurrence of Nasib Yar Khan made, together with the English leaders, overtures of peace, and asked for an interview. Rukn-ud-daulah obtained permission and went to Chinapatan, and after repeated entertainments laid the foundation of peace.* The envoys of the English and of the Nuwab Siraj-ud-daulah were brought into the presence, and after the terms of the peace had been agreed on, the envoys received robes of honour and jewels, and the Nuwab and the Governor also had presents sent to them, and the envoys were then dismissed. The Nizam then set out for Haidarabad, taking with him Ibrahim Beg Dhousah, son of Fazil Beg Khan, a brave and wise man, who had been recommended by Wala Jah after the peace. On the way robes and jewels were presented to the Amir-ul-umara Shuja-ul-Mulk, Abdul Karim Khan, and Abdul Hakim Khan, the vakils of Haidar Ali, and Raunast Khan, and Mahi-ud-din Sahib, and the other chiefs who had accompanied the Nizam, and they were dismissed; and on the 6th of Zil Hajj, on a Sunday, thirteen *gharis* after dawn, His Highness entered Haidarabad by the gate of Mir Jumlah's tank.

Account of Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur.

The author of the *Maasir-ul-umara* states that Haidar's ancestors were judges in the parganah of Kohir in the province of Haidarabad, but his father was at first a Jamadar of footmen in the fort of Kolar. After a time he went to the Rajah of Shrirangpatanam, and took service there. On his father's death he obtained his office and by degrees became a confidential officer, and the duty of guarding the Rajah devolved on him. As promotion was written on the tablet of his destiny, he one day seized an opportunity to confine the Rajah, and seized and put to death his minister. He then assumed the control of affairs, and sent a sum of money as an offering to Nizam-ud-daulah Asif Jah, and obtained the grant of the zamindarship of Shrirangpatanam, and was promoted to the command of 7,000 horse with 7,000 actually under him, with the title of Haidar Ali Khan. Then, owing to his predestined good fortune, he wrested the country of Narmar and Soudha and Badnur from the governors of those places and carried off the plunder thence in cash and jewels to

* By the treaty concluded between the Nizam and the English, which put an end to war in February 1768, the titles and grants of the Nuwab of the Karnatik, Muhammad Ali, were confirmed, the conditions respecting Rajahmahendri, Elur, Mustafinagar, Srikakol, and Mutazanagar in the treaty of the 12th November 1766, were confirmed, the Diwani of the Karnatik Balaghat was assigned to the English on the payment of seven lakhs to the Nizam and the *chauth* to the Marathas; while the English agreed to assist the Nizam when required with two battalions of Sipahis and six guns.

Shrirangpatanam. He also made himself master of the lower fort of Guramkondah and the districts which formerly belonged to Kadapa Faujdari, and which he gave to the Marathas in exchange for the *chauth*, but subsequently drove out their troops. Afterwards Madhu Rao attacked him, and took, but restored, most of his forts and posts, and imposed on him an appointed sum by way of tribute, but left some chiefs in the locality with troops. Haidar then remained quiescent, and did not move his foot beyond his own blanket. When the English invaded his country, he sent some cavalry into the Payan Ghat of the Karnatik, and devastated it until the quarrel was ended by a peace which was satisfactory to him. Afterwards, when domestic dissensions arose among the Marathas, he began by restoring his own posts, and by degrees occupied all the places dependent on the Marathas as far as the Kishna. He then besieged Chitaldurg, which belonged to a Zamindar, and took it, and in 1193 A.H. he made a rapid march and captured the forts of Sidhwat and Ganjkoth, and imprisoned Abdul Hakim Khan Miyanah, the governor of those places, and carried him to Shrirangpatanam. He had now great treasures and many jewels, and a large revenue, and sending about large sums he enlisted many persons in his service, and prepared light artillery. He introduced the custom of posting sentries with loaded muskets round his camp, so that no stranger was admitted without a pass. But to speak more in detail, and following various historians, Haidar Naik was the son of Fath Naik, son of Ali Naik, who resided in the town of Kolar and entered the service of the Rajah of Maisur, and having done him good service was promoted to the post of Jamadar over 200 horsemen and 2,000 foot, and got the title of Naik, which in the language of the country means Jamadar. Thus by degrees Ali rose to be the confidential officer of the Rajah. His son, Fath Naik, owing to the length of his father's service, and other antecedents, was appointed to his father's post and he had two sons. Shahbaz Naik the elder, by his good conduct made friends of most of the leading Naiks, and acquired increased influence and honour with the Rajah, and was chosen to be one of the Rajah's special favourites, and was the most distinguished of his family. He brought up Haidar under the shade of his affection. As Haidar from his natural vigour was a man of determination and rough manners Shahbaz Naik was offended with him, and separated from him and left him free to work out his own living. Haidar then, owing to his antecedents, got to be the servant of Nandraj, who was the minister and father-in-law of the Rajah of Maisur, and had the control of affairs. By degrees Haidar became one of his confidential officers. So well did he serve that the minister became infatuated with him, and regarded him as a son, and gave him a part in the management of affairs. He intrusted to him chiefly the punishment of those who opposed the Government. Haidar by force or by money performed all he was charged to do, till he became the foremost officer there. When Nasir Jang came to punish Hidayat Mahi-ud-din most of the Paligars of that locality showed themselves loyal, and sent a considerable force to help the Nizam, under their own confidential men. The Rajah of Maisur chose Haidar to accompany the Nizam, and he performed most excellent service, and was always in attendance, and when the Nizam was assassinated, and his treasure and jewels became the spoil^o of plunderers, Haidar cut off their escape and took the money and jewels from them. He then turned off into the jungle and mountains, where it was difficult to pass, and got safe and sound to Kolar† and by clever management got the money and jewels from the foot soldiers who had risked their lives for it. He then gave to each according to his merits some of the red gold, and busied himself in raising a body of infantry drilled after the European fashion, and when he had raised a considerable force he went to pay his respects to Rajah Nandraj, who was pleased and gave Haidar *carte blanche* to raise as many foot solders of that kind as he could. Just at this time a dissension sprang up between the Rajah and his Minister, and rose to such a point that either sought to deprive the other of property and life. An officer

^o *Dastkhush*, literally "easily seized"—a remarkable word.

† This account is very different from that given in Mill, Vol. iii., pp. 457—480, to which the reader is referred, as it would occupy too much space to contrast the two narratives. Haidar's accompanying Nasir Jang and his acquisition of the Nizam's treasure are facts which the English historian has overlooked.

named Khandi Rao, an hereditary servant of the Rajah, besieged the fort of Maisur where the Minister was with his supporters. The Minister's affairs were so desperate that he wished to resign the Government of the country. In the midst of this disturbance Haidar was sent for and arrived by rapid marches to the aid of the Minister. After some fighting Haidar was victorious, and Khandi Rao fled to Shrirangpatanam, where he repaired the fortifications and sheltered himself with the Rajah. Haidar hastened with his own forces and with those of the Minister who opposed the measure in vain to besiege Shrirangpatanam. The Minister's troops were thirsting for the Rajah's blood. Haidar was again successful and put Khandi Rao to death. He intended also to kill the Rajah, but the Minister with much entreaty kept him from carrying out his purpose. Haidar then guided by some natives of the locality went to Chitaldurg by a way over difficult mountains in the country of Souda and Badnur, which is an extensive territory reaching on two sides to the sea. The Queen, who since the death of her husband had been acting as her own Minister in conducting the government of the country, went into exile with some of her most loyal supporters, and Haidar became master of the whole territory, and of the treasures of the Queen, and after a long sojourn broke the spirit of the inhabitants. He next imprisoned the Rajah of Maisur, and put to death many refractory persons. For some years he continued after the imprisonment of the Rajah to obey the Minister Nandraj, but at last considering that he was not inferior to him, he imprisoned him with his wife and sons. After he had secured the government of both countries he began to expend money in preparing artillery after the fashion of Europeans; and made the whole department correspond to that of the Europeans. When Shuja-ul-mulk Basalat Jang laid siege to the fort of Kotkand, Haidar, who was always wishing to effect an entrance into the Nizam's country, despatched repeated letters to say he was coming to the Nuwab's aid. Basalat Jang, who was eager to take the fort and could see no way to victory, looked upon Haidar's aid as the most certain means of success and sent for him at once. Haidar made his dispositions of his force and came with all speed to Basalat Jang, and took the fort with his artillery, and in requital of these services appropriated the fort of Peshkoth and Sira (Sera) on pretence of having leave to do so. For one or two years he, willingly or not, paid the stipulated money, but afterwards paid nothing at all; nay, he began to appropriate the neighbouring districts. In short, after taking leave of Basalat Jang he acted quite independently and placed several guards over the Rajah of Maisur, and garrisons on whom he could rely in the newly-acquired forts, and reduced all the Rajahs near him to submission. It happened that for eight years, more or less hostility existed between the Nizam and Raghunath Rao, and the chiefs at Punah occupied themselves with trying to arrange matters so as to get rid of the troubles occasioned by Raghunath. In the same way hostilities took place between the English and French. During this space of time Haidar made himself master at his ease of most of the provinces of Bijapur and the Karnatik, and his power grew every day. At length his influence reached a point that each leader of the English and chief of the Marathas at Punah were singly unable to cope with him. One time only did he meet with a decisive defeat from Trimbak Mama, the general of Madhu Rao, and got free only by paying a large sum. However, the negligence of the Marathas led to increased troubles, and his aggressions went on. The English, who had defeated such a prince as Shuja-ud-daulah, the ruler of Oudh, and in terror of whom the spirit of lion-hearted warriors turned to water through the four quarters of India, were alarmed at a struggle with Haidar, and consulted how to repel him. Thus with the concurrence of Rukn-ud-daulah, they sent Mr. General Smith with fitting presents to the Court of the Nizam, and asked his assistance in extirpating Haidar, the sequel of which has been narrated.

A brief Notice of Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah, and the cause of his Alliance with the English.

Muhammad Ali was the son of Anwar-ud-din Khan Bahadur, who, from his steady friendship to the first Nizam, was the means of clearing up matters with

Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, when the Nizam was Vazir. In return for that good service the Nizam treated him with favour, and after the death of Abdullah Khan, who was first appointed to the office of Faujdar of Arkat, appointed him to the government of that place. He arranged the affairs of that province satisfactorily. In his time the French came to Phulchhari to trade and the English to Chinapatan (Madras), and the English maintained friendly relations with Anwar-ud-din. However, the two European nations quarreled, and as the French tried to conquer Madras, the English applied for help to Anwar-ud-din, who first of all sent his son Mahfuz Khan to chastise the insolent French. When Mahfuz reached Melapur, which is about two miles from Madras, the French, seeing an opportunity, made a night attack and dispersed all his troops. On hearing these tidings Anwar-ud-din was troubled, and sent Muhammad Ali Khan to the assistance of the English and to punish the French. The said Khan by his exertions rendered great assistance to his comrades, such as Haiat Mir Khan and others, until the English got the better of the French, and pursued them to the fort of Phulchhari, after which the French did not come beyond the circle of their own territory. When Hidayat Mahi-ud-din Khan, at the instigation of Husain Dost Khan, known as Chanda Sahib, came to Arkat, killed Anwar-ud-din and conquered that territory, Muhammad Ali Khan was sheltered in the fort of Trichinopoli, and prepared for war, and openly sent his brothers to serve Muzaffir Jang, but secretly wrote to Nasir Jang sympathising with him, and till the arrival of that Nuwab continued to make evasive excuses without obeying Muzaffir Jang, but when Nasir Jang arrived he attended his Court, and was treated with favour. After the murder of Nasir Jang, as Husain Dost Khan obtained the rule over the Karnatik, on the part of Hidayat Mahi-ud-din, through the help of Ragunathdas, the Diwan of the Karnatik, Muhammad Ali Khan, withdrew from obedience, and again fortified himself in Trichinopoli. Husain Dost Khan with the French and a considerable army marched to capture that fort. Muhammad Ali Khan made his brother Abdul Wahab general of his army, and with 400 Englishmen wearing hats sent him to attack the enemy. A desperate fight ensued, but at last on account of the superiority in numbers of Husain Dost's army, Abdul Wahab and the English took shelter in the fort of Trichinopoli, and Husain Dost laid siege to it. Meanwhile, Ali Riza Khan, son of Husain Dost, besieged Arkat with a great force. The inhabitants of that place applied to Muhammad Ali Khan for protection, and he sent Baswant Rai, the Diwan of the late Anwar-ud-din, with a considerable force and 200 hat-wearing English to attack Ali Riza. Baswant Rai was victorious and saved Arkat. As the siege of Trichinopoli was spun out, Husain Dost, on hearing the news of his son's defeat, advanced his batteries and reduced the besieged to straits. Muhammad Ali, by illusive promises, induced the Rajah of Muisur and the Rajah of Chinchawar and others to come to his assistance. They brought with them 100,000 footmen and 16,000 horse, and arrived in ten or fifteen days. Mr. Clis (Clive) also and other chiefs of the English nation, who had defeated Riza Ali Khan at Arkat, came up with their troops, and a fierce battle ensued. The French were defeated and went to Phulchhari. Husain Dost in great trepidation fled to the Rajah of Chinchawar. Muhammad Ali Khan was thirsting for his blood, and induced the said Rajah, who was before hoping for the fort of Trichinopoli, by a promise of making it over to him, to put Husain Dost to death, and he at once had him decapitated, and sent his head to Muhammad Ali as a present. Muhammad Ali then swerved from his promise, and strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoli, and prepared to fight. The Zamindars, who in the hopes of getting the fort had undergone all that trouble and loss, were vexed at this behaviour, and unanimously made terms with the French, and joined with them in besieging Trichinopoli. Muhammad Ali employed the English to repulse them, and after one or two engagements the French took the road to Phulchhari, and the Zamindars went off to their own countries. This was the same year in which Haidar Jang was killed by Asif Jah II., and Mr. Bussy appointed Zulfakar Jang to chastise Indra Raj, the lord marcher of Shrikakol, while he went himself to

Phulchari; and after that M. Las and M. Lally laid siege to Madras, and most of the battlements of the breastwork inside the fortifications were shattered by the artillery and levelled with the ground. The English sent to ask for peace, but the French would not consent. Having no alternative, therefore, they repaired all the battlements that were broken, with bales of cloth and stuffs, with patterns like trees, and satin smeared over with pitch, and so made them stronger than they were before. Just then the English fleet arrived to their succour, and the French, seeing their strength, decamped and went to Phulchari, but halted when they got to the temple at Banwasi. The English who had pursued them came up with them there, and attacked them. A fierce fight ensued, when suddenly the powder-magazine of the French was exploded by a shot. All who stood near it were blinded by the flame, and the English without opposition advanced to Phulchari, and pulled down the town and cast it into the sea. At the same time Muhammad Ali Khan received a robe of honour and the title of Walajah from the Emperor. After that the English, with the approval of Walajah, and the co-operation of the people, and in alliance with the lord marchers, took possession of many provinces of India, and forts, as provinces of Oudh and Bengal and the Karnatik below the Ghâts, and the districts round Shrikakol and Odesah (Orissa), and the French were expelled from Upper India and the Dakhan.*

*Events which took place after the return of Asif Jah II. from
his Journey to Arkat to Haidarabad.*

After the peace between the English and the Nizam, which was negotiated through Siraj-ud-daulah Muhammad Ali Khan, the Nizam returned to Haidarabad. After a time intelligence was received that Raghunath Rao had been made prisoner by Madhu Rao, and that Madhu had become independent on the throne. Moreover, inasmuch as in the late expedition a severe blow had fallen on the Nizam's army, and the soldiers were exhausted and dispirited, Madhu Rao opened the eyes of covetousness and demanded the fort of Bidar and the *chauth* of Haidarabad. In consequence Rukn-ud-daulah marched towards Punah with a select force on the 9th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1182 A.H., in order to make terms with Madhu Rao, and to renew with him his treaties and to make him give up that demand, leaving Rajah Ratanchand Kalkadas, who was to all appearance devoted to him, as his deputy at Court, and Wajid Ali Khan, a native of Bengal, an old man, as superintendent of the State Diwan's office. On arrival at Punah he was received by the Peshwa with much courtesy and respect, and was entertained with every appearance of sincere friendship. Rukn-ud-daulah responded with equal warmth, and won over the Ministers there by his kindness and liberality and the presents he gave. By a fortunate coincidence it happened that just then Madhu Rao entertained a wish to punish Janoji Bhonslah, who showed a disposition to rebel in consequence of the imprisonment of Raghunath. Wherefore Madhu, looking on the arrival of Rukn-ud-daulah as opportune, made a treaty with him, and both moved out together to chastise Janoji, who, finding himself unable to oppose them, took to flight, and began to plunder his own country and that of other States, and they pursued him. At last, being reduced to straits, he made terms on such conditions as Madhu chose to impose, and thus freeing himself from ruin returned to his own country; while Madhu dismissed Rukn-ud-daulah with a sense of obligation to him for the aid he had rendered by which he had obtained his object. Rukn-ud-daulah having formed a firm alliance with the Peshwa and having attained his end, returned to the Nizam's Court. He then imprisoned in the fort of Golkondah Rajah Ratanchand, who had been secretly plotting mischief. He also dismissed Azim Khan Jamadar on account of his complicity with Kalkadas. To explain this more clearly, it must be said that when Rukn-ud-daulah made Kalkadas head of the office of Peshkar, which is equivalent to that of Diwan, and appointed him permanently as deputy and entrusted him with the control of affairs, and departed to Punah, Kalkadas a few days after, on

* This, of course, is much too summary. The French long after this played a part in Indian affairs, and even now French-India sends a deputy to the *Assemblée nationale*.

account of a disturbance raised by the troops for their pay, in which he was treated with disrespect, brought over most of the Jamadars to his side, and presented a petition to the effect that if he was made Diwan in the place of Rukn-ud-daulah, he would take care that the troops received their pay, and would also pay into the treasury a sum of ten lakhs (£100,000) by way of offering. The Nizam replied that he would place confidence in that statement when Kalkadas ratified it with his own seal and the seals of the other leaders who agreed with him. That imprudent person did so, and meanwhile Rukn-ud-daulah returned from Puna to the environs of the city. The Nizam, as a mark of condescension and kindness to a friend, on pretext of a hunting expedition, went out to meet him on the 18th of Rabi-ul-avval, 1182 A.H., with the great nobles. After many kind inquiries he made him sit behind him on the elephant, and took him to the palace, and when they were alone he produced the paper of Ratanchand's proposal, and put it into the hands of Rukn-ud-daulah, saying.—“This is the bond of the man on whom you rely!” On perusing it Rukn-ud-daulah's eyes were opened, and he obtained from the Nizam permission to deal with the matter as he chose. He then imprisoned Ratanchand and his son Kanchand in the fort of Muhammadnagar, and after considerable disturbance expelled Azim Khan from the city, and set aside all Ratanchand's partizans. At the same time he raised Jagdeo to a high command, and changed most of the officials, dismissing some and replacing them with others. On the 15th of Rabi-us-sani, in the same year, he conferred on Ibrahim Beg Khan, son of Fazil Beg Khan, the title of Zabit Jang Bahadur, and entrusted to him for his pay and also under contract the government of Warankal (Warangol) and Khamman and Elgandal and other places, and dismissed him to them. This Fazil Beg Khan was a Jamadar under the government of Anwar-ud-din Khan, the father of Walajah, and had many sons. Some of them were doing honourable service under the authorities at Shrikakol, and a few with the Zamindars of Orissa and the Governor of Katak. Of this number, Ibrahim Beg remained for a time with Shankat Jang Bahadur, the Collector of Shrikakol and Rajahmahendri, and for a time with Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who was collector of that locality for M. Bussy. After the said gallant officer was defeated, and after Ibrahim Khan had gone to the Court of Asif Jah II. to Birar, he was admitted by the Rajah of Shrikakol to his service. At that time Sita Ram Raj, as leader of his younger brother's army, he being the ruler and owner of the country, had got possession of the whole country of Orissa, and had conquered most of the Zamindars there by the powerful arm of Ibrahim Beg. After that Ibrahim Beg placed his elder brother Allah Yar Beg to oppose them in the towns of Ichhapur and Barampur and came to Sita Ram. In the course of time Bidi-uz-Zaman Khan Bahadur was appointed by the Nizam, collector of Rajahmahendri and Elurah, and sent his son, Mir Shahab-ud-din, with a considerable force on the far side of the river Godavari to Rajahmahendri. The rebellious Sita Ram, on hearing this, came with all speed to oppose him, and a severe action was fought. Ibrahim Beg was with the Rajah and distinguished himself by his exertions, and defeated the forces opposed to him. In that battle Mir Shahab-ud-din Khan and other persons of note were killed. After that the influence of Ibrahim Beg increased daily, but the other courtiers were envious of him and were bent on his destruction, and by a variety of stratagems brought the Rajah to meditate putting him to death; but one of his friends warned him against these intrigues. On this Ibrahim Beg with all his partizans quitted the place by night, and by devious paths made his way to Haidarabad, and through Rukn-ud-daulah obtained service with the Nizam. As at that time no one was acquainted with his value, he did not obtain any great promotion and his ambition was not gratified. But when the Nizam resolved on punishing Sita Ram, then, at the request of Nasib Yar Khan Kutb-ud-daulah, who from the time of Shankat Jang and Haidar Jang was passing his days in that locality, His Highness sent a robe of four pieces to him and a jewelled ornament for the head, and appointed him to chastise Sita Ram, and to attend Kutb-ud-daulah on the expedition, with the title of his father Fazil Beg Khan, and gave them leave to depart. Ibrahim Beg was thirsting for the Rajah's blood, and he girded himself to the task of destroying him,

and hastened to Ichhapur, which was a strong place and the residence of the Rajah, levelling all the villages in his way. He then besieged the place. Sita Ram Raj not feeling himself strong enough to fight importunately entreated for peace. Kutb-ud-daulah, regarding this as the best kind of victory, made terms on condition that Sita Ram should pay a quarter more revenue, and obliged Fazil Beg to suspend the siege and told him to come to him. After a time, when the Christians began more and more to get the upper hand, Kutbu-ud-daulah shook off the rule of the Nizam and united himself with the English, and having got the Company to assign him a lakh of rupees a year, handed over all that territory to the weavers of hats. He also transferred Ibrahim Beg, now called Fazil Beg Khan, to the service of Siraj-ud-daulah as Jamadar, and at the time when Rukn-ud-daulah went to Madras to make an alliance with the Christians. Siraj-ud-daulah transferred to him, after peace was concluded, the services of Fazil Beg, as has been before mentioned, and strongly urged that he should be promoted, making much mention of his experience and courage. Rukn-ud-daulah assented, and brought Fazil Beg to Haidarabad, where in the rainy season he promoted him by conferring on him the title of Zabit Jang Bahadur, and entrusted to him the districts of Khammam, &c., and gave him leave to depart. Zabit Jang employed himself in equipping and drilling the soldiers, and in a short time reduced to submission all the towns and forts in that locality. He also reduced and humiliated the Zamindar of Bhadrachelum in the territory of Khammam, who was honoured in the time of Aurangzib with a command and a jagir, and permission to use music; but relying on the strength of the hills and the impervious jungle and thorns there, had rebelled. Zabit Jang got possession of all his treasures and property, and having rebuilt the fort of Dilatgaudah, in the neighbourhood of Warankal, he called it Zafarabad, and deposited there all the treasures he had collected. When the Nizam's army moved on Gargattah to punish certain refractory Zamindars, he obeyed the summons to attend the Nizam and distinguished himself much, and by his endeavours and liberality affairs in that quarter were arranged to satisfaction in a short time. The journey to Gargattah lasted altogether three months and a few days. The expedition moved from Haidarabad on the 6th of Shaban 1184 A.H., and on the 10th of Zil-Kadah, in the same year, returned. That year Rajah Jagdeo was raised to the command of 4,000 horse, and his sons and brothers were promoted to respectable commands, and when the Nizam arrived near the fort of Anangir, Rukn-ud-daulah, by his skilful management, captured Rajah Ramchandra, son of Chandrasen, who was always rebellious, and sent him to the fort of Mahammadnagar and there confined him. The army then in ten or fifteen days obliged the fort of Kyan to capitulate, which was held by Ramchandra's mother, and the fortifications of which had been repaired by her as soon as she had heard of her son's capture. On the 15th of Zil-Hajj, 1184 A.H., it surrendered, and the mother of Ramchandra with his two sons was brought before the Nizam, and was reinstated in his jagir of Bhalki. After that, at the request of Zabit Jang, who had himself received the gift of the fort of Narmal, but hesitated to move against it alone owing to the excessive daring of the son of Suriya Rao, the Zamindar of that place, the army marched against Narmal. On the 1st of Muharram, 1184 A.H., the siege was commenced, and at first the Zamindar did make exertions, but at last showed weakness and fled from the fort. Zabit Jang was then honoured with the title of Zafar-ud-daulah, and by the Nizam's order took possession of the fort, and after that possessed himself of all the towns and villages from thence to the frontier of Birar, and then busied himself with repairing the fortifications and erecting new. He also prepared munitions of war after the European system, and by degrees finished beautiful gardens and strong castles. After taking Narmal, Zafar-ud-daulah invited the Nizam to an entertainment, and made an offering of jewels and rich robes and elephants, and was honoured with the command of 2,000 horse, 2,000 being actually present, and with the insignia of the fish and the corresponding rank. On the 12th of Safar, in the same year, the Nizam returned in triumph, and on the 17th entered Haidarabad. About this time Daulah Singh was honoured with the office of permanent Diwan to the Nizam, and Ismail Khan

Pani, on the 27th of Jumad-ul-avval, obtained the government and financial superintendency of Elichpur and Birar, and Nakshbandi Khan, on the petition of Rajah Jagdeo, was appointed to the command of the fort and Faujdar's office at Golkandah, and Ahmad Mir Khan was made inspector of garrisons in place of Amir Beg Khan, and on the 1st of Zil-Kadah, in the same year, Rukn-ud-daulah obtained leave of absence from Court in order to settle certain matters, and went to Punah; and after a stay there of two months and nineteen days, during which time he settled all his affairs to his satisfaction, he returned. The Nizam himself went out to meet him by the Bridge Gate, and seated him on the same elephant with himself and so re-entered the palace. At the same time, at the request of Rukn-ud-daulah, Yamin-ud-daulah Shahsawar Jang, who was hostile to him, was expelled from the city, and Wakar-ud-daulah Nasib Yar Khan was appointed Nazim of Hyderabad, and on the 21st of Jamad-ul-avval, 1185 A.H., on account of the scantiness of rain, prayers were offered at the Idgah, according to prescribed rule, to the Almighty with earnest supplication for more rain, and from that day proofs were seen that the prayer was heard. On Friday, the 17th of Rabi-us-sani, three hours before sunset, warning drops fell, which from time to time increased until it rained so hard that it seemed as if there was to be a renewal of the deluge of Nuh (Noah). The river Musi became a torrent and tore up the ramparts facing to the west and the southern quarter of the city, and entered the city and threw down thousands of houses. Many persons were drowned by the flood. On the 27th of the same month, owing to the carelessness of the guard, a fire broke out in the magazine of the Char Mahal, and that fine building, which was as solid as the wall of Sikandar, was wholly destroyed. In the same year Arslan Jang, brother of Rukn-ud-daulah, was appointed to be commandant of the fort and Faujdar of Kalbarga. On the 14th of Zil-Hajj, Jagdeo and Nakshbandi Khan, who was a friend of Jagdeo, were imprisoned in the fort of Muhammadnagar for the following reason. When Zabit Jang, after the capture of Narmal, conquered the country as far as Birar, he appointed a Brahman of Elgandal, named Jagu Pandit, to be his agent, and sent him off to encourage the cultivators of Warankal, who were in mortal dread of the Zamindars of that place. After this was done he assigned the pay of the soldiers to the said Brahman and sent them to him. One of them fell out with him and it came to blows, and the said Pandit was disgracefully treated. This made him turn traitor, and he joined the Zamindars of that locality, and took possession of the fort of Zafargarh with all its munitions of war and treasure, and allied himself with the brother of Jagdeo, who had a quarrel with Zabit Jang and rebelled. Jagdeo, who was inflamed with envy at the daily augmenting power of Zabit Jang, looked on this affair as a great success, and encouraged him to strengthen the rising, and the Pandit broke open the lock of the treasure chest and began to spend the government money lavishly, and soon got together, through the assistance of the Zamindars, a considerable force to defend the fort, and prepared to fight. Zafar-ud-daulah, on hearing this serious news, although he was engaged in dealing with the Zamindars of Chanur, arrived expeditiously on the spot, laid siege to the fort, and in a short time took it by storm and seized the traitor whom the Zamindars had deserted and fled. He also pursued and captured the rebellious Deshmukhs, and killed a number of them, but spared some after cutting off their ears and noses. As for the Pandit, Zafar-ud-daulah punished him for a whole year with all kinds of exquisite tortures, and then despatched him to hell. Then having become suspicious of all the Zamindars and Mukaddams and Kulkarnis of the locality, he dismissed them all and appointed a permanent deputy to each, and acquainted Rukn-ud-daulah with what he had done. Rukn-ud-daulah, who was doubtful of Jagdeo from his previous conduct, on account of so grave a cause, and also out of regard for Zafar-ud-daulah, confined him in the fort of Golkandah, and after a time sent to the fort of Gandal, where he was lodged in an underground dungeon and was lost sight of. After an interval Rukn-ud-daulah bestowed on Dhoundu Pandit the title of Rai Rayan and the post of his confidential agent. On the 9th of Safar, 1186 A.H., Janoji Bhonslah died of strangury. In

the same year the marriage of the Nizam's son with the daughter of Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang was celebrated with all imaginable pomp, the details of which would be too long to give, and the *employés* and Ministers of State received in abundance jewels and robes of honour and presents suited to their rank. The marriage began on the 22nd of Jumad-ul-avval and finished at the end of Jumad-us-sani. The same year Madhu Rao Pandit Pradhan died of a painful disease in the flower of youth, and was succeeded by his younger brother Narayan Rao, and by the will of Madhu Rao, Raghunath was imprisoned in the same way as during Madhu Rao's life. On the 7th of Safar, 1187 A.H., the Muhammadans, headed by the Kazi of the city and Mahammad Hasim, chief of the Nizam's macebearers, formed for battle with the idolators, who relying on the protection of Dhonduram, the Peshwa's envoy, had brought out the idols from the temples to carry them in procession at night with torches and fireworks, intending to found a new kind of superstition. The faithful placed the idols with their heads downwards, and the envoy was offended and wished to leave the city and go to Punah. Rukn-ud-daulah, in order to extinguish the flame of mischief and to soothe the envoy, dismissed the Kazi, and expelled Muhammad Hashim. On the 28th of the said month intelligence was received of the death of Arslan Jang, brother of Rukn-ud-daulah, and the Nizam went to the house of Rukn-ud-daulah to condole with him.

Journey of Rukn-ud-daulah to Elichpur and Murder of Narayan Rao at the instigation of Raghunath, and other troubles that followed.

Between Jafar-ud-daulah and Ismail Khan Pani, the Governor of Elichpur, a feud had grown out of the envy of rivals. Zafar-ud-daulah, whose power grew daily, and to whom refractory Zamindars had been forced to submit, wished to make Ismail Khan Pani also submit to him. Ismail Khan looked on this submission as worse than death, and from natural pride and the intoxication of courage would not take any thought of his opponent's power when honour was in question, and as a measure of caution built the walls of Elichpur of stone. Zafar-ud-daulah regarded this as a proof of an intention to give trouble, and impressed the mind of Rukn-ud-daulah with a variety of proofs of Ismail's hostility. Rukn-ud-daulah, in order to bring about concord, obtained leave of absence from the Nizam, and set out for Elichpur. As soon as he arrived there he restrained Zafar-ud-daulah, who wanted to begin to fight, prudently thinking that the overthrow of either of these pillars of the State would be in fact the destruction of one of the arms of Government. He employed, therefore, measures of conciliation and delay. Meanwhile changeful fortune impressed a new stamp on the page of time. The news of the murder of Narayan Rao was spread, which took place as follows. On the death of Madhu Rao, his Minister, such as Balaji Pandit and Moro Pharnavis, and Hari Pandit Tantiya, and Sakaram Bapu, and Madhu Rao Apa, and Trimbuck Mama, and Anand Rao Rastiah, conjointly placed on the throne Narayan, brother of Madhu Rao, a youth of eighteen years. At the same time they increased the severity of Raghunath's imprisonment, and took the management of affairs into their own hands. Inasmuch as Raghunath was himself son of a Peshwa, and in the time of his brother Balaji had often led expeditions to Upper India, and had commanded armies against the Nizam, he felt it a bitter thing that his nephew should lead the nation, and that the ministers who had obeyed him should now control the State. He, therefore, began to plan how to obtain the sovereign power himself. It happened at that time the Nuwab Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur, son of the late Ghazi-ud-din; on pretence of mourning for Madhu Rao, had arrived at Punah. Narayan Rao, by the advice of his ministers, in consideration of the high rank of Vazir, which Imad-ul-Mulk had held, bestowed on him a jagir of two lakhs near Benares; but owing to the pride of youth and his inexperience did not assign to him any employment befitting his high station. The Nuwab Vazir was thus offended, and as he had formerly been friendly with Raghunath, took leave of Narayan, and paid a visit to Raghunath, and inspired him with a resolve to remove Narayan, having first expressed

a desire to have him put out of the way. From that day Raghunath was bent on forming a combination with the chiefs who commanded forces. Thus he arranged matters with a Risaldar named Shamshir Singh who commanded 5,000 foot and with Muhammad Yusif Gardi, a Risaldar^o who had 4,000 foot, and with an Arab Jamadar, who was at the head of 2,000 Arabs, and with Talaji Niwar, who led 4,000 horse, and Nanaji Phankreya, who was the commander of 2,000 horse, and by deceptive promises brought them over to his side, and spoke to them of making Narayan Rao prisoner. All agreed to this, and were on the look-out for an opportunity, till one day Narayan went to Parbati to worship an idol. When he returned thence to his own house and dismissed his attendants, the conspirators entered his grounds with their men and fastened the door. Talaji Niwar, Muhammad Yusif Gardi, and the Jamadar of the Arabs, entered the house and dragged out Narayan, who was lying in the careless slumber. Shamshir Singh then brought Raghunath out of his prison, and seated him on the Peshwa's throne. Then, although Raghunath told them to take Narayan away and keep him safe in prison, the chiefs who have been named, thinking their lives depended on killing Narayan, would not listen to Raghunath, but cut down† Narayan with their swords, and congratulated Raghunath. The ministers of Narayan then acknowledged Raghunath. This event took place in 1187 A.H. On hearing this news, Rukn-ud-daulah, inasmuch as he was apprehensive of the malice of Raghunath Rao, postponed the affair of Ismail Khan and returned to the Nizam. Although Raghunath was not yet firmly seated on the throne, he had already sent letters of complaint to the Nizam, and to Haidar Ali Khan, and Muhammad Ali Khan, about the *chauth* and other disagreeable matters, and acting precipitately had set out from Punah, fifteen days after his release, to collect revenue. He had assembled a large force and marched first on Haidarabad, following hard on his letters. The old ministers, though they in appearance acted in accordance with him, yet secretly were considering how to oppose him, so as to preserve their property and lives. The wealthy, on various pretences, sent off their effects to forts, and when Raghunath began to show his ill-temper towards any one, those who were prudent and possessed of treasure, as Sakaram, and Balaji Pandit, and Mhoro Pharnavis, each pretended to be sick, or on other pretexts obtained leave of absence and remained in Punah, and began to consult. Raghunath from his blind pride paid no attention to them, but hastened to fight. The Nizam, on receiving this news, moved out on the 22nd of Shaban in the same year from Haidarabad, and on the 24th encamped at Mankalah, fourteen *kos* from the city, where on the same day Rukn-ud-daulah joined him with the army. His Highness went two or four miles to meet the minister, and the troops were arranged as follows: The vanguard was commanded by Sabit Jang Bahadur, brother of Zafar-ud-daulah, and other brave soldiers. The rearguard was commanded by Hashmat Jang with many troops. Sharf-ud-daulah led the left wing with a large body of veterans, and Rukn-ud-daulah with many high nobles led the right. With him were Samsam-ud-Mulk, and Khan Khanan, and Ahsan-ud-daulah, and Maha Rao, and Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, and Gopal Singh Rajah of Kandahar, and Rajah Nirpat Singh, and Balaji Kesu, who took up their positions as ordered. In the centre stood the Nizam. On the 6th of the said month Saif-ud-daulah, commandant of the fort of Golkandah, and Khwajah Abdul Wahid Khan, the Nizam's son's Diwan, obtained leave to return. The said commandant was promoted to a higher command with an increased jagir. On the same day several ladies, who had come from Haidarabad, arrived at Court. Leaving that place, the Nizam reached the suburbs of Bidar on the 3rd of Ramazan. Those who arrived with His Highness were safe, but those who straggled behind were the prey of plunderers. On arriving at the fort of Bidar, the baggage animals and the baggage itself, and the seraglio were placed inside the walls, and on that day or the next fighting took place and some men were killed on both sides. The same day Rajah

^o The word "Risaldar" is more properly and almost universally applied to a commander of cavalry.

† The murder took place on the 30th of August 1773. See Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 246, wherein the details of the story of the assassination differ considerably from those given in the *Hadikah-i-Alam*.

Bir Bahadur Akaji Sarkar arrived, while the battle was at the hottest, from his estate and waited on the Nizam, and received a jewelled ornament for the head. The Maratha army plundered on all sides. On the 19th of the said month they formed in squadrons, and fiercely attacked Sabit Jang and the vanguard, and made assaults on the fort from all sides.* Sabit Jang and Yamin-ud-daulah, commandant of the fort, showed distinguished courage, and repulsed those before vanquished foes. And Sabaji Bhonslah, at the instigation of the old ministers who had gone to Punah, began to plunder the Maratha country, or such part as was under Raghunath, who in order to get rid of that annoyance, thought it advisable for the time to make peace. So he sent a message to that effect to the Nizam, and asked for an interview with Rukn-ud-daulah, in order to renew former engagements. Rukn-ud-daulah on the 23rd of the said month, by the Nizam's order, went to Raghunath with a grant of territory, bringing in annually twelve lakhs (Raghunath had demanded land worth twenty lakhs a year).† Treaties were then renewed and the grant was given to him, with a dress of five pieces, a horse, and an elephant. Raghunath then agreed to an interview with the Nizam, and Rukn-ud-daulah returned to the Nizam. The next day the interview took place at a spot between the two armies, and the Nizam at Raghunath's request went to his quarters, which were near Khanahpur. Two or three hours were spent in friendly conversation and food was then brought. After the meal was finished Raghunath then submitted to the Nizam's inspection jewels and two horses, and two elephants and the grant of territory bringing in twelve lakhs, which the Prime Minister had given him. The Nizam then rose and returned to his own camp, and on the 25th inspected the fort of Bidar.‡ The commandant presented many offerings, which were accepted except a horse. The ladies and the baggage then moved out from the fort and joined the camp. Rukn-ud-daulah was then presented by the Nizam with a jewelled ornament for the turban, and a diamond ring and ear-rings and two strings of large pearls of fine water. When the treaty was all settled Raghunath moved from his camp, and sent Trimbak Mama against Sabaji, who was disturbing the country, and took the road to Rajpur. Then he had some fighting with the Nuwab Amir-ul-umara Shuja-ul-Mulk, but at last came to terms with him and marched against Haidar Ali, who, to tide over matters, sent Raghunath some lakhs to pay his expenses, and asked for the lands of Sira and the fort of Dharwar by way of contract, agreeing to pay thirty-two lakhs a year for them. Raghunath gave him a grant of the lands on condition that he should not assist the ministers of Punah should they raise disturbances, and having sealed the grant with his own seal sent it to him and marched towards the Karnatik. Haidar, acting upon the grant given him by Raghunath, sent his son Tipu Sultan with 15,000 horse into that territory and reduced it all to subjection. However, when Raghunath marched from Khanahpur, the army of the Nizam also moved on the day following from the fort of Bidar to Kalbargah, and Zabardast Khan, the chief of the carpet-strewers, and Dawar Jang Bahadur went to Haidarabad to bring the people of the palace, and on the 15th of Shawwal all the people of the palace reached the Nuwab in the neighbourhood of Humnabad, and on the 18th of the said month they went out to meet a robe of honour and an edict which had been sent by the Emperor Shah Alam. At the same time the lands of Akeli were bestowed as a jagir on Rustam Rao Pandrah, and as his brother Baswant Rao did not allow him to deal with them, first Sidi Ambar Khan and then Sabit Jang was sent to punish him. Baswant Rao then betook himself to humble entreaties and handed over Akili to Rustam Rao. The Nizam then, on the 26th of that month, encamped in the environs of venerated Kalbargah, and after the happiness and honour of doing pilgrimage to the shrine of His Holiness

* The walls of Bidar are in many places only about twelve feet high, and could easily be escaladed; but there are a number of long and heavy guns of large calibre mounted on the bastions. The total *enciente* is perhaps six miles.

† The text says simply "more," but Grant Duff makes it twenty. See Vol. II., p. 256. The treaty was made 9th December 1773.

‡ Where are some remarkable buildings, a very ancient mosque, and a college with minarotes of vast height, one of which has now fallen.

Khawajah Bandah Nawaz,* and an inspection of the fort of Kalbargah, turned on the 7th of Zil Kadah in the direction of Kalah Chabutarah. On the 9th of the same month the agent of Mudaji Bhonslah, who had separated from him on the march, and was collecting money from the districts and parganahs on the road, and was on the watch to plunder stragglers from the Nizam's camp, was suddenly surprised by the vedettes of the Nizam's vanguard. The wretches, who accompanied him, had encamped four or six miles from the Nizam's van when the advanced guard came on them. The soldiers of Islam at once charged them and put them to flight, and plundered all their camp. The spoil was given to the soldiers. At this time Dawar Jang Bahadur was appointed to the command of the fort of Kalbargah and the office of Faujdar of the five districts in succession to Hasmat Jang. Hashmat Jang, hurt at his removal, took leave and went to Haidarabad. The command of the rearguard was then given to Dawar Jang. When the army drew near to the fort of Anaugir, on this side of the river Bhima, the envoys of the Zamindars of the part beyond the Kishna, of the district of Sholapur and Gargattah, had the honour of being presented to the Nizam, and the Zamindars on this side presented offerings. Those who were refractory were punished. The Amir-ul-umara Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang now came from the fort of Raichur to pay his respects and halted within twelve miles of the army. Next day the Nizam sent Rukn-ud-daulah to compliment his dear brother, and on the 22nd the Nizam himself went in state to meet him to the other side of the river. The brother passed an hour in the same tent, and the Nizam then placed Basalat Jang on the same elephant with himself and took him to his own tent. After some hours the Amir-ul-umara was allowed to return to his own camp, which was pitched opposite the vanguard of the Nizam's army. The Nizam's entertained his brother the following night, presented him with a dress of honour and valuable jewels, and dismissed him, but went next with all his great nobles to a return entertainment, where he remained till midnight and accepted a dress and jewels, a horse, and an elephant. On the 6th of Zil-Hajj the Amir-ul-umara again paid his respects, received presents, and took leave. Those also who accompanied him were presented with robes of honour, according to their rank. But Ihtida Khan Mustaid Jang received the command of 6,000 horse, 2,000 being actually present, his original command being thus raised, and he obtained a flag, kettledrums, and a palki with a fringe, and the title of Mukarram-ud-daulah Bahadur. On the 7th of the same month the victorious army marched thence, and after two stages most of the commandants of forts and the Zamindars who had been presented were allowed to depart.

Account of the Alliance of the Punah Brahmans with the Nizam in order to punish Raghunath Rao, whose end was evil; and what took place afterwards.

When Raghunath had made peace with the Nizam, the ministers at Punah became anxious, and did not lose time, but brought over to their side Sabaji Bhonslah, through Trimbak Mama, with whom they had privately arranged matters. They then secretly sent Bhikan Khan and Rajah Ram Pandit with letters to the Nizam as to the chastisement of Raghunath Rao, and the ridding themselves of the trouble he caused, and through the medium of Rukn-ud-daulah they asked for aid in this. On the 7th of Zil-Kadah, 1187 A.H., it was resolved to help those petitioners for aid. The army marched on each day till on the 17th of the said month, when the Nizam arrived at the village of Harka, Trimbak Mama, son of Malhar Rao Rastiah, and other nobles of Punah with Sabaji Bhonslah, met near Nander, and encamped about ten miles from the Nizam. That evening, Rukn-ud-daulah, by command of His Highness, went to them to learn the state of affairs and to strengthen the bonds of friendship. The chiefs came half way to meet him, and having pitched a tent in that very spot, a consultation was held. When those who had met there had returned to their own camps, the Nizam issued orders that every soldier or camp follower who felt unable

* Bandah Nawaz, a saint of the Chishti family, has the most celebrated shrine in the south of India, and is styled "Sun of the South." He lived three centuries and a half ago. A full account of his shrine will be found in my "Handbook of Madras."

to bear the fatigue of the expedition should return to Haidarabad. Some of the persons in the Zananah also were sent back with the falconers. On the 21st Rukn-ud-daulah and Samsam-ud-daulah, by order of the Nizam, went to meet Trimbak Rao and others who were coming to wait on His Highness. After consultation it was resolved that Raghunath should be punished. The chiefs from Punah then each received presents and returned to their tents. On the 23rd of the same month they again waited on His Highness, and it was determined to march with all expedition against Raghunath, after which they were honoured with presents of robes and jewels, and horses and elephants, and were allowed to depart. On the 14th Zafar-ud-daulah joined the victorious army. On the 27th at Bitorsal,* which is a place of importance belonging to the Marathas, on the banks of the Bhima, Hari Pandit Pharkia arrived in Trimbak Mama's camp with a large sum of money, which Sakaram Pandit, the manager for Gobika Bai, sent for this expedition. At this time Sabit Jang departed to his brother's districts. On the 28th there was an eclipse, on which occurrence those who wear the Brahmanical thread worship idols, so there was a halt, after which they hastened by long marches to encounter Raghunath without stopping. He was on the banks of the Kishna, and on hearing this news his resolution gave way, and he became a wanderer in the waste of calamity, and his pursuers on learning this pursued him the more vehemently. This caused dissension in Raghunath's camp, and as time went on, the chiefs abandoned him, and joined Trimbak Mama. Trimbak Rao went in advance at the distance of ten or twelve *kos* and Sabaji at the distance of five or six *kos* in support of Trimbak, until on the 12th of Muharram 1188 A.H., the intelligence department informed Trimbak that Raghunath had gone with a slender escort to a certain village to worship. Trimbak, whose courage was not tempered with discretion, looked on this as a piece of good fortune, and without the support of the Nizam's army and relying on some chiefs who were with Raghunath, but who were secretly intriguing against him, dashed on at speed to attack Raghunath, who instantly mounted his horse and charged. After a short fight, in which only about ten or fifteen were killed and wounded, Trimbak was dangerously wounded in two or three places, and taken prisoner, and in three days expired. His troops were dispersed and went back to the station from which they had started. Raghunath did not pursue them, being apprehensive of the Nizam's army. On the night of the 14th, when these tidings reached the Nizam's troops, they hastened to the assistance of the dispirited fugitives, and made a march of twenty-four miles to them. Then, with the concurrence of Rukn-ud-daulah, Hari Pandit Pharkia was appointed to the command in place of Trimbak Mama. During this interval another event took place which added to the anxiety of the situation. The Nuwab Zulfakar-ud-daulah Mahabat Jang, legitimate son of the Amir-ul-umara, issued from the fort of Adwani, intending to visit the Nizam. Raghunath Rao got information of this, and set off to seize him. The Nuwab hearing of his approach shut himself up in a small fort on the road. Raghunath arrived there and surrounded the place. Mahabat Jang was plunged in an abyss of consternation, and as he had but few munitions of war, and but a scanty escort, he thought it was best to make terms, so he issued from the fort and Raghunath met him with the utmost respect, and made him mount on his own elephant and took him to his camp. On hearing this news the Nizam sent for the Maratha chiefs and assembled a council of war. At last His Highness decided, and all the chiefs agreed with him, that they should pursue that man of evil tendencies (Raghunath) and leave nothing undone to punish him. On arriving at the fort of Parandah they left their superfluous baggage there, and pursued Raghunath with lengthy marches. On the 27th they reached the vicinity of the fort of Ahmednagar. Meantime Bhawani Rao Prithinidi and bodies of Raghunath's army, who had separated from him, joined the army of Hari Pandit, and Raghunath took the direction of Aurangabad and halted at Rawabuj, and demanded a sum of money of the Governor of

* This word is indistinctly written in the Persian.

Aurangabad. Munir-ul-Mulk, who was Nazim, busied himself in making the city safe ; and after the Nizam's army had crossed the Godavari, Raghunath alarmed, and thinking it dangerous to remain, marched thence, and dismissed all the attendants of Mahabat Jang, and then went to Chikal Thanah and halted. Next day he marched thence and hastened by bye-roads to Burhanpur. Three days after Raghunath's departure, on the 3rd of Safar, the Nizam's army encamped in the Plain of the Black Terrace,* which is near Aurangabad. Many of the camp followers who accompanied the baggage and others, who were exhausted with the marches, and the zananah, now took up their abode in the city. The army then got to the suburbs of Phulmari. Just at this time the news-writers gave information that the widow† of Narayan Rao had given birth to a son, who had received the name of Madhu Rao. On receipt of this good news orders were given that the music should play a joyous tune, and the chiefs of Punah loaded elephants with sugar and brought it to the Nizam with drums beating, and every one partook of it. They then, with the concurrence of the Nizam, declared the infant successor to the throne of Punah, and much inspirited pursued their way to Burhanpur in chase of Raghunath and aided by the Nizam. On the 15th of the said month they passed the hill of Fardapur and halted at its base. Here about 20,000 of Raghunath's cavalry deserted him, relying on the assurances of Hari Pandit Pharkia, and just as the Nizam was mounting near the village of Jang Dalvi at fourteen kos from Burhanpur, this force came up and saluted and fell in with the division of Hari Pandit. Mudaji Bhonslah too, who had joined Raghunath through dread of his brother Sabaji, now abandoned Raghunath and set off for Chandah in his own territories. On this Raghunath with but few men fled from Burhanpur to Upper India, accompanied by Muhammad Usif Gardi and Shamshir Singh Hazari. On the 23rd of the same month the Nizam's army encamped at the Deer Garden on the southern side of the Tapti, and after concluding deliberations held in a council of war, the division of Hari Pandit, under the command of Balwant Rao and supported by Zafar-ud-daulah, was sent to pursue Raghunath, and Sabaji's division, under his Diwan Bhawani Kalu, was despatched in pursuit of Mudaji. After some days intelligence came that Raghuba was on the north side of the Narbada, and had asked help of Holkar and Sindhia and taken shelter with them at Indur. Balwant Rao, who had gone in pursuit of Raghunath, halted on the south side of the Narbada while Zafar-ud-daulah had crossed the river, and was on the north side of the stream. On the 10th of Rabi-ul-avval the Nizam was informed that Bhawani Kalu had got near the army of Mudaji. At the same time came the sad news of Umdat Bigam's death, so that the mind of His Highness was troubled. Several historians have found the chronogram of that saintly lady's death as follows:—*Umdat Bigam paigam-i-jamat Yaft*—"To Umdat Begam Eden's message came." In the same journey the army of Darya Bai was plundered by the spoilers instigated by Sabaji, and the same noble lady fled and took refuge with Hari Pandit. When Janoji died, a strife arose between Mudaji and Sabaji. Daraya Bai, the widow of Janoji Bhonslah, was in alliance with Mudaji, and took refuge with Raghunath when he killed Narayan, and ascended the throne. Sabaji, during the expedition to Birar, formed an alliance with Rukn-ud-daulah, and after that, Raghunath made peace with the Nizam, and departed from the neighbourhood of Bidar, and Trimbak Rao and other chiefs joined Sabaji, and asked the Nizam to assist them, and made war upon Raghunath, as has been related, and they took Darya Bai with them, as she abandoned Raghunath on account of his being joined by Sabaji. When Mudaji departed to his territory, Darya Bai, on pretence of a mutiny of her soldiers on account of their pay, also set off for her own lands, but Sabaji fearing she might renew her alliance with Mudaji, prevented her departure, and as she would not yield, but on the 21st of Rabi-ul-avval was prepared to start, Sabaji aided by the Nizam's troops and some of the Marathas attacked her and spoiled her camp, and killed

* So called from a hill about 600 feet high on which is a black building. This plain is to the west of Aurangabad, and between it and Daulatabad.

† Her name was Gauga Bai—Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 259. Her son, Madhu Rao Narayan, was born April 18, 1774.

and wounded many of her people. She, however, with a few attendants escaped to Hari Pandit, who treated her kindly, and sent doctors to attend to her wounded people, and applied to the Nizam to have her effects given back to her. After much searching some camels and bullocks used for carrying her baggage that had been stolen by some bad characters, were found and returned to her; and as the rains were at hand the Nizam moved to Aurangabad, and bestowed on Hari Pandit a jewelled ornament for the turban, and on Sabaji another, and also a *jilsah* and a betel-box, and sent them away with instructions to pursue Raghunath, and next day he himself went to the tents of those chiefs, and they gave him two trays of jewels and several trays of rich stuffs, as well as horses and elephants, after which he entered Aurangabad successful and gratified, and while *en route* he conferred on Kishn Rao Balal jewelled ornaments for the head and a string of pearls, and gave him leave to depart to Punah to Gopa Bai and Sakaram Pandit, to arrange matters. When the Nizam reached Jafarabad, Sharf-ud-daulah and Dawar Jang took leave, and went to their own districts, but at the time of leaving that station the rain fell in torrents, to such an extent that the water-courses of the town became so swollen as to stop the passage of the army. The baggage and most of the troops that were escorting the Nizam passed over before the flood rose. But those who remained passed the night with countless discomforts, and crossed next day. On the 20th of Rabi-us-sani the *cortège* of the Nizam again arrived in Aurangabad. Some confidential officers of Raghunath, who were intriguing with the Ministers at Punah, wrought on his mind to such an extent that he set Mahabat Jang free, so that prince on the 26th of the said month came to the Nizam, and his release was a cause of extreme rejoicing. The Ministers of State presented congratulatory offerings, and for three days the music played joyous airs. After an interval news was received from the intelligence department that Commandant Ynsif had fallen into the hands of the troops of Punah, and had been put to death. Sabaji, who had gone to fight Mudaji, fell by a musket shot. The Nizam then commissioned Hashmat Jang, the brother of Rukn-ud-daulah, to seize his lands. News also came that Raghunath had received assistance from Holkar and Sindhia, and was ready to renew the war. His Highness then bestowed a robe of honour and jewels on Munir-ul-Mulk, the Nazim of Aurangabad, and having entrusted him with the defence of the city, marched out himself to chastise Raghunath. His Highness also bestowed robes and jewels on Nana Pharnavis and other officials at Punah, and directed them to punish Raghunath. They by clever intrigues sowed distrust between Raghunath and Holkar and Sindhia, so that he took refuge with the hat-wearing English at Surat, an account of which will be given hereafter. After the flight of Raghunath, the Nizam, at the suggestion of Rukn-ud-daulah, marched to chastise Mudaji, who was creating disturbances. On reaching the territory of Elichpur, His Highness encamped near the fort of Ambar. Zafar-ud-daulah, as commanded, laid siege to that fort. The garrison implored mercy, and surrendered in three days. At this time a strange circumstance happened. Rukn-ud-daulah, after the capture of the fort of Ambar, sent Zafar-ud-daulah to Mudaji to see to the terms of capitulation. Accordingly Zafar-ud-daulah went about twelve *kos* in that direction and halted. After that, on the 6th of Safar, 1189 A.H., the army marched from that spot, and Sharf-ud-daulah, brother of Rukn-ud-daulah, went to a distance from the army to bring clarified oil, and after the Nizam had reached the encamping place Rukn-ud-daulah came into the presence and began to represent various matters, when an infantry soldier named Faizu, one of the regiment commanded by Ibrahim Khan, inflicted a wound on the left side of Rukn-ud-daulah with a dagger, and a jet of blood followed. The courtiers killed the assassin with blows of their swords, and before he died demanded of him why he had been guilty of such an act, and by whose instigation. He made no answer. The Nizam was much distressed at this occurrence, and appointed surgeons to attend to the wound. For a whole hour Rukn-ud-daulah sat respectfully in the presence, uttering many loyal words, and recommending his family to the care of His Highness. When he was at the point of death, they placed him reclining in a covered palki and sent him to his tent, but before arriving

there he expired. Next day, which was Friday, they buried him at the village of Nir, at the hut of a darvesh, but after a time they removed his body and buried it at the foot of a holy hill known as the Mount of Mawla Ali, which is about six *kos* from Haidarabad. After the interval of a day the Nizam went to the tent of Sharf-ud-daulah and with kind words healed the wound of his heart. His Highness also honourably supported all the friends and family of Rukn-ud-daulah, and continued to Sharf-ud-daulah his jagir and allowances. When Ghulam Saiyid Khan became the Nizam's Prime Minister, he showed such kindness to Sharf-ud-daulah as only his associates know, for Sharf-ud-daulah had previously been his benefactor, in so much that when Rukn-ud-daulah was in power his brother Sharf-ud-daulah patronized Ghulam Saiyid even against Rukn-ud-daulah's wishes. Hence when Ghulam Saiyid received from the Nizam the title of Mashir-ud-daulah (Counsellor of the State) witty and veracious people said he was most deserving of this title.

CHAPTER II.

Events that happened after the Assassination of Rukn-ud-daulah to the return of the Nizam to Haidarabad after the taking of the fort of Narmal from Ihtisham Jang, son of Zafar-ud-daulah.

On the 4th of Rabi-ul-avval, 1189 A.H., Mudaji Bhonslah and Raghuji Bhonslah, with their ministers, and with the concurrence of Zafar-ud-daulah, set out to wait on the Nizam, who ordered Sharf-ud-daulah and Vakar-ud-daulah to go forth to meet them. After these chiefs had been presented they were given robes of honour, and jewels, and swords, and an elephant, and their ministers received jewelled ornaments for the turban, and they were allowed to leave. On the 7th of the same month His Highness, according to custom, paid the return visit, going to the tents of the chiefs, and they offered to his Highness two trays of jewels, and four trays of robes, and a horse and an elephant. The day after this the deputy governorship of Elichpur was given to the Nizam's son. But Ismail Khan Pani, who had previously come from Elichpur by command of the Nizam to wait on His Highness, had encamped at the distance of one and a half *kos*, and Zabit Jang, who at that time was apprehensive on account of the assassination of Rukn-ud-daulah, and had with him a considerable force,—for he had to settle the affair of Mudaji, and was viewed with hostility by Ismail Khan,—^{*} now sent Bahram Jang and Fathmaud Khan, and other persons of rank to Ismail with a message to this effect, that the government of Elichpur had been given to the heir-apparent, and Balapur alone remained for him, which would be given him as a jagir, and therefore it was incumbent on him to vacate Elichpur and hand it over to the ministers, and that he had better seek employment through Zabit Jang. Ismail Khan refused to obey this order, and Zabit Jang, who was in a fury from head to foot, represented this to the Nizam, and said that His Highness ought to take on himself the chastisement of the rebel. The Nizam approved of this advice. Accordingly, on the 10th of the said month, Zabit Jang was ordered to punish him, and the other generals and commanders were ordered to have their corps ready for action. Zabit Jang, who thirsted for his blood, immediately on receiving this order advanced rapidly with a great force and the Nizam's artillery, in order to give him battle. His Highness, in order to support Zabit Jang, commanded his riding elephant to be brought and mounted it. Ismail Khan had come with only a few troops from Elichpur; but inflamed with courage he thought it would be a stain upon his honour to turn back from his enemy and go to Elichpur, so he mounted his horse and sword in hand charged down, regardless of his life, with a scanty band of attendants on Zabit Jang, like a moth that seeks the flame. He broke through the chain of elephants, and came up close to that on which Zabit Jang was riding. At that moment a surprising commotion took place in Zabit Jang's army, and they rained bullets and arrows and spears upon Ismail, till at last they surrounded him,

^{*} Here, and in some other places, the author of the *Hudika-i-Alam* has made use of a long and cumbrous sentence, which could not be literally translated without sacrificing the sense.

and having cut off his head sent it to the Nizam, and Zabit Jang presented offerings for the victory he had obtained. After this the Nizam, on the 12th of the said month, halted in the suburbs of Elichpur, and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shah Rahman, and bestowed on Zafar-ud-daulah a sword with a rich belt, and also the command of 7,000 horse with 5,000 actually present, and the title of Mubariz-ul-Mulk Bahadur. Zafar-ud-daulah used his best exertions to conciliate Salabat Khan and Bahlol Khan, sons of Ismail Khan. Accordingly the Nizam sent for them both, and gave them jewelled ornaments for their turbans, and jagirs, and commands of horse. On the 19th Bahram Jang was made deputy for the heir-apparent at Elichpur, to defend the city of Elichpur, and accountant of the districts of Berar, and Saiyid Mukrim Khan was made Diwan to the heir-apparent, with the duty also of tutor. News came at this time that Hari Ram Pharkia had defeated Raghunath Rao in a fierce battle. The death also of Munir-ul-Mulk Haidar Yar Khan was reported to His Highness, who soon after affixed with his own princely hand a jewelled ornament for the turban on the head-dress of Mudaji^a Bhonslah. The Nizam also bestowed on Bahram Jang, who had been entrusted with the defence of Elichpur, a betel-box and jewelled ornaments for the head, and he gave to Salabat Khan and Bahlol Khan two jewelled ornaments and betel-boxes, with permission to depart. His Highness then moved to Aurangabad, and arrived by regular stages; on the 12th of Jumad-ul-avval, when he alighted at the pavilion of the deceased Iwaz Khan; and Zafar-ud-daulah, who followed one stage behind the victorious army, also entered the city, and halted in the fort at the mansion of the late Shah Nawaz Khan. At the time of going into quarters for the rains, the Nizam, as was his wont, made a pilgrimage to holy Rozah,[†] in order to visit the tombs of venerated persons there, and that of Aurungzib, and the first Nizam, and the Nuwab Nasir Jang. The Nizam also visited Kaghazwarah,[‡] and ordered the paper-makers to make a paper one cubit and six fingers' breadth long, and forty-five fingers' breadth broad,[§] good for writing on and smooth and polished like the paper of Zerbar, and to call it Nizam Ali Khan. His Highness further bestowed on them twenty gold coins (ashrafis), from his own pocket, and then paid a visit to Daulatabad, and did pilgrimage to the shrine of Sankri Sultan, whose tomb is above the fortifications. On the 16th of Jumad-us-sani the office of Risalahdar was bestowed on Muhammad Ahmad Khan, who was a near relation of Tigh Jang Bahadur. On the 1st of Ramazan His Highness purchased for two lakhs of rupees some European curiosities, and gave a general permission for noble and plebeian to see them. About the same time it was reported to His Highness that Rajah Deochand, the Diwan of Shuja-ul-Mulk, had joined battle with Haidar Ali Khan, near the fort of Balhari, and after being dangerously wounded had been taken prisoner and died of his wounds, and his army had been plundered. At this time papers were submitted to His Highness by which the Marathas relinquished territory bringing in an annual revenue of twenty-five lakhs, viz., Kandapur, and Baizapur, and Jalnah, and Maingipatan, with the fort of Daulatabad, sent by Sakaram, and other ministers of Madhu Rao Peshwa, on account of the aid furnished by the Nizam in chastising Raghunath Rao according to agreement.

Events which happened after Raghunath Rao took shelter with the English.

When Raghunath fled to the English, the Marathas of Puna pursued him, and they wrote to Haidar Ali Khan—who, on the deed given him by Raghunath, had seized the territory of Sira and the fort of Dharwar, but contumaciously refused to pay tribute as agreed upon—that Raghunath had not been properly placed on the throne as Peshwa, and a deed signed by him had no validity, and that Haidar must therefore give up Sira, and must pay according to settled custom the

^a The second syllable of this name is written sometimes with, sometimes without, an aspirate.

[†] A cemetery of the Muhammadans on the plateau above the caves of Elura, where Aurangzib is buried.

[‡] "Paper Town," a village between Daulatabad and Rozah, and two miles south-east of the latter place.

[§] Johnson's Persian Dictionary makes the *Girih* three fingers' breadth, but I think it is only one breadth in this place, in which case read fifteen instead of forty-five.

tribute due. They followed up that epistle by sending Hari Pandit to attack Haidar, which he did. At this time a discussion arose between Moro Pharnavis and Balaji Pandit, as each wished to be in power without a rival. Holkar supported Moro Pharnavis and Sindhia Balaji Pandit, and each was devising how to seize and imprison the other on pretence of asking him to an entertainment. Balaji Pandit, however, inasmuch as Hari Pandit, his chief supporter, had marched against Haidar, concealed his design, and Moro Pharnavis proposed to pretend to give Balaji an entertainment and then with Holkar's support seize him and imprison him. Balaji, having got information of this, was on his guard, and wrote to Hari Pandit Pharkia and to Mudaji^{*} Sindhia to join him with all speed, otherwise Moro Pandit would imprison him. Balaji then remained quite passive, but went at night to Moro and quite deceived him by his flattery, to such an extent, indeed, that he gave up all thought of imprisoning him, and though Holkar hinted that this was an opportunity which ought not to be lost, otherwise he would regret it, Balaji would not listen to him, so the interview passed off with apparent pleasantness. After a month Sindhia and Hari Pandit, having so far settled with Haidar that he acknowledged that the money ought to be paid, and that he would pay it at the end of the year, arrived at Purandhar. Balaji then held a council with Sindhia, and after exciting his cupidity by feeling him from his own pocket brought him to agree that Moro Pandit should be imprisoned. Accordingly, having lulled him into carelessness for some days, he one day invited him to an entertainment and imprisoned him. When Holkar saw that Moro Pandit had through fatality neglected his advice, and that Balaji was a shrewd man, and that his scale of the balance was weighted with the assistance of Sindhia and Pharkia, he considered that it was advisable for the time to make friends with Balaji, so he entered into an agreement with him, with engagements and promises, and these four persons were united by oaths. Then Balaji, in order to still more conciliate Mudaji Sindhia put the interests of Madhu Rao aside, and having assembled nearly 80,000 horse, sent them off to fight the English, and himself with Madhu Rao came down from the fort of Purandhar and entered Puna. The Maratha chiefs first sent a message to the English, to the effect that Raghunath had unjustly killed the heir to the throne, and taken shelter with them, and that they were not to give him an asylum, but must send him to them. The English replied that Raghunath was a chief of old date, the son of a Peshwa, and heir to the throne, and that they, who were but servants, had conspired to deprive him of power, and had placed a child of uncertain birth on the throne, calling him the son of Narayan. They added that Raghunath had taken shelter with them from the violence of the chiefs, and that it was impossible for them to surrender one who had taken refuge with them. Moreover, they had informed the Company of the affair, and would obey whatever order came from thence. They must wait till an answer came. Otherwise they too were prepared to fight. The Marathas on hearing this commenced a plundering warfare, and became troublesome. Four European regiments which had advanced from Bombay and had joined the troops from Surat began to repel the Marathas, and the war lasted eight months, and neither side could get a complete victory over the other until two other regiments came up from Bombay, and in 1189 A.H., stormed and captured the fort of Shashti in four hours, which was held by the Marathas, and expelled the Maratha garrison, which numbered 4,000. After this Raghunath and Balaji sent a letter to Mr. Hastings, the Governor of Calcutta, to say that they were entirely in the right, and that the English were unjustly quarrelling with them. Mr. Hastings, after reading the correspondence of both parties, sent as arbiter a Mr. Upton,[†] to inquire into the affair at Puna, and wrote to Balaji that he had done so. Accordingly that officer on arrival had an interview with the Maratha ministers, who omitted nothing to gain him over and to support their own statement. Mr. Upton presented, on the part of the Company, robes and jewels to the mother of Madhu Rao, and arranged that he should go to Calcutta and represent the case to Mr.

^{*} This word is written Mahadoji in the Persian.

[†] In the text it is wrongly "Ayton."

Hastings, and lay the foundation of a cordial friendship with the ministers, who gratified Mr. Upton in turn with presents, and sent a person named Masluk Ram with him as their representative. Raghunath, hearing this, wrote letters of a friendly nature to Holkar and Sindhia, and other chiefs at Punah. Sindhia and Holkar and the others except Hari Pandit sent in reply most cordial letters assuring him that if he would levy troops and march with the English to Punah they would take service with him, and would seize Balaji Pandit and his other enemies and bring them to him. Raghunath acquainted the Governors of Bombay and Surat with the contents of these letters and asked for assistance. He also despatched the letters with presents to England by Angat Rao and Hanwant Rao through a Parsi named Ratanji, in order to obtain commands to the Governors of Bengal and Bombay to assist him. Mula Fakhr-ud-din, a merchant, was the arranger of their departure. When the ship in which they were arrived at Jeddah, the Governor there seized the ship and took the letters and presents from them, but spared their lives and sent them back *re infecta*. The Governor of Bombay sent Mr. Carnac and Mr. Holmes with four veteran regiments to accompany Raghunath, and appointed Mr. (Colonel Charles) Egerton* to command the force, and when Raghunath took leave the governor gave him a string of pearls, and a jewelled ornament for his turban, and four lakhs of rupees. When this news reached Punah the whole city was thrown into alarm at the rumoured approach of the English. The ministers there emptied their houses of the furniture, and filled them with hay and firewood, and were intending to burn the city with their own hands when the English approached, and waged an irregular war against them. Hari Pandit and Sindhia moved from Punah with their forces, which amounted to nearly 170,000 cavalry, and halted on the far side of the ghats intending to close the road, but when the English artillery opened fire and killed some of the leading chiefs a panic seized the Marathas, they abandoned the ghat leaving the way open and fled. None of the chiefs who had written to Raghunath joined him. Raghunath advanced with the English troops and 500 Mughul horse who had served under him for a long time, and driving back the Marathas reached Talegaon, which is twelve *kos* from Punah. Here the Marathas surrounded the English and charged them on all sides, at the same time opening a distant fire with their artillery. One of their balls happened to kill the commanding officer of the English,† but Mr. Carnac and Mr. Holmes behaved with courage and took Talegaon with a slight effort. The Marathas then besieged the place and cut off the supplies. At last the English were reduced to distress and asked for a truce. Sindhia intervened and took Raghunath from the camp and kept him by himself, and took from the English a written agreement that they would send a formal surrender of Shasti and the port of Surat when they arrived there. After taking this agreement Sindhia allowed the English to depart. Sindhia also took from Balaji a grant of Kalpi as a jagir of nine lakhs a year for Raghunath with the seal of Madhu Rao. He then sent off Raghunath to Kalpi with an escort of 6,000 horse. Balaji demanded Raghunath of Sindhia, but he would not give him up, and as Sindhia's concurrence and aid were most important he did not press the matter. Balaji then instigated Sindhia to imprison Sakaram, and next day Sindhia, on pretence of consultation, summoned him to his tent, and seized and handed him over to Balaji, who sent him to the fort of Khargarh, which is famous for its unhealthiness. At the end of two years

* This account of the disastrous expedition to Wargaon differs considerably from that given by Grant Duff, vol. II., pp. 363—378, and the narrative of the English historian is much to be preferred. The whole force of the English consisted of 3,900 men, of whom 591 were Europeans. The troops embarked at Bombay for Panwell on the 23rd of November 1778—the date is wrongly given in Grant Duff, by a typographical error, as 1788 (*ibid.*, p. 349) and ascended the Khandala ghat on the 23rd of December. Lieut.-Colonel Cay was killed on the march thence on the 31st of December, and Captain Stewart at Kaili on the 4th January 1779. On the 9th the army reached Talegaon, and on the night of the 11th commenced their retreat, after throwing their guns into a tank and burning their stores. On the 13th negotiations were commenced, and ended in an agreement to restore everything to the Marathas as held by them in 1773. Our total loss in killed and wounded was 352, of whom fifteen were European officers.

† The author of the *Hudika* is mistaken in supposing that the English General, Colonel Egerton, was killed. He resigned through sickness on the 6th of January, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel Cockburn, who was afterwards dismissed the service. In the *Hudika* Colonel Egerton is called Mr. Ashtol, and in another place, "the aforesaid mister."

he died there. After imprisoning Sakaram, Balaji sent one Ganesh Pandit with two of Sindhia's ministers, Apaji and Sambhaji, with the letters of Mr. Carnac and Mr. Holmes, to the Governor of Bombay, and demanded, according to the agreement, the surrender of Shasti and other places. The Governor received the envoys courteously, but said it was no new thing for generals to be taken prisoners. Such things happened, but they were not to suppose that on each occasion papers written by prisoners under compulsion would be regarded as valid. They might write to the said officers to give up the places, and if they did so they might take them, but he the Governor and the officers who were made prisoners, and those in command of the said places, were all servants of the Company, and one servant could not order another. The Company must give the order. Raghunath, who had been sent off to Kalpi with Sindhia's troops, after going some stages crossed the Narbada. It then appeared distasteful to him to remain at Kalpi in the power of Sindhia, so when he had put the troops off their guard he went off with his own men to Surat, and in two or three days, by forced marches, arrived there, and informed the Governor of the fort that he had come. The Governor received him in the garden of Dilkusha, and wrote to the Governor of Bombay, who informed the envoys from Punah, who were at Bombay, and they informed Balaji and Sindhia, who wrote to the Governor, that as his officers had handed Raghunath over to them and he had escaped the Governor should again make him over to them. The Governor replied that Raghunath had come to him of his own free will, without his asking him to come, and his departure must depend on his own choice. Meanwhile Sindhia went away to Ujain for the festival of his sons putting on the religious thread, and thence to Gwalior; but Holkar fixed his residence at Babgaon, which is twelve *kos* from Punah, and the discussion about handing over Raghunath was carried on for six months through Ramji Patel. At last the Vakils, having lost all hope of success, returned to those that sent them. The Governor of Bombay sent three regiments under the command of an English officer to Surat with orders to subjugate Gujarat. Accordingly in seven days these troops reached Ahmadabad and in four hours took it. The Maratha garrison, 1,000 of whom were Arabs and 2,000 of other tribes, asked for terms and had their lives given them, but were turned out of the city with their baggage animals. About this time Mr. Hastings* sent ten veteran regiments under Colonel Goddard with Abdur Rahman Khan, an Afghan, supplied by Asif-ud-daulah, the Governor of the Province of Oudh, to Bombay. On hearing this news the authorities at Punah were alarmed, and Balaji wrote to Bhonslah to oppose the passage of the troops, but in vain, and the said force reached Surat. Colonel Goddard had an interview with the Governor of Bombay, and after consultation it was resolved to make war on the Punah authorities, and Raghunath was invited there, and Colonel Goddard undertook to arrange his affairs for him. Accordingly the said force, with the troops of Abdur Rahman, and twenty-five guns, marched on Punah. Balaji then thought of sending the correspondence to the English authorities in Bengal and Bombay and England. At the same time Haidar Ali arrived at Arkat, and sent to Punah, under the care of Mir Muhammad Khan, letters addressed to Madhu Rao and Balaji and Hari Pant Pharkia with fifteen lakhs of rupees and sixteen elephants and four lakhs' worth of jewels. Before arriving, Mir Muhammad sent on messengers to report the matter of his mission, on which the Punah chiefs delayed sending their letters to England until Nur Muhammad arrived. Balaji then, and Hari Pandit and Rastiah and Kishu Rao Balal and Holkar came to the Peshwa's darbar and placed Sawai Madhu Rao, who at that time was five years old on the throne, and summoned the envoy of Haidar Ali. The envoy had previously sent to say that if Madhu Rao would rise at his entrance he would come, otherwise an interview with Balaji and a discussion with him would suffice, and Balaji had assented; so the instant Nur Muhammad entered the darbar Madhu Rao, as a mark of respect, rose up, as did the other chiefs. The Khan then presented the letters with an offering, and Balaji gave

* The English names are very incorrectly given in the *Hadikah*. Hastings is Hashtin, and Goddard is Gadar.

them to Narayan Rao Munshi, and told him to read them with a loud voice so that all the chiefs might hear. The contents of the letters were in brief that they were to consider Haidar as one of themselves, and not to make terms with the hat-wearers without including him, and to await intelligence of what he was doing, as he hoped by the divine grace that the English would themselves send to ask for peace, and whenever such message arrived Haidar was to be included in the peace. After listening to the letters Balaji said, "We too desire to do what is pleasing to the Nuwab Bahadur, and in truth his design in this matter is purely for the interests of the Peshwa. Please Heaven, for the rest of our lives we will not swerve from friendship, and will never do anything displeasing to one another." The gold of the tribute, and the jewels, and the elephants were then brought in. As the agreement with Hari Pandit was for thirty-two lakhs, and this had not been fulfilled, Nur Muhammad Khan, who was a wise and soft-tongued man, introduced a remark that his master was then warmly engaged in promoting their interests, and he had before expended in the same cause such sums as were required, and as now perpetual friendship had been established between the parties the Peshwa would receive fifteen lakhs year by year, which they must accept. Balaji, swayed by the necessity of the occasion, ratified this proposal. The Khan then asked for 5,000 horse to assist Haidar in the war, and said that Haidar would pay for their food. Balaji said that the news of the advance of Colonel Goddard was rife, but that when confidence was re-established the force would assuredly be sent. He then gave the envoy his *congé* and allotted him a suitable mansion for his stay, and began to encourage his own chiefs; and Hari Pandit, who had a felicitous way of cheering up people, addressed the chiefs and said that the business was now in their hands, and when the Rao their sovereign grew up he would, like Madhu Rao, appreciate merit and would delegate important functions to his servants. That was the time to show their devotion. In war they must not show any backwardness, but must assemble their forces with all speed. In the time of Madhu Rao the pay of each horseman was twenty-five rupees a month, but now, on account of the disturbances in the country, they must look for less, and he hoped through the favour of the chiefs that they would be satisfied with half that. In short he brought all to consent, and they met at Hajur, which is nine kos from Punah. He also summoned Parshuram Bhao from the fort of Marj, and as they heard that Colonel Goddard was coming from Bombay, Balaji sent Raghu Ghorpore with 3,000 infantry towards that port, and Hari Pandit Pharkia with 50,000 horse and Holkar with 20,000 in advance to the ghats. Of these divisions 20,000 men descended the ghat to oppose Colonel Goddard's advance. That officer started from Bombay and first captured the fort of Bassin, and placed a garrison there and then marched towards Punah, capturing the villages of the Marathas that were on the road, and dispersed their troops until he reached the lower ghat in perfect safety. Then when one watch of the night remained he ascended the ghat with two guns and two regiments. The rest of his force then ascended the ghat, where Hari Pandit and Holkar and all the chiefs were on the alert. Balaji on hearing this news became anxious, and sent off Madhu Rao to the fort of Purandhar, and the treasure and jewels he despatched to Logarh, and filled the houses in Punah with firewood and straw, so that when he set fire to it it should be empty of its inhabitants. Meanwhile the Governor of Bombay received letters from the Governor of Calcutta that Haidar was creating disturbances, and that a force had been sent against him from Calcutta, and that Madhu Rao had repeatedly written in a pacific tone, wherefore the war with the Punah ministers must be at once brought to a close, and that all Colonel Goddard's army must be transported on board ship with all expedition to Madras. The Governor of Bombay sent these letters at once to Colonel Goddard, and desired him to return from the place wherever he might be. Colonel Goddard, therefore, went back to Bombay and embarked his troops and despatched them to Madras, although the treaty with the Marathas was not yet written, but as Colonel Goddard was gone the people at Punah felt tolerably secure. Balaji now, according to agreement, sent 5,000 horse to assist Haidar Ali, and this force remained with him until 1193

A.H., when the news of Haidar's death* reached Balaji, as also of Tipu's going to Badnur (Badnore). Balaji then recalled his troops and inquired about Tipu, and sending for Nur Muhammad Khan, said, "What was to be has happened. Now that Tipu has succeeded to the Government he must not neglect the war, and must observe caution in self-defence." Balaji then wrote to Tipu a letter of condolence and sympathy, expressing also his wish to maintain a friendly alliance with him. He also sent, with the approbation of Nur Muhammad and in charge of two messengers, a mourning robe for Tipu. Nur Muhammad wrote on his own part to Tipu that Haidar had wisely maintained a friendly alliance with the Marathas as being advantageous for his own government, and had paid them annually a sum of money. If Tipu would follow the same course it would redound to the advantage of his kingdom. Nur Muhammad added that he desired to return to Tipu's court, and hoped that Tipu would send some one to take his place at Punah. Tipu after reading this wrote to Balaji that his father Haidar had engaged in a war with the English out of regard for the interests of the Peshwa's government, but had been prevented by death from carrying it to the end. Now the task had devolved upon him, Tipu, he intended to study, as Haidar did, the interests of the Maratha government, and was therefore still carrying on war with the English, and now that through the disloyalty and treason of Ayaz, one of his (Tipu's) servants, Badnur had fallen into the hands of the hat-wearers, he, Tipu, had been obliged to go there and on consideration of the friendly feelings shown by his father and himself, he trusted they would send a powerful army to his aid, that they might by mutual efforts free their countries from their enemies, after which he would act in any way they might suggest. If they intended to make peace with the English he hoped they would not discuss the matter without his participation. He wrote also to Nur Muhammad to tell Balaji that if Haidar had not made war upon the English it would have been difficult for the Maratha chiefs to have remained in Punah, nay, even in the Dakhan. In spite of all these exertions in order to maintain the interests of the Peshwa's government, the Maratha auxiliaries had been recalled. However, the past was past, now it was right to send a powerful force to his aid in order that the alliance might be firmly established. As to Nur Muhammad Khan, his stay in Punah was for the advantage of the State, and his pay would be increased by 100 rupees a month. It behoved him to remain there tranquilly and devote himself to the discharge of his duties. The Khan on receiving these letters went at once to Balaji, presented Tipu's letter, and applied for what was required in a well-studied address. Balaji replied that peace with the English had not yet been concluded, and it was not expedient as yet to send the troops asked for. An alliance with Tipu was desired, and if the annual payment made by Haidar was continued measures would be taken to send the auxiliary force, otherwise Tipu was not to expect it—nay, his neglect to pay would lead to an interruption of friendship. After this Balaji deliberated how to bring about a peace with the English, and wrote to Sindhia to communicate with Calcutta on the subject of peace on the condition that Raghunath Rao was given up. Accordingly, Sindhia wrote to Calcutta to Mr. Hastings in the manner suggested by Balaji. After consultation, which the English call "council," it was resolved to make peace and deliver up Raghunath, with the assignment of a jagir for his support, with the approbation of Sindhia. A treaty sealed by the members of Council containing those two conditions reached Sindhia, and after the treaty was ratified, Balaji granted a jagir for the support of Raghunath, and sent Hari Pandit Pharkia to bring him. This Hari Pandit did, and brought him to Kopergaon, which is in the Zila of Nasik. His old troops were then withdrawn from him, and 2,000 foot soldiers and 1,000 horse were appointed to guard him. Servants also were appointed to attend on him, of the cook caste, by Balaji and Hari Pandit. At that time Raghunath's two sons were with him, as also his wife Anandi Bai, who was gifted with wonderful shrewdness and good sense, and Balaji and Hari Pandit were always in dread of her cleverness. After some time Anandi, who was imprisoned with a

* Haidar died on the 7th December 1782, see Grant Duff, vol. II., p. 466.

water-carrier sent by Hari Pandit, wrote three letters with her own hand,—for she could read and write Hindi, and wrapped them in wax, and dropped them into a vessel of water. She then sent them off,—one to Bombay, one to Sindhia and one to Tipu. As soon as Sindhia had read the letter he sent with the utmost secrecy 1,000 horsemen well mounted to the village of Jam, which belonged to him, and strictly enjoined them that as soon as Raghunath and his sons came to them they were to bring them to Jam and inform him of the fact, and to collect forces from the surrounding districts, and be ready to repulse any troops of the Peshwa that might pursue the fugitives. The letter, which was sent to Bombay by misadventure, fell into the hands of Balaji's spies, and he, the instant he read it, sent off another thousand foot soldiers on pretence of their being to attend Raghunath when he rode out, and he gave these men injunctions to make Raghunath's confinement more strict. When Sindhia's cavalry reached the rendezvous and got information of the vigilance of those who were appointed to guard Raghunath, they returned. Tipu Sultan, when aware of the contents of the letter, secretly sent a person to Raghunath with a message to convey himself in any way he could to Tipu's frontier, as he had appointed 10,000 horsemen to bring him to him. Tipu's messenger reached Punah, and there learned the arrangements made by Balaji, and went back without effecting his purpose. After some time, owing to the climate of Kopargaon not suiting Raghunath, he lost his health. Balaji then sent Egyptian physicians to attend him, and although Raghunath's wife did not approve of their remedies, still Raghunath, out of complaisance, and to show his faith in them, consented to take the medicine they handed to him, and every day he grew worse, till in forty days he escaped from the prison of existence. Balaji after making peace with the English, and after Raghunath's death, obtained absolute power, and began to meditate on a struggle with Tipu Sultan, and by degrees that idea advanced from the ambush of concealment into the area of manifestation, as will hereafter be shown.

Events that happened after the Nizam went into quarters at Aurangabad up to his expedition to punish Ihtisham Jang.

After the Nizam had taken up his quarters at Aurangabad, he, with the concurrence of Zafar-ud-daulah, conferred the government of the city on Mir Jumlah Bahadur Nasir Jang with the title of Azim-ud-daulah, and gave to Muhammad Arif Khan, brother of Wafadar Khan, the command of the fort of Daulatabad, and to Bahadur Beg Khan the inspectorship of garrisons. On the 6th of Shawwal 1189 A.H. he went outside the city of Aurangabad and entered his tents, and passed some days in inspecting the fort of Daulatabad and making pilgrimage to the tombs of saints at Rozah the Luminous, and also in visiting the gardens round Aurangabad. On the 8th of Zil-Kadah Mubariz-ul-Mulk gave a most costly entertainment to His Highness in the fort of Daulatabad, and presented to him valuable jewels and rich robes. On the 21st of the same month the Nizam marched thence, and on the 27th passed the hill of Dharur, and spent the next day inspecting the fort of Fathabad Dharur. He then bestowed on Azim-ud-daulah Nasir Jang ornaments for the head and pearl necklaces, and also the betel-box and permission to depart. After that when he was approaching the fort of Usa the commandant of that place, Ghulam Saiyid Khan, with his son and some of his special friends, came to pay his respects; and when the Nizam visited the fort the commandant presented jewels and garments, and horses and elephants. After leaving that place the next encampment, on the 10th of Rabi-ul-avval, was near the fort of Kaliyan, and on the 20th of the month Mubariz-ul-Mulk with the officers in command of cavalry under him, such as Sidi Abdullah Khan and Sabaji Rao Bandar, and Sahib Khan Mati, were honoured by being presented, and they offered to His Highness 2,00,000 rupees which had been collected from the towns and the jagirs of the officers. At this time the cholera broke out at Kaliani with great severity, and hundreds of people died of it in a very short time. After that the Nizam despatched Mubariz-ul-Mulk to collect money as offerings from the zamindars of Sholapur and Gadwal and other

places, and then moved to Haidarabad, which he entered on the 4th of Jamad-us-sani, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Kudasiah. At this time the advancement and influence of Tigh Jang Bahadur was increasing daily, and he had by the order of His Highness brought together a considerable force of men belonging to the Pagah or guard, and Silahdars, i.e., troopers, who ride their own horses. Zafar-ud-daulah, having collected the money from the zemindars, now arrived in the vicinity of Sangardi, and Vakar-ud-daulah by order of His Highness went out to meet him. Mubariz-ul-Mulk asked leave of absence to settle matters in Narmal and other places, and stated that he would return after the rainy season. He then started for Narmal, and at this time several marriages took place. Thus the Nizam's daughter, Badri Bigam, was married to Zulfakar-ud-daulah Mahabat Jang, and on the 18th of Shawwal the festival of the Nizam's birthday* was held, on which occasions robes and jewels and ornaments and titles were conferred on the nobles and courtiers according to their rank. As soon as Ghulam Saiyid Khan arrived at court from the fort of Usa he commenced to take a part in the affairs of state; of which Mubariz-ul-Mulk disapproved, and through Vakar-ud-daulah represented to His Highness that his attendance at court depended on the removal of Ghulam Saiyid Khan and his being sent back to the fort of Usa. To gratify him the Nizam did what he desired, and wrote to Mubariz-ul-Mulk to present himself at court with the utmost possible speed. On the 7th of Zil-Hajj His Highness set forward to chastise Haidar Ali Khan, who was acting in a headstrong way, and had taken possession of many places belonging to the Afghan Sardars and to Shuja-ul-Mulk. He then gave leave to Saif-ud-daulah to proceed to the fort of Bidar, and commissioned the writer of these pages to settle matters in the district of Sadarat, where the poor were cruelly oppressed by their lords, and to take cognizance of their complaints; and the blackener† of these leaves, piously performed his patron's orders, and so arranged matters as to satisfy at once both the poor and his master. The young prince, son of His Highness, directed all the commanders of cavalry to repair to Kalbargah and go into quarters there, and in Muharram 1191 A.H. he moved from the garden of Seth Gobardandas, where he was encamped, towards the river Kishna, and while *en route* Mubariz-ul-Mulk, who had come from his own district to wait on His Highness, was received. The Nizam commanded him, besides his usual number of troops, to entertain 10,000 horsemen and 10,000 infantry, and sent forward the forces of the Mansabdars with a strong force of artillery towards the territory of Haidar Ali Khan. His Highness himself also set forward to support them. The Maratha army, too, under the command of Hari Pandit, moved out from Punah, in agreement with Zafar-ud-daulah, to chastise Haidar Ali. Mubariz-ul-Mulk marched, without halting beyond the time indispensable for rest, to Karnal, and the victorious army reached Bhutpur, which is forty *kos* from the city, and there halted. Zafar-ud-daulah after arriving at Karnul was entertained by the Governor, and then turned to the town of Dun, which is twelve *kos* from Karnul, and hastened thence to Manmarg, which is twelve *kos*, and belonged to Haidar, and there collected much plunder, and captured the people and traders of that place and their wives and sons, and sent them to Narmal to populate that place. The army then moved towards Ganjikut and the parganah of Durg, which belonged to Haidar Ali. In the middle of the march mountains were met hard to pass, and a dense jungle, where the passage of the army seemed difficult, so they halted two or three days to search for a road where the troops might move easily. Haidar Ali, on hearing this, moved from his place of residence to encounter the army, and advanced by rapid marches. Shuja-ul-Mulk having got news of this wrote to Mubariz-ul-Mulk that it was not prudent to stop in those hills, as the enemy was advancing with wings of speed, and on hearing this Mubariz-ul-Mulk marched to near the fort of Guti, and thence to Madigira, which is eight *kos* from the fort of Adoni, and there encamped. Thence, in accordance with a letter sent by Shuja-ul-Mulk,

* Literally, "year's knot," because on each birthday a knot is added to a string kept for the purpose.

† *Musaurvadah awrah*.—I have translated literally, but it is equivalent to *Rahim-ul-hurkuf*, and means "author." Observe that here the author for the first time mentions himself.

he marched to Adoni, and on that very day Haidar Ali reached Madgira. Mubariz-ul-Mulk halted a day at Adoni and arranged his forces, and then moved at night with the intention of giving battle. Haidar, who was an able soldier, got information of his intention and went to the fort of Gutti before Zafar-ud-daulah could arrive. Thence Haidar marched to the strong fort of Nilkanda, where there was a favourable place for fighting, and there halted to give battle. The army of Zafar-ud-daulah pursued as far as Gutti, and then by order of the Nizam turned back, and just at this time news came that Hari Pandit had started on the part of the Peshwa with a vast army to support Zafar-ud-daulah, and intended to plunder the district of Gajendragarh, belonging to Haidar. Zafar-ud-daulah, on hearing this, marched with the utmost expedition in that direction, and before Hari Pandit could arrive plundered the district and collected a vast booty. After the Pandit had arrived interviews took place, and by mutual agreement they encamped there together. At that time the local zamindars began to seek the friendship of Zafar-ud-daulah, and invited him to enter Haidar's country and exterminate him. When Haidar heard that news, he by a lavish expenditure of gold brought over the army of Hari Pandit to his side. The soldiers of the Pandit's army raised a disturbance about their pay, and refused to march. Hari Pandit, on account of the obstinacy of the troops and the near approach of the rainy season, marched thence and went towards Punah. Zafar-ud-daulah also marched and descended the hill of Paktur, and took a sum of three lakhs from the zamindar of Gadwal, and by order of the Nizam went into quarters at Goelkondah. On the 3rd of Rabi-ul-avval in the said year the news-writers informed His Highness, who had halted at Bhutpur, that Mubariz-ul-mulk had encamped twelve *kos* from the fort of Adoni, and Haidar twelve *kos* from Sira, and his Mughul troops twelve *kos* in advance of him. On the 26th of the said month long guns and musketoons and wall pieces were submitted for His Highness's inspection. They were for taking Gopalpeth, and the Nizam ordered Tigh Jang to see that those that were easy to carry were loaded on baggage camels belonging to Muhammad Husain, and that the heavy ones were entrusted to the officers of artillery. On the 8th of Rabi-ul-akhir a horse and 100 rupees were given to Sawai Naik, who had come to His Highness from the other side of the Kishna. As the quarters of Zafar-ud-daulah were to be at Goelkondah, on the 11th of Jumad-ul-avval the Nizam gave his son leave to go to quarters at Kalbargh, and most of the commanding officers were sent there with their troops. Sharf-ud-daulah obtained leave from His Highness and went to Haidarabad, and made his agent Ali Muhammad Khan his *locum tenens* at the head of the army and sent him to attend the young prince. The Nizam then moved from Bhutpur and encamped outside Farrakhnagar, and marched thence on the 17th, and the troops halted near the Idgah, or building where the festival of Id is celebrated at Haidarabad. On the day of the march Zulfakar-ud-daulah Mahabat Jang and Mansur Jang had the honour of presentation, and Saiyid Dilawar Khan, Governor of Haidarabad and other officers were presented at a house near the Idgah. His Highness passed two hours at that place in his tent, and then mounted and gave seats on his elephant to Tigh Jang and the Amir-ud-daulah, and in a fortunate moment adorned his palace with his presence, receiving the offerings of his ministers as he entered. On the 23rd he went to visit the darvesh Shah Fazlullah, and on the 25th to inspect the artillery department. On the 29th Rai Bhawanidas, who had gone to Upper India for the marriage of his son Kewal Kishn, returned and had the honour of presentation. At this time Salabat Khan and Bahlol Khan arrived at Haidarabad and were presented at court with Dilawar Khan, who was appointed to go and meet them. On the 4th of Shaban Badare Bigam, daughter of the Nizam, died, owing to a miscarriage. About this time Tigh Jang and Saiyid Dilawar Khan were both raised to the command, including what they had before, of 5,000 horse, with 3,000 actually present, with flags, kettle-drums, and fringed palkis. The first was also honoured with the title of Intizam Jang Bahadur, and the second with that of Shams-ud-daulah Bahadur. Other courtiers, too, received commands and titles

corresponding to their rank. At the beginning of the spring the feast of New Year's Day was celebrated with a splendour which it would exceed due limits to describe, and again each one of the courtiers and officials received promotion and presents of jewels according to his rank. On the 17th of Zil-Hajj the Nizam again left the city of Haidarabad to chastise Haidar Ali, and entered his tents. In 1192 A.H., too, there was no encounter with Haidar Ali, who declined to fight, as his attention was given to his war with the English. Mubariz-ul-Mulk returned without having accomplished anything, and through apprehension of Shams-ud-daulah, who was opposed to him, and whose authority and force increased daily, sent a petition conveying a request for leave of absence. When he had obtained leave he hastened to his own district, and to the end of his life was never re-employed by the Government. On the 25th of Rabi-us-sani in the same year His Highness went to Haidarabad, and in Jumad-ul-avval the sons of Mubariz-ul-Mulk, Farrukh Mirza and Yakub Mirza, and his sister's son, Haji Mirza Khan, were employed by the Nizam, and each received a jewelled ornament for the head, and the Rai Rayan was promoted from the command he originally held to that of 2,000 horse, with 1,000 present, and the title of Rajah. Rai Nana Pandit was similarly promoted to the nominal command of 1,500, with 200 actually present. On the 26th the Nizam went out to meet a rescript from the Emperor, and on the 3rd of Rajab the marriage of the Princess Nakshbandi Bigam with Zulfakar-ud-daulah Mahabat Jang was celebrated with great pomp. In this month, too, Azim-ud-daulah, Nazim of Aurangabad, obtained leave of absence, and many of the officials were honoured with commands and titles. At this time rupees covered over with base metal were put into circulation, and the money-changers deducted four and five annas in changing them. An order was therefore issued that new rupees paid to the revenue from Aurangabad and other places, which had been received into the public treasury, should be given to the bankers of the city, with injunctions to clear them of false metal, so that they might be restamped as coins of Haidarabad and returned again into the treasury within one month, and the government would defray the loss by the base metal, and the newly stamped rupees should be circulated. In the year 1193 A.H. rich robes and jewels of great value, sent by Nikoji Holkar, were submitted for His Highness's inspection. Mansur Jang Bahadur was raised, including his original *status*, to the command of 5,000 horse, with the title of Kamr-ud-daulah, and Vakar-ud-daulah similarly to the nominal command of 6,000, with 4,000 actually present, with the title of Khan Dauran. Many other officials were similarly rewarded, some with commands and titles, some with the charge of districts. On the 8th of Rabi-us-sani Mr. Holland arrived at court as ambassador from the King of England, and had the honour of being presented, and the gifts sent by the King of England were submitted to the inspection of His Highness. This year Bahlol Khan and Dawa Khan again had the honour of kissing the threshold of the court, and in Ramazan jewels and dresses sent by the Peshwa were inspected by His Highness, and at the feast of breaking the Muhammadan fast* Kamr-ud-daulah received a jewelled ornament called a *jikah*, and Shams-ud-daulah a *jikah* with a feather of the bird of paradise. On the 9th of Shawwal in the same year Vakar-ud-daulah through lunacy wounded himself with a knife, and after an interval his madness increased, and ended in confirmed insanity which continued till his death. On the 14th of Zi-Kadah the noble Banu Bigam, known as Mali Bigam, passed from this abode of woe to the happiness of the eternal mansions, and some time after His Highness went to recover his spirits to Lalah Korah, as if to hunt. Najm-ud-daulah Saif Jang was sent with a considerable force to protect the district of Kotur and Murtazanagar, as there was much talk in that locality of the continuous

* The Muhammadan Lent lasts during the whole of Ramazan, when it is unlawful to eat or drink between the first streaks of morning light and the time when the stars are clearly seen. The month Shawwal comes next to Ramazan, and on the 1st of Shawwal is the Muhammadan carnival, when there are in India feasting and singing and other amusements, but none of the puerilities which are seen in other countries on similar occasion.

advance of the English. In Safar 1194 A.H. Mir Najm Khan, who had gone to fetch the goods of M. Lally, the European, arrived at court, and submitted them for inspection. On the 13th of Rabi-ul-avval took place the feast of New Year's day and for the recovery of His Highness, who had been slightly indisposed, and his physicians were rewarded with dresses and jewels. In Jumad-ul-avval Shah Abdullah Husani arrived in the city with his sons, and His Highness went to visit him. In Jumad-ul-akhir the marriage of Kutb-ud-daulah, son of Haidar Jang, with the daughter of the Nizam's sister, was performed with fitting magnificence, and this year, too, many persons were honoured with commands and titles suited to their rank. Ghulam Saiyid Khan, who during the lifetime of Vakar-ud-daulah sent from Usa Puta Ram, as his Vakil, with a petition to His Highness and a letter to Vakar-ud-daulah with regard to his pay, but failed in obtaining it, now again that Vakar-ud-daulah, who was opposed to his claim, was dead, regarding it as a favourable opportunity, wrote friendly letters to Mubariz-ul-Mulk Zabit Jang, and endeavoured to work on his kind feelings, and also repeatedly petitioned His Highness for leave to see Mubariz-ul-Mulk, and when he obtained it went from Usa to Narmal, and there by his knowledge of the world and tact, in which he was wonderfully^{*} clever, at last brought Mubariz-ul-Mulk to the point of sending a petition to the Nizam to the effect that he, a loyal and devoted servant of the State, could not feel tranquil unless Munir-ud-daulah Ghulam Saiyid Khan Bahadur Suhrab Jang were at court, and if His Highness would send for him it would be the means of opening the door of tranquillity to the heart of that well-wisher. The Nizam, out of regard for Shams-ud-daulah, who remained at court and was thoroughly loyal, delayed to send for Ghulam Saiyid Khan, and when it was ascertained that Shams-ud-daulah was attending only to the wants of his own troops and not to the entire affairs of state, and that there would be advantage at that time from one who was undoubtedly a counsellor, Ghulam Saiyid Khan was sent for, and on the 18th of Shaban he arrived at court at Haidarabad. For two years, owing to dread of Shams-ud-daulah, he kept his intentions secret, and conducting himself with great humility and appearance of sincerity he rendered Shams-ud-daulah unsuspecting of him, and then by a display of advantage to the Government and by simulating disinterestedness, and increasing year by year the sum payable by the officials, and levying larger customs on merchandize, and taking by every device the houses and property of people, which was absolute oppression, he inclined the Nizam, his master, towards him till he became his confidant, and at last by degrees acquired a voice in all matters of State, so that he became Prime Minister without being displayed as such; and while he was in power, what annoyances did not the eminent, the noble, the learned, and the virtuous, and the Saiyids suffer, to such an extent that most left the country, and a few chose to live in seclusion, while Sulaimanis and base fellows, informers and men of corrupt nature, came to the front! The portions and free tenures and daily allowances of the poor, who had no patrons, were seized. To the old officers money payments due to them were reduced to seven-sixteenths, and even from that were deducted fees for macebearers, which were indirectly imposed on them, and other expenses which went to the clerks. After all those deductions even then no one received his allowances regularly month by month. Some got six months' allowances in the year, and a few even less. Some were nearly dead of distress. In short, during his term of office, people who had no capital of their own, owing to the dearth of grain, from its being hoarded, and the increase of duties upon it, died of starvation from not getting their allowances. On the other hand, the rich had no life left in their bodies through terror of his cruelty and oppression, and small and great were repeating, "God has done to them what they did to the people."

Let it not be hid that† Sulaimani is a language of Arabia, and it has been ascertained from the seven companions of most holy Maakkah that the Sulaimanis

* Literally, "possessed a long hand."

† The thread of the narrative in the Persian is here rather curiously interrupted by this paragraph, which refers to the word Sulaimani in the last line but ten of the preceding column.

are the descendants of those Copts who had gone from Egypt to different parts for trading or other purposes, and on the day when Pharaoh was drowned were not with him. When they heard of his being swallowed up with his people they fled for fear of Moses, on whom be peace! to a part of Syria which is known by the name of the mountain of Sulaiman, and there concealed themselves. Hence their descendants were called Sulaimanis. But to return to the subject. This same year Shams-ud-daulah got ready hunting grounds containing a jungle and meadows twelve *kos* in extent. The Nizam went there with all the people of the place and amused himself daily with hunting, and then with the ladies went on the Husain Sagar Lake, and at night lamps were lighted around it, and again as before he engaged in hunting. Meantime the news-writers send intelligence that Mubariz-ul-Mulk had been attacked with cancer, and that his whole body was full of pus and matter, and the remedies of his physicians did him no good. On this the Nizam sent Dr. Bakir Khan, styled Masih-ud-daulah, and a Hindi surgeon named Palna, to cure him, who were celebrated doctors of that time, but before they arrived news was brought of the patient's death. A robe marking permanent appointment to the vacant post was then, with the concurrence of Ghulam Saiyid Khan, conferred on Ihtisham Jang, son of Zabib Jang. The Nizam then hunted one more day, and conferred titles and commands on many of his servants. Of these Mirza Khan Bahadur was promoted to the nominal command of 4,000 horse, 2,000 being actually present, and received a flag and kettledrums and the title of Mubariz Jang. Yakub Mirza got the command of 4,000 horse, 2,000 being present, and Jamal-ud-din Husain Khan the command of 1,000 with 200 actually present, and the Nizam's Munshi Mir Haidar Khan had an increase to his command of 1,000 horse with the title of Bahadur and the gift of a flag. Ghulam Murtaza Khan, son of Ghulam Saiyid Khan, received an increase to his command of 1,000 horse with 1,000 present, and the title of Sipahdar Jang, and Farrukh Mirza was raised to the command of 4,000 with 2,000 present, with a flag and kettledrums and the title of Ihtisham Jang. At the festival of the Id-ul-fitr or carnival, Samsam-ul-Mulk Mir Abdul Haqq Khan received a pair of jewelled bracelets, and presents were given to Ghulam Saiyid Khan, and an ornament called a *jikah* to his son. In this month a son was born in the house of Shams-ud-daulah, and about this time Muhammad Ahmad Khan had his command of horse raised nominally to 3,000, with 2,000 actually present, and the title of Sarbuland Jang, and Rajah Diyanatwant was similarly raised to the command of 4,000 with 2,000 actually present, and the title of Bahadur and the gift of kettledrums, and his son, Rai Bankadas, with what he had before, got altogether the command of 1,000 horse, and similarly Shams-ud-daulah the command of 7,000 with 6,000 actually present, and with the title of Shams-ul-Mulk, and similarly many others, too long to mention, were honoured and promoted. In this year Sarbuland Jang was appointed to chastise the Zamindars of Sholapur. Hafiz Muhammad, instructor at the Makkah mosque, was appointed one of the Kazis of Haidarabad. Shams-ud-daulah and Ghulam Saiyid Khan and Azim-ud-daulah were presented with robes and jewels.

Account of the expedition of the Nizam to chastise the presumptuous Ihtisham Jang, and of what that traveller on the road to ruin did, up to the capture of the fort of Narmal.

When Ihtisham Jang^a Zafar-ud-daulah, after the death of his father, was continued in his father's office by the Nizam, he at the instigation of Wali Muhammad, his paymaster (Bakshi); slew Bhiku Mirza and Farid Mirza, Mughuls who were near relations of Zabib Jang, though no crime was proved against them. After an interval he became suspicious of Wali Muhammad and slew him also; and having extended his blood-shedding hand for (in his own opinion) regulating affairs he allowed vicious thoughts to enter his head and destroyed a number of people with the sword of oppression. The Nizam on hearing these things was

^a All that Grant Duff says of this rebellion is, "Nana Farnavis had assisted Nizam Ali to suppress a formidable rebellion which was headed by Ihtisham Jang, the Jagirdar of Narmal." vol. II., p. 470, l. 16.

patient, and, compassionating his extreme youth, at first wrote letters of admonition. As these letters had no effect, the Nizam, on the 21st of Muharram 1196 A.H. set out from Haidarabad to reduce that overweening person, and stopped first at the garden of Gobardhandas, and halting there two months, as it were for hunting, sent letters to Ihtisham Jang intended to make him change his conduct. As, however, that obstinate person would not alter his course, the Nizam moved thence on the 24th of Rabi-ul-avval, and encamped near the fort of Muhammadnagar, on the banks of the Musi, and halted there some days. Every night of his stay, by his command, there were illuminations on the bastions and citadel of the fort under the superintendence of Sarafranz Jang and displays of fireworks, and crowds assembled to enjoy the sight. Sarafranz Jang then was presented with a necklace of pearls, and Ata Yar Khan, son of the deceased Said-ud-daulah, with a jewelled ornament for the head, and Itikad-ud-daulah obtained the command of the fort of Bhungir, and the post of Tahsildar (collector of revenue) in the districts of Rajah Ramua, the accountant, and Dilawar Jang, brother's son of Mir Abdul Haqq Khan Samsam-ul-Mulk, got the office of Diwan of Muhammadabad Bidar. The Nizam then marched from that place and celebrated the festival of New Year's Day with the utmost magnificence, and conferred on his nobles, according to their rank, commands and titles and jewels. This Suhrab Jang received the title of Mushir-ul-Mulk, and an increase of command of 1,000 horse with 1,000 present, while Shams-ul-Mulk was presented with an armlet with a fringe of pearls. Muhammad Azim Khan got a jewelled ornament for the head, and an increased command and a flag with the title of Bahadur. Imtiyaz-ud-daulah got the command of 5,000 horse, a flag and kettledrums, and the title of Kiyam-ul-Mulk, and Mir Haidar Ali was raised to the command of 2,000 horse, with a gift of kettledrums and the title of Muntaz Jang. So also a multitude of officials had commands and titles conferred on them, and Shukoh Jang, Nazim of Haidarabad, obtained the *jikah* ornament and a betel-box, the sign of leave to depart, and departed in the direction of the fort of Kolas, where he halted some time. On the 15th of Jumad-ul-avval Mir Abdul Haqq Khan Samsam-ul-Mulk, who was a much respected nobleman, a learned, excellent and dignified man, died of internal inflammation. At the same place there was a parade of the troops, which was witnessed by the ladies. As the rainy season was at hand His Highness returned towards Haidarabad on the 22nd of the said month, and on the 28th reached the Husain Sagar Lake, where he halted five days in the expectancy of a fortunate moment for entering the city. Every night there were illuminations, fireworks, and rejoicings. On the 2nd of Jumad-ul-akhir a tempest and a storm of hail caused the greatest confusion in the camp. On Friday the 4th His Highness entered his palace. On this occasion most of the venerable men of the city, such as Shah Fazlullah (now dead) and Shah Amrullah, son of Shah Riza Sabit (now deceased), were honoured with a visit. Sharf-ud-daulah received the command of 2,000 horse and the title of Sharf-ul-Mulk, and Sayid Mukarram Khan was made Deputy Diwan of the imperial government. Azim-ud-daulah was allowed leave to go to Aurungabad after receiving a jewelled ornament for the head, a *jikah*, a pearl necklace, a robe of honour, and a betel-box. On the 25th of Rajab Mr. Holland was allowed to depart to Calcutta. In the month of Ramazan, the Wakil of Haidar Ali Khan, Sambha Rao was honoured with an interview, and submitted for inspection the presents and jewels of which he was the bearer. As the news-writers notified that Ihtisham Jang had sent a force of cavalry and infantry to the vicinity of the fort of Nander and intended to create trouble, His Highness was moved to chastise him, and appointed Hisam-ud-din Khan Bahadur, known as Khansi Miyan, with 2,000 picked horse, to repel the mischief he threatened. The said Khan came close on the enemies' heels to the fort Budan, and his advanced guard overtook a number of them who were outside the fort, and dispersed them. The majority, however, entered the fort, and began to fire the guns, and volleys of musketry. However, the troops of the Nizam made a gallant rush and captured the fort in two hours and a half. A few of the

garrison were slain and the rest asked for quarter, but a few escaped. Ihtisham Jang on hearing this alarming news, with the utmost expedition, sent a European called Dilawar Jang and Abu Miyan Mahdawi with 3,000 horse and ten guns and some Telinga and Rohilla and African infantry to oppose the said Khan. The Nizam on the 10th of Shawwal honoured his son, Sikandar Ikbal, Mir Akbar Ali Khan, who now reigns, with the title of Asad-ud-daulah, and detached some officers of state with their troops in that direction and gave orders to Saiyid Abdullah Khan and Hashmat Jang that they should reinforce Hisam-ud-din immediately. Ihtisham Jang on hearing this wrote to Abu Miyan Mahdawi and Dilawar Jang the Frank to attack the Nizam's troops before they were reinforced. Accordingly both those officers advanced to the encounter on the 5th of Zi Kaddah, with their guns in front, and began a continuous fire from a short distance. Though many of the Nizam's soldiers fell they still held their ground. When Abu Miyan saw that they were unbroken by the artillery he advanced from the centre of his force with his cavalry and charged the Nizam's troops. Hisam-ud-din Khan repelled the attack, broke the enemy's squadrons, and drove them back on the body commanded by the Frank, and took sword in hand both his elephants that carried the flags. In short, Ihtisham Jang's men took to flight and never drew rein till they reached fort of Narmal, and Dilawar Jang the Frank fled at night to the fort. They then sent off to His Highness two elephants with the flags, some horses and kettledrums, with camels and oxen, cannon-balls and ammunition which had fallen into the hands of the victorious army, together with a representative communicating the news of the victory. After this chastisement Ihtisham Jang collected his troops and did not step beyond the fort of Narmal. Hisam-ud-din Khan according to orders took up a position with his force near the fort of Balkandah, where water and pasturage were near at hand, and awaited His Highness. About this time Muhammad Amjad Khan was honoured with the title of Sarbuland Jang, and with a jewelled ornament for the turban, and Sahib Khan Mati with the command of 3,000 horse, 1,000 being present, a flag and kettledrums and the title of Nizam Nawaz Khan, and Wazir Khan had an increase of command and the title of Bahadur. On the 2nd of Zi-Kaddah news of the death of the Amir-ul-umara Basalat Jang was received. His Highness was much distressed, and the music in the great gallery was stopped for three days, and Mir Mubarik Khan Saifdar Jang was allowed leave to go to Adoni and Raichur. Sabit Jang Mubariz-ud-daulah received a jewelled ornament for the turban and a *jikah*, and Haji Mirza Khan received a jewelled ornament, and they were appointed to attend on Buland Ikbal Asad-ud-daulah. Bahadur Rajah Diyanatwant received a jewelled *jikah* and a sword, and Rajah Amanat Ram a *jikah*. On the 21st of Zi-Kaddah His Highness came from the city of Haidarabad and stopped in the neighbourhood of Goshahmahall, where he halted twenty days, and wrote letters, and sent off letters of admonition to Ihtisham Jang recalling him to obedience, and omitted nothing in patiently advising him for his own welfare; but as misfortune had become his guide he maintained his headstrong course. Then the Nizam, seeing that it was advisable to chastise him, sent Najm-ud-daulah, the chief Bakshi, and Saiyid Umar Khan with a large force to assist Hisam-ud-din Khan, and strictly enjoined them as far as possible not to take the initiative, and act upon the precept: "His blood may be shed with impunity who first draws sword." At this time Zulfakar-ud-daulah Mahabat Jang was raised, including what he had before, to the command of 9,000 horsemen, some with two horses, some with one, with the title of Amir-ul-Mulk, and the insignia of the fish and the corresponding rank, and a jewelled ornament for the turban and a jewelled aigrette. The district also of Adoni and Raichur was confided to him, and Mukarram-ud-daulah, and Tuljaram, the chief Wakil, were sent along with him. Itikad-ud-daulah Bahadur was removed from the office of superintendent of stores to the Government, and Husain Khan received the robe of office in his place. Sheikh Uzmatullah, brother of Sarafraz Jang, was made commandant of the fort of Naldurg, and Doctor Ghiyas-ud-din Khan was invested as Kotwal of Haidarabad. On the 6th of Zi-Hajj His Highness moved from Goshahmahall towards the fort of Elgandal, and near the village of

Aleabad, Sikandar Ikbāl, the son of the Nizam, had the honour of being presented. On the 26th the Nizam moved to Elgandal. On the 28th of that month the Nizam's victorious army moved thence, and on the 29th halted at Imalwarah, where is the cell of Rajah Pak Sawar. Just then Azim-ud-daulah was removed from the governorship of Aurangabad and Ala-ud-daulah was advanced to his place. During the ten days of the Muharram 1197 A.H. there was a halt, and on the 3rd of the said month Dolah Rai, by command of His Highness, with Government troops and cannon that breach forts, and guns that destroy enemies, set forward to besiege the fort of Jagtal. When the ten days of mourning were past the Nizam went from Imalwarah towards Narmal, after which Rajah Padam Singh and Kanwar Jodh Singh were sent to help Dolah Rai, and each day, in passing each stage, trees were cut down while the distance was traversed. Meanwhile Hisam-ud-din came to pay his respects to His Highness and received a splendid robe of honour and a jewelled ornament for the head with the title of Bahadur, a flag, kettledrums and the command of 3,000 horsemen, 2,000 being actually present. The Nizam's army laid siege to the fort of Jagtal, which Mubariz-ul-Mulk had constructed after the European fashion, making it very strong. The garrison were reduced to straits, and by the fire of heavy guns and smaller cannon the confidence of the garrison was shaken, till at last the commandant, Zafar Almas, an African, capitulated, and on the 28th of Muharram gave over to the Nizam's officers the fort with all its munitions of war and stores, and, after presentation to His Highness by Dolah Rai, received the command of 500 horse and the title of Khan. Dolah Rai himself had his command increased to 2,000 horsemen with a flag, and the title of Bahadur, and a jewelled ornament for the head, and emerald earrings. On the 1st of Safar the Nizam marched from the village of Kortilah to the station of Jagtal, where he halted, and after inspecting the fort gave the command of it again to Almas. Marching thence His Highness proceeded to Narmal. There Muhammad Azim Khan, who had been sent to buy horses at Maligaon, brought back 2,000 horsemen with their accoutrements for the body-guard, and was much applauded. Thence the army moved against the fort of Balkandah. At this time Bahlol Khan was admitted to service, and Ahsan-ud-daulah was permitted to go to Warankal and the government of Khammam. Mir Abdul Aziz Khan, son of Mir Abd-us-salam Khan, was raised, including what he had before, to the command of 4,000 horsemen, with the title of Kawam-ud-daulah, and his second son, with an increase of command, got the title of Mujahid Jang, a flag and kettledrums. The third son, with an increased command, got the title of Bahman Jang and a flag. Mir Mubariz Khan, who had gone to Adoni, came thence, and had the happiness of being presented. On the 14th of the said month noble chiefs like Rafat-ud-daulah and Sarbuland Jang and Hisam-ud-din Khan and Yaktahtaz Jang and Muhammad Bahlol Khan and Sidi Abdullah Khan and Saiyid Umar Khan, Risalahdars of the infantry and matchlock men of the further side of the Godavari, crossed and encamped, and were on the *qui vive* and vigilant. It is said that while the Nizam's troops on the far side of the river were crossing, Ihtisham Jang ("the opposed to reason") with a few horsemen was engaged in deer-hunting. If this circumstance had been known to the brave men of the Nizam's army Ihtisham himself would have become their prey. However, he became aware of his danger and quickly withdrew. Then with cavalry, infantry, and guns he came forward to fight, but after the loss of some horses and men he retired from the action, and sheltered himself and his forces in Bateri Chatiyal. The Nizam then crossed the Godavari and encamped on the other side, and, still acting with forbearance, did not take the initiative in fighting. On the 22nd of the said month Sikandar Ikbāl, the Nizam's son, went to Puna, at the request of the Peshwa, to the marriage of Sawai Madhu Rao, and very many nobles and ministers were sent in company with him, such as Sharf-ud-daulah and Mubariz-ud-daulah. On the 1st of Rabi-ul-avval Ihtisham Jang, through the medium of some of the high officers, sent a petition to the Nizam containing various requests on his part, and daily communications were made until, on the 6th of the said month, Dolah Rai, without its being suggested to him by any of the Zemindars of Chunar and Maniwaran, set to work

to take a small mountain which intervened between the two forces, lest the enemy should occupy it and raise batteries upon it. The enemy opposed this movement and used their artillery, but at last took to flight and took refuge in the fortifications of the Chatiyal, against which the Nizam's troops erected batteries and passed the night on the watch. On hearing this, His Highness himself moved from the bank of the river and encamped opposite the little mountain, and as he saw that the matter could not be brought to a termination but by fighting, according to the saying, "The last device is the sword," he next day took his seat in an iron carriage on an elephant and advanced with his army to punish the rebels, and gave orders that they should attack them on all sides and act according to the sacred saying, "Kill them wherever you find them." On that day Shams-ul-Mulk, who sat behind the Nizam on the elephant, directed the warriors of the guard and his own regiment to charge together on the enemy and do their utmost to slay them unsparingly. They charged accordingly, and in the heat of the battle Saiyid Umar Khan galloped up to the Nizam and said that Sidi Yakub and the Frank, Dilawar Jang, had with a large force attacked the small body of troops under his command, and asked for support. His Highness ordered Shams-ud-daulah to reinforce him, who sent Muhammad Makarim Khan with him for that purpose, and also ordered Muhammad Azim Khan and Parwarish Ali Khan to go with speed to his assistance. Just at this time Shah Mirza, son of Sabit Jang Mubariz-ud-daulah, charged with the cavalry of the guard and a body of Rohillas and Africans, and gave many to drink of the sherbet of death. Meanwhile Muhammad Azim Khan, with the picked men of the guard and his own regiment and a body of cavalry, attacked the enemy's centre, and a furious battle ensued. At this crisis Najm-ud-daulah and Muhammad Amjad Khan Sarbuland Jang in one direction and Ghulam Imam Khan and Saulat Jang in another, and Hisam-ud-din Khan in another, with his brave soldiers, and Rafat-ud-daulah, with the Mughul troops and Parwarish Ali Khan with his force, and the other commanders of regiments from all sides charged those doomed men and laid them as low as their destiny, while their fellows who survived turned and fled and shrank into the fort. In this battle the flags of the enemy's foot, disciplined after European fashion, and of the other infantry and of the enemy's Rohillas, were taken by the Nizam's army. Dilawar Jang the Frank escaped wounded, but Sidi Yakub was wounded and taken prisoner. In short the Nizam's forces won a glorious victory with the loss of some killed and a few wounded who reached their tents. Saulat Jang, son of Sharf-ud-daulah, was wounded in the leg, and His Highness on his return at night went to see him and found him with his mind collected, though his wound was dangerous, but next day he died. On the same day Ihtisham Jang sent his mother and asked for mercy with the utmost humility. His Highness, in the way characteristic of his noble family, compassionated him, sent for his mother to the women's apartments, assented to her petition, and next day sent Mushir-ul-Mulk to give Ihtisham Jang assurance of safety and bring him to the presence. Accordingly, on the 14th Ihtisham waited on the Nizam, and with the utmost abjectness rubbed the forehead of reliance on the ground of submission, and received the pardon of his crimes, and on his departure a jewelled ornament for the turban was conferred upon him. Itikad-ud-daulah was then sent forward to arrange matters inside the fort of Narmal, and afterwards on the 19th of the said month His Highness visited the fort with all the veiled ladies kept behind the curtain of chastity, and took up his quarters in the Ibrahim Garden, which Mubariz-ul-Mulk had made at a vast expense. He then took all the forts which were in possession of Ihtisham Jang, and placed reliable officers in command of them, and on Mutamid-ul-Mulk Hummat Yar Khan Bahadur he conferred the command of Zafargadh, and sent him there. After he had finished all arrangements with regard to the district of Narmal he removed Bahram Jang from the government of Birar and gave it to Ihtisham Jang, advancing him to a high command with the title of Zafar-ud-daulah, and the insignia and rank of the Fish, and sent him to his government. He also released from his prison in that

fort Yakub Mirza Muhtashim Jang, brother of Ihtisham Jang, and attached him to his court, and honoured many loyal subjects with commands of horse, and titles and robes and jewels. Thus Muhammad Salabat Khan was raised, including what he held before, to the command of 6,000 horsemen, 4,000 being actually present, with the insignia and dignity of the Fish, and a jewelled ornament for the turban, and a *jikah*, and a collar of pearls. Sipahdar Jang, son of Mushir-ul-Mulk received, including what he had before, the command of 4,000 horsemen, 2,000 being present, and the title of Mushir-ud-daulah, and Jamal-ud-din Husain Khan received the command of 2,000 horsemen, 1,000 present, and a flag and kettledrums and the title of Bahadur, and Iftikhar Jang received, including what he had before, the command of 8,000, with 3,000 actually present, and the title of Iftikhar-ud-daulah and a fringed palki, and Zirgham Jang (Lion of War), son of Hisam-ud-daulah deceased, got the command of 4,000, including what he had before, 2,000 being present, and a fringed palki and the title of Hisam-ud-daulah, and Muhammad Sarbuland Khan received a jewelled ornament for the turban, and a jewelled *jikah* and a collar of pearls, and Mahbub Khan and Muhammad Bahlol Khan were similarly rewarded.* Most of the Mansabdars of the fort of Narmal were allowed to depart. The son of the Spiritual Guide,† who after the marriage of Siwai Madhu Rao had returned from Punah, now had an interview with His Highness, and through the medium of Makbul Ali Khan submitted for the inspection of His Highness a tray of jewels and seven trays of dresses, and four horses and two elephants with green carriages and harness. His Highness then paid a visit of condolence to the tent of Sharf-ul-Mulk, for the loss of his son Saulat Jang, and having loosened a jewelled ornament from his own royal turban, fastened it into the turban of the said nobleman with many words of sympathy. On the 19th of Jumad-ul-akhir Burhan-ud-daulah, who had been removed from the government of Elichpur, came and was presented to His Highness, who on the 25th of the said month moved in the direction of Haidarabad, and ordered Amir-ud-daulah and Mir Najm Khan and Muhammad Shujaat Khan to stay behind one or two days, and to get together whatever things requisite for travelling Abu Turab Mirza and the family of Zafar-ud-daulah might require, and bring them on with them. His Highness himself then moved by regular stages, and on the 4th of Rajab, on a Friday, triumphantly entered Haidarabad.

CHAPTER III.

Narrative of the events which took place after the return of the Nuwab Asif Jah II. to Haidarabad, down to the departure of that Nuwab from this unstable world to that which is eternal.

After the Nizam's return from the conquest of Narmal to Haidarabad he distinguished Mushir-ul-Mulk by an especial favour, and ordered Rajah Diyanatwant Rai Rayan and Rajah Amanatwant Nana Pandit, in whose charge were the account books of the Diwan of the Dakhan, and the revenue accounts, to refer to the Mushir-ul-Mulk, and see what leaves he approved or the contrary.‡ This year, that is to say, 1197 A.H., Najm-ud-daulah was commissioned by His Highness to chastise the Zamindars of Murtazanagar and Kotur, and he brought in a very considerable sum of money. This year, too, the news of the death of Haidar Ali Khan reached His Highness. This year also the soldiers of the regiment of Saiyid Umar Khan, owing to the remissness of Mushir-ul-Mulk in not giving them their pay, which previously had always reached them month by month, made a rush upon his house and created a tumult, and left nothing undone to disgrace him. At length they were induced by the menaces and injunctions of His Highness to let him alone. That same year Mir Muhammad Husain Khan was made Superintendent of Government Effects, owing to the death of Darab Beg, and Ghulam Pani Khan, son

* That Ihtisham Jang, who had rebelled in arms, had put to death a number of persons and had slain many more in battle, should have been freely forgiven and honoured with the government of Birar, the richest district in the Nizam's dominions, is surely an astonishing instance of clemency, and proves that the testamentary injunctions of the first Nizam not to take life were obeyed to the letter by his descendants.

† The Nizam's son—an expression of extreme respect, which is here again and again used.

‡ I confess myself unable to find any proper grammatical arrangement in this sentence.

of Najm-ud-daulah, was invested with the office of Bakshi to Prince Asad-ud-daulah, and Bahadur Ali Khan, son of Saiyid Dilawar Khan, was appointed to the paymastership of the retinue, and the nominal command of 3,000 horsemen, 2,000 being present, with kettledrums and a flag and the title of Bahrahwar Jang Bahadur. Mir Muhsin Ali Khan was raised to the command, inclusive of what he had before, of 3,000 horsemen, 2,000 being present. The captain of Mudaji's company received a jewelled ornament for the turban, and Chimna Rajah had a collar of pearls, and Rajahs Diyanatwant and Amanatwant and Rai Dolah Ram had each a jewelled turban ornament, and Muhammad Khair-ullah Khan had the robe of Tahsildar (a collector of revenue) of the district of Venkat Narayan Rao, and many others received robes of honour, and commands and jewels. At this time His Highness repeatedly visited the houses of Zafar-yab Jang and Fath-yab Jang, and at the end of the year the marriage of the son of Mushir-ul-Mulk with the daughter of Ashja-ul-Mulk son of the late Shir Jang, was celebrated with much pomp. In the month of Safar 1198 A.H., Dec. 1783, Rajah Rai Rayan departed this life from fever, and his brother and sons were honoured with the gift of mourning robes and the succession to his office, and increase of command. Azim-ud-daulah was promoted to the government of Aurangabad and to the office of Kotwal and other offices there. The Nizam just then took pleasure in visiting the hunting-grounds which Dolah Ram had prepared, and then he went to the house of Mushir-ul-Mulk.

Account of the visit of the Nizam to the banks of the Bhimra and his interview there with the chief of the Marathas, and of their decision to christise Tipu Sultan, the causer of disturbances.

When Tipu Sultan succeeded his father Haidar Ali, he, from the pride of youth and the intoxicating effects of power, broke the friendship which linked him to the Nizam and the Peshwa, and began to be refractory and troublesome. The Nizam and the Ministers of the Peshwa were meditating measures for coercing him, and arranged them together. To explain this brief statement more fully, Balaji Pandit said to Nur Muhammad Khan, who from the time of Haidar Ali resided in Punah as envoy, that the stipulated money had not been paid for two years before the close of the reign of Haidar Ali, and since his son was seated on the throne he had paid neither the sum due for the two years previous to his succession, nor that for the two years of his own reign. The Pandit added, "He must pay the tribute for four years, and five lakhs over and above what Haidar paid. If he does we shall remain friends, otherwise war will ensue." Nur Muhammad Khan, as a loyal servant, wrote to Tipu Sultan that in consequence of the non-payment of the stipulated money the temper of the authorities at Punah was disturbed and inclined to quarrel. If Tipu desired to be on good terms with them he must send the money agreed upon. As for the Maratha demand for an increase, that was only intended as a threat and to alarm. If they were paid the stipulated sum they would cease to exert themselves to collect troops and to ally themselves with the Nizam and the Bhonslah, who were incurring heavy debts and would not treat with his (Tipu's) government. Tipu replied that his words and the affirmation of the Marathas were not worthy of credit. Before concluding a peace with the English they (the Marathas) had declared in writing they would make terms with the hat-wearers after mutual consultation; but when they saw that the English had entered Tipu's country they regarded their own promise as if it had never existed, and had made peace without including Tipu, and had also recalled the auxiliaries lent to him, and were now meditating hostile measures. Such being the state of things, it was for Nur Muhammad not himself to demand from Balaji leave to withdraw, but to procrastinate the discussion by evasions. Thus, if he were to ask for his *congé* the Marathas would despair of remaining on friendly terms with Tipu and would march against him. This course was desirable as the affair of the port of Gorial was not yet finished, and if Nur Muhammad left his post the door for receiving intelligence would be closed. On receiving these instructions Nur Muhammad went to Balaji and said, "If it please God, after the affair of Gorial is concluded, and it is near at hand, the

money of the Maratha government will be all fully paid up." Balaji and Hari Pandit were not satisfied with this statement, and remained intent on making their own arrangements, and sent Kishn Rao Balal to the Nizam with a message to the effect that the statement of some important matters could not be effected by correspondence, nor even by verbal messages; they therefore hoped from the Nizam's general and long-manifested kindly feelings that he would come fifteen stages from Haidarabad in the direction of Punah, and they, his old friends, would meet him. After their envoy had gone they prepared for the expedition and followed him. Hari Pandit and Holkar started first and together, and three days after, Balaji, having entrusted Madhu Rao to Apa Balwant and Amrit Rao, left Punah, and, after collecting the forces of the Maratha chiefs, arrived in the space of one month at Pandarpur and halted there, waiting for the news that the Nizam had left Haidarabad. Meanwhile the envoy of the Marathas had reached Haidarabad, and had had an interview with His Highness, and represented their wishes. The Nizam, who was displeased with the commotions caused by Tipu, listened to the envoy's request, and agreed to meet Balaji near the fort of Angir. Accordingly, on the 14th of Rabi-ul-avval 1198 A.H., he left Haidarabad, and journeyed to the rendezvous, encamping near the said forts in order to meet the Maratha chiefs there. On this journey Sikandar Ikbal, son of the Nizam and entitled Asad-ud-daulah Bahadur, was raised to the command of 7,000 horsemen and honoured with the insignia of the Fish, and the corresponding rank, and the title of Asaf-ul-Mulk, and the son of His Highness Mir Subhan Ali Khan Bahadur obtained the command, including what he had before, of 6,000 horsemen and the insignia and rank of the Fish, and the title of Intizam-ud-daulah, and another son of His Highness, Mirza Zulfakar Ali Khan, was named, with what he had before, to the command of 6,000 horsemen, and the insignia and rank of the Fish, with the title of Nasir-ud-daulah. Of the ministers and officers, Muhammad Murad Khan received, with what he had before, the command of 3,000 horsemen, 2,000 being actually present, and the title of Lashkar Jang Bahadur, and a flag and kettledrums, Muhammad Koshan Khan Jamadar obtained, including what he had before, the command of 3,000 horse, 2,000 being present, and the title of Bahadur, and Muhammad Subhan Khan had the command of 1,000, 500 being present, and the title of Bahadur, and Rai Bhawanidas, son of the revenue accountant for the province of Haidarabad and Muhammadabad Bidar, was promoted. Burhan-ud-daulah came from Narmal, and Ala-ud-daulah from Aurangabad, and had the honour of being presented, and Mumtaz-ud-daulah, brother of Mushir-ul-Mulk, received a jewelled ornament for the turban and was allowed to depart. Balaji Pandit, more widely known as Nana Pharnavis, on hearing that His Highness's army had moved towards Angir, marched from Pandarpur and waited on the Nizam in the neighbourhood of Angir, and was presented with a sword with a jewelled hilt, and a pair of jewelled daggers with jewelled sheaths. After that, on the 7th of Rajab, the Nizam went to his tent, and valuable jewels and rich stuffs, which had been presented as offerings, were graciously accepted, and there His Highness halted in order that his council might deliberate, and it was then resolved that next year the two States should together punish Tipu and take from his grasp the country of His Highness and of the Peshwa, so that the territory of the Nizam should be handed over to the authority of his ministers, and the territory of the Peshwa, from the fort of Badami and Dharwar and other places, should be assigned to the Peshwa's officers, and over and above the territory of the two States such lands belonging to Tipu as should be conquered should belong half to the Nizam and half to the Peshwa. After that, Hari Pandit, at the desire of Balaji, brought Tukoji Holkar before the Nizam, and after a short conversation the Nizam with his own royal hand fastened on for him a jewelled ornament, and after giving him a collar of pearls allowed him to depart. His Highness then, with the young princes and Nazir-ul-Mulk, who had then obtained release from confinement in Adoni and was in attendance on the Nizam, visited Tukoji Holkar's tent. Holkar brought out jewels and rich stuffs and presented them to the

prince's and Nasir-ul-Mulk. At the same time Mr. Johnson, who had arrived at Haidarabad from Calcutta, repeated to His Highness that he wished to know whether he should remain there, as he would do whatever the Nizam wished. He received a written answer to stop, as the Nizam's army would soon arrive there. After their arrival His Highness inspected the fort of Angir. Askar Jang, the commandant, submitted offerings of robes and jewels. The Nizam then returned to Haidarabad, but gave a jewelled ornament for the turban and a *jikah* and a collar and necklace of pearls to Holkar, and to his ministers ornaments suitable to their rank, and to Balaji a *sarpech* ornament with diamonds of great value, and a jewelled *jikah* and armlets and bracelets of emeralds and a *turrah* of jewels and a collar and necklace of pearls, and similar ornaments to Hari Ram Pharkia, Kishn Balal, and Balwant Rao, who came from Mudaji Bhonslah. On the 5th of Shaban the Nizam set out for Haidarabad. At this time Makbul Ali Khan was invested with the robes of the office of superintendent of the Nizam's own chancellerie. Rajah Padam Singh and Muhammad Husain Khan Kathalah each received a jewelled ornament for the head, and the betel-box of permission to depart. While *en route* at the station of Balnur, a darvesh, an inconsiderate speaker, uttered some silly words respecting the followers of Mahdi, and two or three soldiers who were of that persuasion chastised and wounded him. The soldiers of the Sarafraz-ud-daulah's regiment came to the assistance of the darvesh, began to spill much blood and many Afghans were killed and wounded, and the goods of many Afghan merchants were plundered, after which, by His Highness's commands, the fire of bloodshed was quenched. Next day the Nizam marched thence, and on the 12th of the said month arrived at Aurangabad and proceeded to his palace. At this time Iftikhar-ud-daulah Bahadur was honoured with the office of Imperial Bakshi for the Dakhan, and all four sons of the late Amir-ul-umara were admitted to the service, and were presented with splendid robes and jewelled ornaments. On the 21st of Shaban Mr. Johnson, who was one of the most influential of the English gentlemen and of great ability, had the honour of an interview and submitted to the Nizam's inspection precious jewels and rich stuffs sent by the King of the Franks, and at the end of the month His Highness visited the dwelling of Mr. Johnson, and he presented a tray of jewels, and one of knives with gold handles, and several trays, of stuffs and two female elephants with their young ones, and a rose-coloured palki, and twelve horses. All were accepted, and Mir Kamr-ud-din Minnat, who had come with the European, recited an ode in praise of the Nizam in the presence and received a present of 3,000 rupees. At this time Ali Jah Bahadur and Asaf-ul-Mulk and Nasir-ul-Mulk presented as offerings three elephants and three horses and three daggers, and Rafat-ud-daulah was honoured with a jewelled *sarpech* and a *jikah* and was sent to the province of Nander, and Muhammad Nabi Khan Bahadur, son of Ghayur Jang deceased, received the command, including what he had before, of 3,000 horsemen, 2,000 being present, and a flag and kettle-drums and the title of Kaur Jang Bahadur. Sidi Abdullah Khan similarly received the command of 3,000 horsemen with 2,000 present, and the title of Rad Jang Bahadur, and Saiyid Umar Khan got the command of 1,000 with the title of Bahadur: and many others, too numerous to mention, were similarly honoured. At this time the festival of the Nizam's birthday knot was celebrated with great splendour. His Highness went to the house of Mushir-ul-Mulk and accepted the jewels and horses, but not the elephant. During the ten days of the Muharram 1199 A.H., according to custom, His Highness made a pilgrimage to the house of mourning for Hasan and Husain and performed his vows. On the 29th of the said month he visited the hunting-grounds which had been prepared by Dolah Rai, and presented 1,000 rupees to the watchmen. This year, as in years previous, many persons were rewarded and promoted. For instance Ashja-ud-daulah received a collar and necklace of pearls, and Itisam-ud-daulah was raised to the command of 5,000 horsemen, 3,000 being present, with the title of Ihtisam ul-Mulk, with a fringed palki, and Mr. Johnson received a collar and necklace of pearls, and bracelets. Maulavi Muin-ud-din Khan, an inhabitant of the town of Budan, a pupil of the chief of learned

men, Shekh-ul-Islam Khan, Kazi of the town of Aurangabad, was fortunate in obtaining the office of Kazi of Haidarabad vacant by the death of Hafiz Muhammad, preceptor of the Makkah Mosque, who had the title of Shariatullah Khan. On the 21st of Jumad-ul-avval the Nizam honoured the dwelling of Mr. Johnson with a visit, and he offered several trays of stuffs and rarities, and a sprinkling vessel of *atr* of roses, and a betel-box, and seven elephants with gilt carriages and canopies, and four robes, and a fringed palki with curtains of brocade. On the 2nd of Jumad-ul-akhir Mr. Johnson was presented with a jewelled *sarpech* and a *jikah* and a collar and necklace of jewels with an *arsi*, and three of his companions were similarly honoured, and received leave to return to Calcutta. On the 9th of Shawwal the Nizam mounted in order to receive an imperial rescript, and on the last day of the said month Zafar-ud-daulah Ihtisham Jang came from Elichpur, and was honoured with an interview and a *sarpech* and *jikah*. In the month of Zi-Kadah the Nizam went to the fort of Muhammadnagar. At this time some jewels were presented to the Nizam's son worthy of his rank ; and like presents were made to Shams-ud-daulah and Mashir-ul-Mulk and other high officers. On the 20th of Muharram 1200 A.H. the river Musi was swollen by heavy rains and threw down 150 yards of the southern fortifications.

Account of the expedition of His Highness with the Marathas to punish Tipu Sultan, as far as the fort of Badami, and his return thence to Haidarabad, and what took place afterwards.

When Balaji fixed the next year for the chastisement of Tipu Sultan, and returned from the neighbourhood of Angir to Punah, Mudaji Bhonslah, who had formerly been a friend of Raghunath Rao, became apprehensive of the Nizam, owing to the friendship that Balaji showed towards him, and sent therefore to Punah an envoy, Balwant Rao, by name, with 400 persons, and some jewels and four elephants for the Peshwa, and Balaji and Hari Pandit, so as to strengthen the foundations of friendship. Balaji received the envoy very cordially, but privately used rough words on account of the sender's alliance with Raghunath. The envoy endeavoured to smooth over matters, but Balaji said, "The sincerity of your words will thus be apparent, when he who sent you comes hither and has an interview with the Rao, and makes a satisfactory explanation face to face." The envoy said, "Certainly, in accordance with your Excellency's wish, he will come, and will in no particular transgress what your Excellency says." Then Balaji sent off letters summoning Mudaji, and said to his envoys, "You must write to your master to come here quickly." Mudaji in accordance with the summons came to Punah with 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot and fifty guns, and after mutual entertainments a council of deliberation was held, in which it was resolved that Mudaji should take part in the expedition against Tipu, and should not be slack in the war, and that whatever they might conquer from Tipu they should divide into six parts, of which two should be assigned to the Nizam and two to the Peshwa, and that Mudaji and Tukoji Holkar should divide two portions amongst themselves. Balaji kept Bhonslah seven months at Punah, and after making satisfactory covenants with him let him depart, and after he had gone busied himself with preparing artillery for the expedition and assembling troops. Nur Muhammad having discovered the alliance of Balaji with the Nizam, and that Mudaji had joined them, wrote to Tipu, who, on being informed of these facts, secretly sent an envoy to Babgaon to Holkar in order to win him over, and offered him five lakhs not to take an active part in the war, and to be friendly to him. He sent also another envoy, Muhammad Ghiyas, with twelve elephants, and jewels, and three lakhs of rupees, with 700 infantry, to Balaji, with injunctions to hasten to Punah on the wings of speed. On hearing of their arrival Balaji made them encamp outside Punah. Next day he summoned the said envoy with Nur Muhammad, through Lachhman Rao Rastiah, to the Peshwa's audience chamber. The envoys presented the letters with the offerings. The purport of the letters was : "This friend has on his part failed in no respect towards your government, nor is failing, and hearing of your

Excellency's displeasure has sent Muhammad Ghiyas, who is one of this friend's confidential officers. If you will act in accordance with what he will express, this friend too will be firm in friendship, otherwise, according to your Excellency's pleasure, there will be no deficiency in the other course on his part." After informing himself of the contents of the letters, Balaji next day sent for the envoys to a private audience, and inquired of them as to the affair. They said that their master, after the death of the Nuwab Bahadur (Haidar Ali), had asked aid of Balaji in order to quell disturbances in his dominions. Balaji declined. Their master desired to have a voice in the peace which had been made with the English, as Haidar had had in the previous peace, but Balaji had made peace without referring to him, and, not even satisfied with this, had concerted measures with the Nizam and Mudaji to conquer his (Tipu's) territories. It might be asked, then, which party it was that had broken covenant. Balaji then said that the cause of all this was the not sending the stipulated money. Even now had they or had they not brought the money due previously and presently? The envoys replied that if Balaji would break the alliance he had made Tipu would assuredly pay the money. Balaji said he could not possibly dissolve the league unless the money was sent. When that was done he would certainly desire to retain friendship with Tipu. Summarizing all he had to say with these two words he dismissed the envoys. Next day he despatched Kishn Rao Balal to the Nizam to say that according to agreement he should march, and that they should together chastise Tipu. He also sent for Balwant Rao, the Vakil of Mudaji, and strictly enjoined him to write to Mudaji to set out according to agreement, and joined the other armies *en route*. The letter was sent to Nagpur with two men on dromedaries. Kishn Rao Balal having arrived at Haidarabad pressed the Nizam to march. His Highness said they must assist him with twenty-five lakhs for this expedition, and make over to him the territory of Bijapur with the fort of Ahmadnagar, and these should be returned when they had conquered Tipu's territory and the division agreed upon took place. Unless this was done his setting out would be difficult. When the Vakil saw that if this discussion were carried on in writing it would delay matters, and it was probable that Balaji and Hari Pandit would be displeased, and that the alliance with the Nizam would be broken off, and the Peshwa's interests would suffer, he replied that His Highness should for the present defer his request for money, and whenever he really marched and lent his aid, and Balaji had obtained favours from him, he would not hesitate to relinquish to him the territory of Bijapur. He added that he had given this, as he believed, salutary advice without knowing the opinions of Balaji and Hari Pandit, of himself spontaneously, because at the time he set out for Haidarabad both of them had urged upon him that as he was an old and confidential servant of the Government, and a well-wisher of both States, he should induce the Nizam, in whatever way he thought best, to undertake this expedition. As the Nizam knew that the Vakil was a truthful and reliable man, he for his sake desisted from demanding the money, and was content with his verbal declaration as to giving over the territory of Bijapur, and bestowing on him land worth a lakh a year as a return for his good offices betook himself to preparations for the journey. At this time the preliminary marriage of the son of Shams-ud-daulah was begun, and for a month and a half the festival was maintained at great cost and with much display, and in the interval the Maratha envoy arrived, on account of his pressing request. His Highness, in the third ten days of the Muharram, moved from Haidarabad and encamped in the plain of the Idgah. Mudaji also set out from Nagpur, and Balaji and Hari Pandit in Punah detached Amrit Rao Sahi with a body of 2,000 men to wait upon Sawai Madhu Rao. They then moved from Punah and halted at Tirapsar, which is four *kos* from Punah. At that time their force was 20,000 men. Thence Balaji sent Hari Pandit in advance, telling him to take Tukoji (so spelled here) Holkar with him and keep four *kos* in advance as a vanguard. Holkar had demanded twelve lakhs of rupees for the expenses of his army from Balaji, but Hari Pandit had brought him to assent for

four lakhs of rupees cash and an agreement for one lakh, and had got him to join the expedition. After that they reached Pandarpur and halted there, and the forces of the Marathas there amounted to 50,000 horsemen, and thence dromedary riders were sent to summon Mudaji to join in haste, and they sent on Kishn Rao to Haidarabad to give information of what had occurred, and shortly after news came that Mudaji with a force of 15,000 horsemen had arrived at a distance of twenty *kos* from Pandarpur, and that the Nizam had set out from Haidarabad. After Mudaji had joined they went on stage by stage to meet the Nizam, who after halting at the Idgah till the 8th of Safar to please Shams-ud-daulah, and gracing the rest of the marriage with his presence, and accepting the jewels and rich robes that Shams-ud-daulah offered, marched thence and halted at the plain of Langar Hauz. Next day offerings were made for the reduction of the fort of Paraindah, which was accomplished by Rafat-ud-daulah and Azim-ud-daulah. On the 10th of the same month Maulavi Muin-ud-din Khan, Kazi of Haidarabad, was raised to the command of 2,000 horsemen with the title of Muin-ul-Islam Khan. Amir-ul-Mulk Bahadur Mahabat Jang received the title of Shuja-ul-Mulk, with a confirmation of his government of Adoni, &c., and the gift of a jewelled ornament for a turban, with a pendant and a string of pearls. At this time Rajah Amanat Ram died of pleurisy, and Rai Rengadas, son of Rai Rayan, was promoted by the title of Diyanatwant and appointed to the office of his father. Besides the aforesaid persons many other officers received favours from the Nizam, some commands, some titles, some districts, and a few jewels. His Highness then marched to the fort of Atgir and encamped there, and there also Balaji and Mudaji and the other chiefs arrived and had the honour of waiting on the Nizam, except Holkar, who had been sent on in advance to cross the Kishna, and for twelve days the two armies encamped there together, and entertainments were reciprocated. After that the Nizam marched with the Maratha chiefs stage by stage to the Kishna, which the Marathas crossed one day before the Nizam's forces. They then advanced together to within thirty or forty *kos* of the fort of Badami, which belonged to Tipu, and there Kishn Rao Balal, after the river was crossed, obtained leave of absence from Balaji on account of a disease from which he was suffering, and returned to Punah, where after a month he died. Here Balaji and Hari Pandit sent out twelve pairs of spies, and the Nizam sent out six pairs, to find out what Tipu was doing, and about his army and his materials of war. But Holkar, with whom Tipu had previously intrigued and had sent him five lakhs of rupees, agreeing that if he chose to side with him he, Tipu, would show him kindness, and in case of his making war on the Peshwa he would give him five more lakhs, and on peace being concluded and the affair being arranged would give him five lakhs more, and besides that two lakhs should be sent to him annually, now sent his agent secretly to Tipu to tell him to set his mind at ease on all matters, and to consider him, Holkar, as a friend, according to agreement, and without hesitation to advance to give battle. Tipu, who had then come from Shrirangpatanam to Bangalur and was halting there, and who had been anxious on hearing of the junction of the two armies, was relieved on receiving this message, and, having taken engagements from Holkar's agent ratified by oaths, moved forward and imprisoned the spies of both powers who had arrived there, so that no information from Tipu's camp reached the allies ! Thereupon the Nizam and Balaji in order to get intelligence sent Mudaji Bhonslah's agent and another agent, Lachhman Rao Rastiah, who was present at the discussion with Tipu, to him with this message, that if he intended to fight he should advance, but if he wished to make peace he should send envoys that they might settle the affair. Meantime Balaji, as the climate disagreed with him, was attacked with diarrhœa and wished to return, but in a short time his illness left him and he was restored to health, and with the approbation of Hari Pandit he gave up his intention of returning, and saw that it would be advisable for him to remain until Badami was captured. After that the Nizam introduced the subject of the territory of Bijapur. Balaji refused to relinquish it, and His Highness decided therefore to return to Haidarabad, and appointed, after much discussion, Sharf-ul-Mulk, brother

of the late Rukn-ud-daulah, with all the commanding officers who in the time of Rukn-ud-daulah were put under him, with 7,000 horsemen, and Hashmat Jang with 1,000, and Zorawar Jang with 2,000, to accompany Balaji, on the understanding that if Balaji sent only Hari Pandit to settle the affair of Tipu, and himself alone returned to Punah, the Nizam's troops should remain with the Maratha army; but if Hari Pandit and the other chiefs with their forces returned to Punah the Nizam's troops should be allowed to return to Haidarabad, and whatever territory was conquered one-half of it should be handed over to the Nizam's officers. His Highness then repaired to Balaji's tent to take leave, and he, when the meeting broke up, presented to the Nizam two trays of stuffs and a rose-water sprinkler, and a betel-box, and to Mushir-ul-Mulk and Shams-ul-Mulk the same without the stuffs. His Highness then by long marches hastened to Haidarabad, and on the 8th of Rajab crossed the Kishna by the ford of *Kala chabutarah*, or the "black terrace," and on the 19th entered Haidarabad. During this journey, before arriving at Haidarabad, the Nizam's son Sikandar Ikbal Asaf-ul-Mulk Asad-ud-daulah* was raised to the command of 9,000 horsemen, 9,000 [?] being present, with the title of Sikandar Jah; and Intizam-ud-daulah was given, with what he had before, the command of 7,000 horsemen, with a curtained palki and the title of Intizam-ul-Mulk; and Nasir-ud-daulah Bahadur got, with what he had before, the command of 7,000, with the title of Zulfakar-ul-Mulk; and Nasir-ul-Mulk received, including what he had before, the command of 9,000 with the title of Humayun Jah; and, according to custom, other nobles connected with the family of the Nizam were raised to high commands and titles; and of the grandees every one who was styled *Daulah*, like Ashja-ud-daulah, had it changed to *Mulki*, and every one who had *Jang* in his title was addressed by *Daulah*. Every one who had the title of *Khan* got that of *Bahadur* and *Jang*, and every one who had no title got the title of *Khan*. The Marcher of Sholapur on the return journey got the command of 5,000 with 4,000 actually present, with a curtained palki, and a jewelled ornament for the turban, and a *jikah*, and a collar of pearls, and a betel-box. Balaji after the departure of His Highness to Haidarabad engaged in capturing the fort of Badami, and marched on till he came within four or five *kos* of Badami, and there he waited, expecting that envoys would come from Tipu and would settle the affair, so that he might from that very spot return with the affair settled; but as Tipu, ignorant and imprudent, became more elated after the departure of His Highness, he sent no one to discuss a settlement. Balaji then sent for Nur Muhammad and Muhammad Ghiyas, and said that hitherto he had been forbearing and merciful, but Tipu had not understood that course. They replied that they too had not been remiss in sending letters of exhortation to their master, but being only servants they had no resource. Balaji then, reflecting that while these agents remained in his camp they daily sent intelligence to Tipu of the state of the army, and that it was therefore inexpedient that they should remain, gave each a turban and a piece of gold-embroidered cloth and sent them away, and on their leaving said, "Exert yourself in any way you think best for the good of your sovereign." He then sent with them 100 horsemen of Lachhman Rao's, who escorted them as far as the Tumbhadra, which was nine marches off, and then returned. After their departure Balaji made a march of two *kos* more, and arrived within two *kos* of the fort. He then ordered Hari Pandit and other chiefs to besiege the fort and erect batteries, and either side began to fight, and the siege lasted twenty-eight days, at the end of which time the Marathas took the fort by storm. The garrison, numbering 2,000, were then brought out and imprisoned for some days, and then were set free. A person in the confidence of Lachhman Rao Rastiah was then appointed commandant, and next day Balaji went to the tents of Mudaji and the other chiefs, and encouraged them, and made them commanders with Hari Pandit. Thus the army of Mudaji Bhonslah was with Hari Pandit till his return to Punah, being under the command of his son Chimna Bapu. After that Balaji with a small party hastened to Punah, and

* This is one of many instances of the practice of mentioning persons and places not by their direct names but by titles. This is the son of Nizam Ali, and his real name was Mir Akbar Ali.

Hari Pandit, with the concurrence of Bhonslah and Holkar, with the whole army advanced by marches of five *kos* to the fort of Dharwar. On the other side Tipu, who was encamped at Bangalur with his forces and artillery, on hearing this news followed it up close by marching on Adoni, which he attempted to storm. Mahabat Jang, who was in the fort with his family, defended himself bravely, and repelled the assaults. When this news reached the Nizam, he appointed Humayun Jah to the chief command, and conferred on him a sword and a dagger and an aigrette of diamonds and a plume, and sent with him Shams-ul-Mulk and Mushir-ul-Mulk with the commanders of corps. He also conferred on many of the commanders ornaments for the turban and *jikahs* according to their rank, and appointed Itikad-ud-daulah to superintend the preparation of baskets for crossing the Kishna, and sent him to Adoni in order that he might get Mahabat Jang with his family out of the fort. His Highness also wrote to Hari Pandit to render assistance. Hari Pandit sent Apa Balwant and another chief with 15,000 horsemen from Dharwar to assist the garrison of Adoni, and the Nizam's troops crossed the Kishna and the Tumbhadra, and reached Adoni. Tipu, on hearing of the advance of the Nizam's generals, removed his batteries from Adoni before their arrival, and retired seven *kos* into the hills of Shah Dongar. Shams-ul-Mulk and Mushir-ul-Mulk safely extricated Mahabat Jang Dara Jah (in rank like Darius), with the honour of the Asafian family,* and reached the banks of the Tumbhadra, and with the utmost eagerness crossed that river. As soon as they were over, army and baggage, the river within three hours swelled to a torrent, and formed a barrier between the Nizam's army and the enemy, and Dara Jah (Mahabat Jang) entered safely, and with his honour unstained, into the fortress of Raichur, and Shams-ul-Mulk and Mushir-ul-Mulk then presented to him rich garments and jewels which had been sent by the Nizam for him, and His Highness on hearing this good news received congratulatory offerings, and ordered a salute of guns to be fired. Meanwhile Hari Pandit arrived from Dharwar with the intention of fighting with Tipu, and, leaving the Kishna in the space between, encamped at twelve *kos* from the enemy, and the abovementioned generals, in accordance with the summons they received from the Nizam, returned, and on the 30th of Zi Kadah 1200 A.H. = 1785-6 had the honour of kissing the threshold of the palace in Haidarabad. This year Mr. Manson, who had come on the part of Mr. Johnson, had the honour of an interview with the Nizam, being introduced by the author of this book,† and a *sarpech* and *jikah* were conferred upon him, and many of the Nizam's officers received various rewards and honours. The *History of the Marathas* by Grant Duff gives an account of the war just related, which differs in some particulars from that furnished by the *Hadikah-i-Alam*. According to Grant Duff the territory taken from Tipu by the allies was by the agreement of 1786 to be divided so that the Nizam and the Peshwa should have two shares each, and Sindhia and Holkar one share each (vol. iii., p. 9), whereas the *Hadikah* does not mention

* That is, the ladies of the family, for the honour of captives was little regarded by Haidar and his son Tipu. Ladies were reserved for the harim of these remorseless conquerors.

† The author now makes frequent mention of himself. It will be seen that he says nothing of the mission of General Caillaud to Haidarabad when Nizam Ali in 1766 was preparing for a renewed attack on the Karnatik. The mission resulted in the treaty of the 12th of November 1766 (see *Our Faithful Ally*, p. 33), by which the Company were to pay to the Nizam a *peshkash* or tribute of 5,00,000 rupees a year for the provinces of Rajahmahendri, Elur, and Mustafanagar, and 2,00,000 rupees for Shrikakolam (Chicacole), and the same annual sum for Mustafanagar or Gantur, which had been given to Basalat Jang as a jagir. He was to hold it during his lifetime, and it was then to go to the Company on payment of the sum above mentioned. By this treaty a defensive alliance was concluded between the contracting parties. On the 23rd of February 1768 a new treaty was made, by which the Company agreed to pay to the Nizam an annual tribute of seven lakhs, and two lakhs for six years for the Northern Sirkars. Basalat Jang, who very often acted independently of his brother and sovereign Nizam Ali, in 1779 agreed to grant Gantur to the Company, who were to defend it against Haidar Ali, and Mr. Holland was sent to inform the Nizam of the agreement. The Nizam considered this agreement an infraction of his rights, and the Supreme Government compelled that of Madras to restore Gantur, which was done in the end of 1780. Basalat Jang died in November 1782, and Gantur was occupied by the Nizam's officers, against which the Resident, Mr. Grant, did not protest. But in 1784 Mr. Johnson came to Haidarabad to press for the restoration of Gantur, when the Nizam suggested that Mr. Johnson himself should hold the province on taking the arrears of tribute on himself and paying the Company a million sterling. For listening to this proposal Mr. Johnson was removed from the post of Resident, and left in 1785. In 1788 the Government sent Captain Kennaway to Haidarabad to demand Gantur, which was made over to the Company in September 1788, the balance account showing 9,16,665 rupees as due to the Nizam.

Sindhia, and says that Mudaji Bhonslah and Holkar were to have a share each. Grant Duff adds that Tahawwur Jang was left in command of the Nizam's force of 25,000 men when the Nizam returned to Haidarabad ; that Badami was besieged on the 1st of May 1786, and most gallantly stormed on the 20th, and that the garrison amounted to 3,500 men. On Mudaji's return to Nagpur he left his second son, Khandoji, in command of his army. The force that relieved Adoni and rescued Mahabat Jang (not Mohubbat as wrongly given by Grant Duff) consisted of 20,000 Marathas and 40,000 of the Nizam's troops, who when they conducted Mahabat Jang from Adoni left in that fort all the guns, ammunition, and stores, which fell into the hands of Tipu. The closing operations of this war are thus related in the *Hadikah-i-Alam*. After the withdrawal of the Nizam's army, Tipu finding Adoni empty possessed himself of that fort, but out of resentment endeavoured to ruin it, and then marched towards Savanur, while Hari Pandit moved in the same direction. The ruler of Sanur or Savanur, Abdul Hakim Khan, who was driven to desperation by the hostility and tyranny of Tipu, sent an envoy to Hari Pandit and Holkar to say that this was the time to render him assistance, and that they should give him shelter with them and free the territory of Savanur from the tyrant, and if they did so he would be all his life grateful to them and a well-wisher of the Peshwa's government. Soon after Tipu prepared 1,000 hollowed trunks of trees and made 10,000 men cross over the river Kishna with fifty guns with the utmost speed, and without the Marathas being aware of the fact. Next day Tipu himself crossed with his whole army, and halted eight *kos* from the Maratha army, with the intention of giving battle. Hari Pandit and Holkar, who were encamped three *kos* from Sanur, at the invitation of the governor moved close to the walls of the fort, and brought out the governor and his chief officers and some of their property, and marched with them to their former encampment. Tipu heard of this and moved close to the fort, and sending 1,000 men into it carried off the rest of Abdul Hakim's property, and then advancing to two and a half *kos* from Sanur drew up for battle. Hari Pandit and Holkar on their side hastened to within a *kos* of Tipu's army, and placing their guns at the foot of a hill opened fire. An artillery engagement then went on for about three or four hours, when the Maratha chiefs said to Hari Pandit that if he would give the command they would charge from all sides and would disperse the enemy, on condition the Government should compensate them for any horses that were killed, and that the families of men killed in the action should be allowed to draw half their pay. Hari Pandit replied that he, like them, was only a servant of the Government, and without the orders of Government he could not make those conditions. On this no one would advance. They then dragged off their guns and went to their encampment, which was three *kos* from the battle-field ; Tipu also went to his tents, about two *kos* off, and encamped. Five *kos* intervened between the armies, and for four days no fighting took place. On the fifth day, after sunset, about 9 p.m., Tipu made a night attack on Hari Pandit's army, and dispersed it and took much plunder. Holkar, who had encamped one and a half *kos* off, was not attacked. Next day the Marathas, alarmed by the night attack, sent all their superfluous baggage twenty *kos* to the rear, and encamped within three *kos* of Tipu's army with the intention of fighting. They passed the night on the *qui vive* and next day mounted and drew up for battle, but neither side attacked. Thus fifteen days passed, till one day Tipu sent to Hari Pandit to ask when he had so large a force why he did not fight. Hari Pandit replied that his way of fighting was not like that of thieves, and that if Tipu's courage was so highflown he might come out into the plain and fight, that they might see who would be victorious and who vanquished. After hearing this, next day Tipu advanced with his artillery in front. On their side the Marathas were ready, and an artillery combat ensued for two watches without either side being victorious, and at the third watch the generals of the two armies returned to their camps and maintained a vigilant look-out. Inasmuch as Hari Pandit had repeatedly told Holkar, indirectly and by hints and also with downright plainness, that it was owing to his siding with Tipu that that chief had become so bold,

and that the war was so long-drawn-out, and as Holkar wished to simulate great exertions so as to obtain credit for himself and remove the suspicion of taking part with the enemy, he therefore, one day when his spies brought word that Tipu's treasure with an escort 8,000 strong and twenty guns had come from Madnūr to near his army and would next day enter his camp, sent a message to Hari Pandit to say that that day he meant to attack Tipu. "What happens," he added, "will be seen." He instantly mounted his horse and charged the escort of the treasure, and after killing 4,000 infantry and 500 horsemen of Tipu's men, and capturing five lakhs of rupees in pagodas, returned to his own camp. Next day Tipu sent an envoy to say that he had relied on Holkar's word and felt safe, but that Holkar had acted contrary to his promise. Holkar replied that he was a servant of the Peshwa. He could not publicly act against him in time of war, but the success that Tipu had had against Hari Pandit was owing to the aid Holkar had given him, and hence he had been suspected of siding with Tipu. It was to clear himself of this suspicion that he had acted as he had on the late occasion. He was, however, according to his agreement, friendly to Tipu, and he would now point out to Tipu what it would be advisable for him to do. That was speedily to bring the war to a conclusion, and not be slack in this or the end would be disastrous. It would not do, however, to send envoys to settle matters just then. He must first make another night attack on the army of Hari Pandit, and after coming off victorious over that chief in another action he should then send his confidential officers, to discuss terms, to Holkar. Holkar dismissed Tipu's envoys with this advice, and in accordance with it Tipu directed another night attack against the army of Hari Pandit and dispersed it, but it was not thoroughly beaten. For to run away and reassemble is what the Marathas do best, and until 10,000 or 20,000 of them are killed they do not sustain a thorough defeat. However, things went so far that the Marathas removed their batteries from Dharwar and the fort of Bahadur Bandah, which had fallen into the hands of the Marathas, and Sanur territory yielding annually three lakhs of pagodas, and another place, the revenue of which was one lakh and 50,000 pagodas, passed into Tipu's hands. As the rainy season was near and both sides were anxious about going into quarters, Tipu, in consequence of the high price of food and the slow receipt of treasure from Shrirangpatanam, saw that peace would be advisable, and sent to Holkar to say that he would pay the arrears of four years and would yearly pay to the Peshwa's Government the stipulated tribute on condition that they would restore to him Badami and the other places that they had occupied. Holkar immediately went to Hari Pandit and made known the message. Hari Pandit wrote to Balaji, and he replied that Hari Pandit had *carte blanche* in the matter. On this Hari Pandit sent for Holkar and said the place would be accepted on certain conditions:—Firstly, the fort of Badami, which had been captured in war, and which had cost a great sum, and similarly the fort of Nargandah, should not be restored. Secondly, that the money due to the Peshwa's government should be fully paid up, and that a note should be sent withdrawing from Adoni. Thirdly, that Tipu should settle with the Nizam at the same time as with the Peshwa. Fourthly, that the territory of Abdul Hakim Khan, who had thrown himself on the protection of the Peshwa, should be restored to him, and for the future Tipu should not show hostility towards him. Fifthly, that Tipu should enter into engagements to pay the Peshwa's tribute year by year without evasions, and after the withdrawal of the Nizam's and the Peshwa's army Tipu should promise not to enter again upon hostile measures. Holkar sent to inform Tipu of these stipulations, and Tipu again sent an envoy to say that for the sake of the Peshwa's government he gave up Badami and Nargandah, and that these terms were not deceptive but most sincerely intended; but there were two conditions:—First, that in the letters sent by the Rao Pandit Pradhan (the Peshwa) the title Sultan should be added in addressing Tipu, and that, in case of his requiring it, the Peshwa should send him such an auxiliary force as he should ask for. Tipu added that he would give a note of withdrawal from Adoni; further, that a settlement with the Nizam would not be included in the treaty, but that a separate settlement would be made with His

Highness after sending envoys ; further, Abdul Hakim Khan was a Palahgir of his (Tipu's) government, and he had an account against him of one million of rupees. If the said Khan was under the protection of the Peshwa he must first point out how he was going to pay Tipu and then ask that his country should be restored to him. If these two conditions were accepted Tipu would on his side draw out in writing the treaty according to the agreement of the two parties. As Lachhman Rao Rastiah at the time of his setting out for Punah with Balaji had left his younger brother with Hari Pandit, that if a peace should be negotiated he too might take part in it, Holkar made him too a party to the discussion, and when Hari Pandit perceived that ready cash would be paid over at once, and that the settlement of the Nizam's affairs and of those of Abdul Hakim required time, and that, from the near approach of the rainy season, delay in coming to terms was inexpedient, he consented to settle the Peshwa's affairs by a peace. He, however, stood out for some time as to adding the title Sultan in addressing Tipu, and said that as to that Balaji would write, and whatever he said would be acted upon. Holkar urged that in this matter resistance ought not to be made, for under the Peshwa's rule hundreds of persons were called Sultan, that he would reply for Balaji as to this, and that Tipu must not delay writing the treaty. Hari Pandit consented through Holkar to add Sultan to the titles of Tipu, and Tipu sent his letter through Holkar, and next day sent his agent with 4 000 infantry and 500 horsemen, bringing ten lakhs of Kurg pagodas and seven lakhs of rupees in cash, and clothes worth three lakhs, in all fifty lakhs of rupees, for the Peshwa's Government, and gave an engagement to pay the ten lakhs of the balance, agreeing to send it after the army had returned to Punah. For Holkar Tipu sent four lakhs of rupees in cash, and jewels worth two lakhs, with a writing in his own hand that year by year two lakhs would be sent, according to the previous agreement. On the same day Tipu himself crossed the Kishna and encamped on the other side. Next day Hari Pandit gave to Tipu's Vakil a robe of honour of six pieces, with a jewelled ornament for the turban, as a present from the Peshwa, and a written copy of the treaty, and dismissed him. Holkar also gave him from himself a jewelled ornament for the turban and a robe of honour. In short, Hari Pandit, after the affair of his government's money was settled, on the third day marched towards Punah and having dismissed the generals of the Nizam's army arrived at Punah with Holkar and Chimna Bapu, son of Mudaji Bhonslah, and Apa Balwant. Balaji then gave entertainments to the Maratha chiefs and dismissed each to his own territory. This peace took place in 1201 A.H. On the 1st of Muharram in this year the Lady Bahu Bigam, own wife to the Nizam's son, died a natural death ; His Highness himself visited that high personage's house and gave him jewels and a mourning robe, and also to the daughters of the deceased, and consoled them. In the month of Safar His Highness went out to meet an imperial rescript. He also paid a visit to the newly-built mansion of Shams-ul-mulk on the occasion of a banquet there, and honoured Shuja-ul-mulk with the title of Amir-ul-umara, with a jewelled *sarpech* and a plume of jewels and a rich robe, and a Turkish helmet and cuirass inlaid with gold, and gauntlets for both hands, and a sword with a rich hilt, and another weapon called a *jamdhar* (a sword that strikes a man dead at a single blow), and a shield, as a reward for his services at Adoni.

Account of the flight of Mohan Rao Pingliah and of the capture of the fort of Radrur, and Chinur and Madhapur, and the taking prisoner the Zamindars of that place by the victorious army.

As Ghulam Saiyid Khan stretched out rapacious hands on the estates of the jagirdars, and demanded of Mohan Rao Pingliah a year's revenue for continuing his grant, the said person, owing to his want of means to provide the sum, stood out. Ghulam Saiyid Khan, in 1202 A.H., seized his jagir and sent severe bailiffs upon him ; and he, thinking his only means of escape would be flight, went off in the night to the small fort of Radrur, and sheltered himself there, and busied himself with repairing the fortifications. Ghulam Saiyid Khan, imputing this to a

desire to rebel, represented his case to the Nizam, and detached a force under Sazawar-ud-daulah, son of Hisamullah Khan, commandant of the fort of Udgir, to chastise him, and in support of him sent also Rajah Bihara Mall. The unhappy man struggled for a few days in vain, and then fled thence and escaped. Then Ghulam Saiyid Khan seized all his hereditary jagir, and placed there a post of the Nizam's troops. In the same year the Rajah of Chinur was hard pushed by the arbitrary conduct and oppression of Rajna Deshmukh, who had received from Ghulam Saiyid Khan the governments of Elgandal and Warankal and Medak, &c., at an increased rate, and rebelled. The said Deshmukh, being much irritated, wrote to Ghulam Saiyid Khan, and asked assistance to chastise him. Ghulam Saiyid Khan gave Bihara Mall the title of Raja Tejwant Bahadur, which he obtained from the Nizam, with the present of a *jikah* and a *sarpech*, and sent him with a large force to assist the said Deshmukh, and he arrived by fast marches and besieged the residence of the Rajah of Chinur, and kept up a fierce attack, and after a time stormed the fortifications outside the residence, and intended to take the fort itself in the same way. The Rajah gave up the fort, asking only that his life and honour should be spared, and Rajah Tejwant sent to the Nizam an offering for the victory, and a petition representing the circumstances of this success. This he did with the concurrence of Ghulam Saiyid Khan, who sent for the Zamindar and imprisoned him in the fort of Muhammadnagar, and confiscated all his hereditary territories of Madapur, &c., which he entrusted to the said Deshmukh. At the end of Jumad-ul-avval the festival of New Year's Day began, and on the 20th of Shawwal that of tying the Nizam's birthday knot, and this year also many nobles and officers received titles and rewards in accordance with their merits. Thus Mukrib Khan was invested with the robes of office as Governor of the fort of Balkandah, and Itisam-ud-daulah received jewelled bracelets, and Muhammad Amjad Khan Sarbuland Jang obtained the command of 6,000 horsemen, including what he had before, and a palki with curtains, and the title of Amjad-ud-daulah, and Kamyab Jang got the command of 6,000 horsemen, 4,000 being actually present, and a palki and the title of Sardar-ud-daulah. Rai Bhawanidas, head of the Nizam's Diwan office, and Rai Durgadas and Rajah Tejwant each obtained a collar of pearls. Rai Kewal Kishn and Rai Khushhal Chand each got a jewelled *sarpech*. Rai Shankar Rao got a command of horsemen, and a title and flag and kettle-drums, and the charge of the districts of Narwal and the forts of Budan and Atnur and Kawwal, and an elephant. Jawal Ashrof Khan received a jewelled *sarpech* and the title of Bahadur, and was invested with the charge of the district of Kopal, though the fort there was not yet in the hands of the Nizam's officers, but bodies of horse were posted there. The same year Khwajah Bahadur Khan and Hafiz Farid-ud-din were sent as envoys to Tipu. In Muharram at the beginning of the year 1203 A.H. a person named Saiyid Muhammad by stating that he was the Sharof of Makkah obtained an interview with the Nizam and a present of 10,000 rupees. On the 29th of Rabi-us-sani Khwajah Bahadur Khan and Hafiz Farid-ud-din returned from Tipu, and were presented, and submitted to His Highness's inspection jewels and rich stuffs, and horses and elephants. This year Hisam-ud-daulah obtained the office of Talukahdar of Haidarabad in place of Abdul Kadir Khan removed, and Mir Ibrahim, brother of Safi-ud-daulah, was made commandant of the fort of Kalbargah, and Rai Basant Rai was made Keeper of the Privy Purse, and Shankatullah Khan was invested with the office of Diwan for the Emperor for the province of Haidarabad. On the 11th of Jumad-ul-akhir the New Year's Day festival began, and on the 10th of Shaban an imperial rescript arrived conferring on the Nizam the title of Rustam of the Age (Rustam-i-Dauran), and a banquet was given in consequence, at which, as well as at the other feasts, the nobles and officers had honours conferred upon them. This year, too, all the distinguished holy persons of the city were invited to an entertainment at the newly-built palace, which was given with the utmost splendour. On the 3rd of Shawwal Mr. Main received a jewelled *sarpech*, and the betel-box of dismissal, and on the 29th of that month Mr. John Kennaway and Mir Husain arrived from the Governor-General, and had the honour of being presented, and submitted for His Highness's inspection

various curiosities from Europe. Just then Najm-ul-mulk was removed from the office of commissioner of land customs, which was conferred on Kamr-ul-mulk, with the districts of Dewarkandah and Nalkandah. The festival of the marriage of Humayun Jah with the beloved daughter of Ali Jah took place. On the 20th of Zil-Kadah His Highness visited the house of Mushir-ul-mulk, on the occasion of an entertainment given there, and with his own hand wrote on the list of the money and jewels that that Minister offered that he waived the acceptance of them. Imtiyaz-ud-daulah was then honoured with the title of Mumtaz-ul-umara and with the insignia and rank of the Fish, and Shams-ul-mulk was made Shams-ul-umara, and Mushir-ul-mulk was dignified with the title of Aazam-ul-umara, and the author of this book approved of the words "*Atar-ism-i-Aazam*," giving the name of "Aazam" as the chronogram of this occurrence. Iftikhar-ud-daulah was made Iftikhar-ul-mulk. The author was then despatched to Calcutta by His Highness to strengthen the foundation of friendship with the English and to arrange some State affairs. Hafiz Farid-ud-din received the title of Khan, and was sent by the Nizam as envoy to Tipu. On Thursday the 20th of Zil-Hajj the Lady Khujistah Banu, known as Khan Bahadur, was received into God's mercy. On the 8th of Jumad-ul-avval 1203 A. H., 5th of February 1789, His Highness paid a visit to the fort of Muhammadnagar, and gave there a royal banquet. Meanwhile the Nizam's hand was wounded by the bite of a monkey which was attracted by the spectacle.* After a month and some days the wound cicatrised, and Asad Ali Khan, whose poetical name was *Tamanna*, "wishing," made this chronogram on the subject—*Al dast i tura madad yadu'llah*,†—"Thou to whose hand the Almighty's succour is." About the time that His Highness took the bath of convalescence the feast of the New Year took place with the utmost magnificence; but the birthday festival in the same year surpassed all description, and persons of every class, noblemen and high officers, fakirs and minstrels, all partook of the general bounty. This year, too, the author of this book, a loyal well-wisher of the Nizam's government, obtained the ratification, by signature from the English authorities, of all the matters desired by his patron and lord the Nizam, and having returned from Calcutta was honoured by being received at court, and submitted to His Highness's inspection the letters of the English Sahibs. Tipu at the same time sent with Hafiz Farid-ud-din Khan as his envoys Kutb-ud-din Khan and Ali Riza Khan with rarities and presents and letters. This year also‡ Rifat-ul-mulk Zorawar Jang died of liver complaint.

Journey of His Highness to the fort of Pangal, and flight of Kutb-ud-din Khan from the battle-field, and capture of Khammam and Karpah, and other minor matters.

As the discussion of the terms of peace with Tipu, owing to his destined fall, could not be brought to a satisfactory close at the Nizam's Court, His Highness, on the 1st of Rajab 1204 A. H., moved out from Haidarabad with the intention of chastising him, and encamped in the plain of the Garden of Gordhan. Kutb-ud-din, who had come on the part of Tipu, when he saw that the feeling of the Court was hostile, sent, with apparent good faith but insidiously, a message through Hafiz Farid-ud-din Khan to Aazam-ul-umara, saying,—“The territory of Tipu from the fort of Guti to the frontier of Sira is in the possession of this well-wisher. If permission be given him to go, taking Farid-ud-din Khan with him, he will deliver over the said territory to him, and after establishing posts of His Highness's cavalry in it will return to kiss the threshold of the Court, and will show the utmost devotion in this important matter, in hope that after services are performed he may

* The monkeys of Bidar or Muhammadabad have an allowance granted by the State, probably a relic of Hindu times, and are fed with bread made of the *Holcus Sorghum*. They have formed themselves into bands of 500, all females, except one huge male to each band, who would kill any other male that approached his charges. When I saw one of the troops fed I asked where the male was, and the man who fed them said, “He presents his compliments, he cannot attend to-day as he has gone to fight another male a mile or so off.” They are a very large kind of baboon, and very fierce and daring as well as mischievous, and to strike one of them would bring the whole upon you. No fruit is to be got in Bidar, for the monkeys devour it all, and they are a grievous plague to the place. However, their agility is truly marvellous, and one is even said to have climbed the great minar, but to have fallen from its polished surface in descending. It fell with such force that it broke through the roof of a house and was killed instantaneously.

† *Yadu'llah* is a term applied to Ali.

‡ In Johnson's Dictionary *Rifat*, but usually pronounced *Rafat*.

have a jagir and command conferred upon him by His Highness." When this message had been delivered to Aazam-ul-umara he was pleased, and regarded this as a Heaven-sent conquest. With this idea he led Kutb-ud-din to expect a command and a jagir, and gave him the Nizam's leave to depart. Kutb-ud-din accordingly set out for Guti with Farid-ud-din, and His Highness commenced collecting troops and baggage animals. Meanwhile Shams-ul-umara fell ill of pulmonary disease and the physicians bled him. At this time, owing to a tempestuous wind that blew in the evening and a fall of hail,^{*} there was a terrible scene of confusion in the Nizam's camp, and they had to halt a whole month on that spot. The army then moved to near the fort of Pangal and there encamped, and were employed in repairing the buildings and huts there. The news-writers now sent word that Kutb-ud-din had broken his promises, and that Farid-ud-din was in consequence in despair and apprehensive, and had taken refuge with Ranmast Khan at Karnul. About this time Dara Jah left the fort of Raichur to pay a visit to His Highness, and was detached with a considerable force of Silahdar cavalry and the troops of Shams-ul-umara and Lane, a European who had taken service with the Nizam, and some siege guns, to capture the fort of Kopal and other forts. Some chiefs, too, as Rifat-ul-Mulk, son of Zorawar Jang (deceased), and Rajah Rao Rambha, were appointed to act with Parsuram Bhao, who was athirst for the blood of Tipu, and who was ordered by the Peshwa to march against the fort of Dharwar, which he did, and threw up batteries and exerted himself to take the fort.† General Medows, who was a distinguished officer with a force of 10,000 to 12,000 English hat-wearers and 50,000 other troops with 400 elephants, advancing from the west passed the hill of Kishngiri and entered Tipu's territory prepared for battle. Tipu hastened to meet them and stopped the way, and all the Zamindars of that locality from Naimar, &c., and Ram Rajah with nearly 6,000 infantry, produced great confusion in Tipu's dominions coming from the south. Asad Ali Khan Taj-ud-daulah, thinking the opportunity favourable, took possession of the fort of Bikanpalli, which had passed from his hands into those of Haidar. Kutb-ud-din, destined to fly with a force of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry and some guns and rockets, came up from Guti with the intention of taking Bikanpalli. Asad Ali Khan, after consulting with his officers, charged the enemy and routed them, and Kutb-ud-din fled, and all his baggage was plundered. Offerings for this Heaven-sent victory and the cannon which had been captured were sent to the Nizam. In this battle Asad Ali was wounded below the navel, and his brother's son, Fath Ali Khan, aged only sixteen, was killed. Kutb-ud-din again set to work to raise troops and came out to fight. Aazam-ul-umara sent Rajah Tejwant to reinforce the army, and on hearing this Kutb-ud-din was grievously perplexed. Meanwhile letters came from Tipu summoning him, on which he went off to Shrirangpatanam, and Hafiz Farid, who

^{*} The hailstorms in the Nizam's dominions are perhaps unequalled in the world for their destructive effects. I have the testimony of officers of rank that hail fell last year at Aurangabad the globules of which were as large as wine-glasses, and in some cases the size of tumblers.

† The operations here described are those of the campaign which was conducted by General Medows (Grant Duff writes 'Medows', Mill 'Meadows'), and began on the 26th of May 1790, and terminated when the army returned to Madras on the 27th of January 1791. General Medows with the Madras army invaded Tipu's territory from the south, and reduced Karur, Dindigal, Coimbatore and Palghat. Colonel Hartley of Talegaon fame, with Bombay troops, advanced from the west, and defeated the enemy at Kalikot (Calicut), and his column under Sir R. Abercromby, who then took command, cleared Malabar of Tipu's troops. Parsuram Bhao did not receive his commission to raise troops till the 5th of May, and Nizam Ali did not sign the treaty till July 1790. Parsuram crossed the Krishna on the 11th of August, and arrived before Dharwar on the 18th of September. (See Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 48.) That place was not taken till April 4, 1791. The second campaign began on the 29th of January 1791, when Lord Cornwallis took the command of the Madras army. He stormed Bangalore on the 21st of March, and the fall of that place (Grant Duff, p. 52) had some share in influencing the surrender of Dharwar and also of Kopal, besieged by the Mughuls, which was shortly afterwards given up, as was Bahadur Bandah. The Mughul horse, 10,000 strong, joined Lord Cornwallis on the 13th of April, after routing the division of Kutb-ud-din, and on their joining Lord Cornwallis resolved to undertake the siege of Shrirangpatanam. On the 15th of May Tipu was defeated at Arikera, and was joined by the Marathas on the 26th of May. The grand army after remaining ten days before Shrirangpatanam retired, owing to want of provisions. Lord Cornwallis then reduced the Barahmahal. Meantime the Nizam's army took the lower fort of Gurramkondah and left Hafiz Farid-ud-din with a strong force to watch the upper fort, but he was defeated, taken prisoner, and murdered. The Nizam's army returned, reinforced that blockading party, and then rejoined Lord Cornwallis at Utradurg on the 25th of January 1792, and the united force reached Shrirangpatanam on the 5th of February 1792, and Tipu made peace and ceded half of his territory on the 23rd of that month. Guti, Karpa and the district between the Krishna and Taunhadra were assigned to the Nizam.

was first styled Muayyid Jang and then Muayyid-ud-daulah, collected a force and with the aid of Rajah Shitab Rai, agent of the intendant of customs, who had troops of the Nizam with him, took Karpa and Khammam and proposed to take the fort of Shidhant. On the 25th of Rabi-us-sani Shams-ud-daulah Bahadur died of consumption. Some writers have framed the following apt chronogram for the date of his death—*Fa yadkhulal jamnat*, "Then he enters Paradise." They buried his body on a hill opposite the camp, but in Shaban they removed it thence and reinterred it outside Haidarabad, near the court of Saiyid Hasan Birahnah, and by order of His Highness erected a tomb and a mosque, and established readers there who knew the Kuran by heart to repeat and read it. As the deceased by his loyalty and good service and attention and care of the troops had made a place for himself in the heart of his patron, His Highness after his death sent for his son from the city, and with special favour conferred on him in one day valuable jewels and all the titles and jagirs of his father, and appointed Amjad-ul-mulk and Imam-ul-mulk as his deputy, and confirmed Sardar-ul-mulk and Azam-ul-mulk in their appointments as in the time of the deceased. In the time that the troops were in quarters, at Pangal on Tuesday the 14th of Shaban 1205 A.H. = 19th April 1791, Ashja-ul-mulk Ghayur Jang Khan Khanan, son of Munir-ul-mulk Shir-jang (deceased), who was in attendance on the Nizam, died of palpitation of the heart, and His Highness, from special favour to the deceased, on the 23rd of Shaban, conferred on his eldest son the post of Diwan for the Emperor in all the provinces of the Dakan. His son's name was Haidar Yar Khan Shankat Jang. On the 26th of Ramazan in the same year that fortunate son of Munir-ud-daulah received the title of Munir-ul-mulk, both which titles belonged to his grandfather. And other matters relating to that high nobleman and the other sons of Ashja-ul-mulk have been before related.

Arrival of Lord Cornwallis from Calcutta to deal with the affairs of Tipu, that disturbance-maker, and the mission of Muzaffir-ul-mulk and Rajah Tejwant with the Nizam's army to assist the English, and the flight of Tipu's army, with some other matters.

When Tipu hastened to encounter General Medows and stopped the way so that that officer could not advance from Koimbatour by the Gagal Gati Pass, and though fighting went on between the two armies neither could gain a decisive victory, Lord Cornwallis, who was the originator of this serious struggle, on hearing this news came himself from the port of Calcutta to deal with the matter, and arriving at Madras sent for General Medows, who obeyed the summons with his whole force, followed by Tipu. Arkat, which was *en route*, was plundered by Tipu. When General Medows reached Madras (Chinapatan) the Governor-General held a council in which it was resolved to collect provisions for five or six months and attack Tipu, which was done, and Lord Cornwallis, having assembled a large force and munitions of war, marched on Seringapatam. Tipu at this time, not feeling himself strong enough to resist, retired, and Lord Cornwallis advanced without opposition to the fort of Bangalur and in a short time captured it, though it was the strongest of all the forts in the locality, and sent a congratulatory address to the Nizam. At the same time the news of the capture of Kopal was received, which was taken by Dara Jah. His Highness also received tidings of the taking of the fort of Sidhanth, which was captured by Muayyid-ud-daulah with the Nizam's troops and occupied. Rajah Tejwant and Asad Ali Khan Muzaffir-ul-mulk, with the greater part of the household troops, by order of His Highness, came close upon the heels of the English troops to join Lord Cornwallis, who came out to meet them, and after settling matters at Bangalur advanced to Seringapatam. When he got near the city he placed his guns in front, and moved slowly to the Lal Bagh (Red Garden), where the river Kaveri flowed. Tipu's forces opened fire with their artillery, which was replied to by the troops under Lord Cornwallis, till from the rapid firing of the Europeans the enemy lost their courage and fled, and the European cavalry followed them up to near the river. Next day and for fifteen days the English moved round Seringapatam to show where the batteries were to be placed. Meanwhile a scarcity of provisions,

took place too severe to be described. The Bed (Berah) horsemen, too, with their Cossack way of fighting, closed the doors of comfort against both armies, and the doors of despair as to the capture of Seringapatam were opened to all, when suddenly, by the action of the real Cause of all things, Who removes the difficulties of the weary and helpless, Hari Pandit arrived in the vicinity; on hearing this good news the Muhammadan army obtained new life, and going to Hari Pandit's camp they bought grain. Some time passed and the signs of dearth and scarcity again showed themselves, and many of the soldiers, losing their confidence, returned to their own country without the permission of their generals. Nay, some of the generals, as Muzaffir-ul-Mulk Salabat Khan, and many of the Jamadars and Dafadars, went off to Pangal. The Governor-General buried some of the heavy guns, as there were no bullocks to draw them, and retired from the spot, and despatched an account of the circumstances to the Nizam, who wrote compassionate letters implying his own intention to arrive, and sent the author of this book, a well-wisher of the State, to their aid and to arrange matters, and having collected grain from his own estate and from other places with the greatest diligence, sent it with some of his troops after the ten days of Muharram 1206 A.H. had passed. This year, from the deficiency of the rain, the calamity of famine occurred in most provinces, and thousands of men and cattle died of starvation. It is said that this famine began on the frontier of Kabul and the Panjab, and extended to Gujarat and the port of Surat, and reached Gujarat and the fort of Punah, and thence to the abode of plenty, Burhanpur, and thence to Shrikakol and Rajahnahendri and Machhli Bandar and Punah and Nagpur and Arkat, and thence to the province of Haidarabad and Bijapur and the territories of Tipu. Besides this, Mushir-ul-Mulk, by introducing the innovation of inoculation,^o at the suggestion of Kishnwant Kararah, brought a number of people to black earth.[†] However, on the 7th of Safar in that year Aazam-ul-umara marched to Seringapatam with Sikandar Jah,[‡] and after arriving at Karpā turned off by way of Kamarah Kaloh, which, compared with other hills, is level ground, and thus arrived near the fort of Gurramkandah. Then on the last day of Rabi-ul-avval Muayyid-ud-daulah and Rajah Jodh Singh and Ghulam Kadir Khan came out a stage to meet the Nizam's son. Next day the young prince encamped at the town of Madwer, which is three *kos* from the said fort, and the Zamindars of that locality came to make their obeisance, and were given pairs of shawls as a mark of favour; and Muayyid-ud-daulah, having given them strict injunctions with regard to the capture of the fort, dismissed them. Orders were issued to them to send back to Seringapatam in two or three days the cavalry that had come to Gurramkandah, on account of the dearth of grain. The army then advanced, posting the English who were in the service of His Highness in the van; and there, the district having lately been conquered by the English, severe orders were issued against plundering. On this advance, in consequence of the rain the troops were obliged to halt fifteen times a day. News now came that Lord Cornwallis and Rajah Tejwant and Hari Pandit Pharkia had marched from Bangalur and encamped near the fort of Makari, and had erected batteries and were prepared for battle, and that the younger son of Tipu, with 3,000 horse and 4,000 infantry, had ensconced himself in the hills and jungle on the further side of the fort, and that the Bidahs were daily carrying on their work when they got an opportunity. § Lord Cornwallis detached two regiments to punish those troublesome people, and gave two regiments to accompany Hari Pandit and two regiments to be with Rajah Tejwant. On the 22nd of Rabi-us-sani the news-writers gave information that the enemy's cavalry had carried off a quantity of grain and the effects of those that sold it. Mushir-ul-Mulk immediately sent Narhar Balaji with some foot and two Government messengers to see what the enemy were doing; and on the 23rd of that month he appointed Muzaffir-ul-mulk and Malik Isa, with

^o This word is not in the dictionaries.

[†] i.e., destroyed them, or it may mean brought them to mourning garments for the death of relatives.

[‡] In the text it is "with the world's spiritual guide's son Sikandar Jah," a cumbrous expression which does very well in Persian but will hardly bear translation.

§ Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 55, says, "Although thus near the capital, where they (the Marathas) knew their allies were encamped, they had not been able to convey any intimation of their approach to Lord Cornwallis, as every letter was intercepted by the admirable activity of Tipu's mounted Boruds." This must refer to the tribe here called Beds or Bidahs.

3,000 picked horsemen, to punish those insolent people. Meanwhile it became known that Tipu's son and Ali Riza Khan, with cavalry of the Bed tribe, had gone to Gurramkandah fort and had concealed themselves in ambush. On hearing this Mushir-ul-mulk ordered Muzaffir-ul-mulk and Malik Isa to turn from the direction in which they were marching and move on Gurramkandah to chastise those dangerous enemies; and he wrote to Muayyid-ud-daulah that the enemy were in ambush and that he must be vigilant and cautious. The Bed horsemen, however, made an attack on Govind Kishn, son of Kishn Rao Balal, who had remained behind and had alighted near the edge of a tank. Govind Kishn, with the aid of the troops of Musa Asmat, maintained his ground and defended himself well. Meantime Muzaffir-ul-Mulk and Malik Isa were approaching. The Bed cavalry faced about and made for Gurramkandah, and charged at speed Muayyid-ud-daulah, who from pride abandoned prudence and caution, and with a small band which was present mounted and said to Rajah Jodh that he must to horse immediately and beat off the enemy, and himself intoxicated with the fumes of haughtiness rushed out to encounter the enemy without putting on his armour, but just in the short vest he was wearing, and was immediately slain. They then went on towards the said fort, and *en route* killed or made prisoners the horsemen and infantry who were coming up to help Muayyid-ud-daulah, and reached Gurramkandah without opposition from any one, and carried off the wives and children of the soldiers and followers, and the treasure and camels and horses; and all the grain they got they sent up into the fort. And after a day's halt, and then taking out of the fort the mother of Kamr-ud-din Khan, and all his kinsfolk and relatives, they departed over the hills by a difficult road. On the 27th of that month Sikandar Jah again encamped outside the fort of Gurramkandah and appointed the troop of Mr. Kaptan (Captain Read),* who were serving the Nizam, to construct batteries, terrifying the garrison, so that they retired into the citadel, while the Nizam's troops got possession of the lower fortifications. Inasmuch as Muzaffir-ul-Mulk was commissioned to reduce this locality he was made responsible for the capture of the fort and of others there; and the young prince turned his course in the direction of Seringapatam, and on the 2nd of Jumad-ul-avval news came that Rangari Durg and Haveri Durg, which are between the fort of Makari and Seringapatam, were taken; and following on that came the good news of the capture of Makari, which is one of the famous forts of that country. However, the Nizam's son, by continuous marches, arrived at the village of Krishnapur, which is near Bangalur, when an officer† came out of the fort and entertained Sikandar Jah and his staff; after which, on the 23rd of that month, the prince inspected the fort, which, from having been plundered of stones by the builders there to construct houses, was hardly worthy inspection, but it was a curious sight to see where the English had fired their shot, where it would seem that the imagination itself could find no passage. On the 26th Rajah Tejwant and Shah Beg Khan and Mirza Anwar Beg, with 1,000 horsemen, passed before the prince and were taken into the service, and the Rajah received jewelled ornaments for the turban and the Jamadars got betel and betel-boxes; and the prince then moved from Bangalur towards Seringapatam, and the soldiers of Lord Cornwallis, of whom 200 were English, who were encamped there to protect those of the troops who passed and repassed and for the safety of the roads, fired a salute of cannon when the prince passed by. At the end of the month, Mushir-ul-Mulk and his son went out one *kos* to meet Hari Pandit, and after the meeting presented some pieces of cloth and a *jikah* and *sarpech* to father and son. Lord Cornwallis and General Medows and Mr. Cherry, with 2,000 cavalry, came out five *kos* to meet them, and in midway met the prince, where a special tent was pitched. On leaving, *itr* of roses and a betel-box were bestowed upon them, and the prince rode on thence and encamped near the English officers. In the evening Hari Pandit and Apa Balwant and the other chiefs of the Peshwa's army waited on the prince, and after sitting for four hours and receiving *itr* and betel had leave to depart all except

* This is doubtless the Captain Read mentioned by Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 60.

† The text says Mister Alang Sindhia, of which name I can give no explanation.

Hari Pandit and Govind Kishn, who sat for a full watch. On the 5th of Jumad-ul-akbir Lord Cornwallis and General Medows and Mr. Cherry, to meet whom Aazam-ul-umara had gone out, came to the saloon of the prince, who received them with an embrace ; the other English officers saluted after their own fashion. All three English generals sat, with the young prince, alone,^{*} and the prince gave a sword to Lord Cornwallis, and to the others *itr* and betel and dismissed them. The said generals, from their courteous wish to please this young prince, came to the tent of Mushir-ul-Mulk, which was close by, and there also received *itr* and took leave. Towards evening Aazam-ul-umara and the author of this book with some other high officers, mounted on elephants caparisoned with four cloths and went with torches to the tent of Hari Pandit, and sat with him a whole watch alone, and inspected the map of Seringapatam, and, after receiving *itr* and betel, returned. On the 6th of that month the young prince went to see the English forces, and the Maratha chiefs and all the Nizam's generals and a limited number of soldiers accompanied him. Lord Cornwallis, and other officers, with 500 English troopers came out to meet him and saluted after their fashion. The Lord Cornwallis and General Medows and Cherry, with 200 hat-wearers each of whom was a man of rank, went in front in a separate body, and Aazam-ul-umara and Hari Pandit and others were in the centre, and when four hours of the day were left, after the inspection of the English troops was finished, the prince went to Lord Cornwallis's tent. When the prince took leave His Lordship presented him with a watch, which was a specimen of the curious workmanship of Europe, and brought forward *itr* and betel, and accompanied him to the place of setting out. The prince then proceeded to his own residence and dismissed Hari Pandit and the other Marathas on the way. Next day a march of seven *kos* was made. The enemy's horse were seen in the distance, and then hid themselves, and on each march there were flank and rear guards, until on the 15th of the month the prince encamped in sight of Seringapatam, on the banks of the stream, with the Pearl tank on the right, towards the west, at the distance of a *kos*. The English army encamped in front of the Nizam's, and the troops of Hari Pandit on the right, without any interval, and remained on the watch. Each night the enemy attempted night attacks on all three armies, and on their being repulsed fled to their batteries, until one night the English, in a way not known to any one, charged the fugitives and overthrew the tents and pavilions of those wretches. Tipu then awoke from his careless slumber and had recourse to his artillery, but this did not dismay the English, who gradually advanced and took all the batteries and the Lal Bagh and the town of Ganjam, and on the 13th before sunrise the news of this important victory reached the prince. In the interval the enemy sallied out of Seringapatam against the Sultan battery, which overlooked all the others, and made seven assaults on it, but as all efforts to take it were ineffectual he retired into the city. From that day to the 1st of Rajab fighting went on daily, and on the 14th the Nizam's troops moved from their encampment, and took up a position near the batteries. Just then news came that General Abercromby, with 8,000 natives and 4,000 hat-wearing English troopers, and other soldiers, and some guns, had arrived from Bombay to reinforce Lord Cornwallis, and were near Seringapatam. Consequently Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, son of Ramnast Khan, with a cavalry force of 1,500 men, and Anka Jang (Mighty Bird of War) with two English battalions in the service of the Nizam from the prince's camp, and 1,000 horsemen from Hari Pandit's camp, and four English battalions from Lord Cornwallis's camp, set out to meet and bring in the reinforcements. Next day when they had arrived within four *kos* the Maratha troops remained a little behind, as they were busy eating and drinking, and were charged by Haidar, son of Tipu, with 8,000 horsemen. The Marathas feeling themselves unable to resist took to flight, and sought shelter with the soldiers of Lord Cornwallis, who repelled the attack and advanced, driving back the enemy until a junction was effected with General Abercromby's baggage, but were charged by the Nizam's troops, who killed many of them and took their

^{*} I give this rendering with doubt.

horses. In short General Abercromby moved on with Ibrahim Khan in the rear and the Marathas in front, and his flanks guarded by his own troops, to within two or three *kos* of the Nizam's main army, and halted at the side of the tank. Next morning Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and his troops moved thence to their own camp, and Lord Cornwallis went out to meet General Abercromby and conducted him in, and he pitched his camp near the Idgah, about one and a half *kos* to the right of the Nizam's. That same night Lord Cornwallis crossed the Kaveri river to the south of Ganjam, and began to erect batteries on the little hills that were there. At midnight his troops made an attack on the enemy, who were assembled under the walls of the fort, and dislodged them. Next morning Lord Cornwallis's troops used up all the trees of the Lal Bagh to construct the batteries. In spite of all these events the obstinate Tipu did not offer satisfactory terms of peace, and his overtures were rejected. There being no alternative, on the 20th of the said month, at night, Ghulam Ali Khan and Riza Ali Khan were sent by him as envoys, and encamped near the Idgah. Next day,* about 10 A.M., the author and Dilawar Jang and Bajai Pandit convinced Tipu's envoys by unanswerable arguments, which led them to the right course. They confessed their mistake and promised to persuade Tipu by sound reasoning to seek for peace. They then left their tents and went to Tipu, and by a sensible preliminary discourse induced him to listen to them. They then told him that the leaders of the three armies demanded that he should pay three millions of rupees and give up half his territory, and his two sons as hostages, until the money was paid and the territory made over. Tipu assented to these terms, and after accepting them indulged in the delays which perfidious persons employ. General Abercromby,† on the 26th of the said month, in the early morning, hastened with his division and attacked a division of the enemy encamped near Sultan Peth, and a sharp fight ensued. On the same day Lord Cornwallis crossed the Kaveri on the west, at the distance of two *kos* behind Seringapatam, and coming on the enemy attacked them fiercely. On the 28th, about midday, Tipu attacked the entrenchments of the general,‡ whose troops purposely retired about the distance of the flight of a rocket, until the general came up with a body of troopers and other forces, when a battle ensued which lasted three hours, but the English retained their entrenchments. Next day, about 9 A.M., the general's troops passed their entrenchments, and fell with great fury on Tipu's army under the fire of the guns of the fort. At last the general advanced his entrenchments up the banks of the river Kaveri, which is near the fort. Then Tipu's Vakils brought letters sealed by Tipu according to the previous agreement, and gave them into the hands of the author of this book.§ Lord Cornwallis then, in order to terrify the enemy, fired fifteen guns from the battery near the Idgah, raised against the fort that Tipu had nearly built, and on the 1st of Rajab, about 3 P.M., the tent of the sons of Tipu was pitched near that of the Vakils, and the tent of the author was pitched at the distance of a rocket's flight outside the thorn hedge. On the 3rd of that month the two sons of Tipu, one about ten years old, whose name was Abdul Khalik, and the other seven years old, named Muiz-ud-din, with two elephant carriages of silver, and two plain ones for Ghulam Ali Khan and Riza Ali Khan, issued from the eastern gate of the fort of Seringapatam with a few servants. Lord Cornwallis and Dilawar Jang went about a mile to meet them, and met them at a tent which was pitched midway, whence they rode together to the tent of Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis took the hands of the two boys, brought them into his tent and seated them on chairs, and after speaking some encouraging words gave them *idr* and betel, and

* P. 519, line 10, of the *Hadikah-i-Alam*. Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 66, says, "The Vakils were met by three agents appointed by the allies respectively, Sir John Kennaway on the part of Lord Cornwallis, and Bachaji Raghunath on that of Hari Pant, and Mir Abdul Kasim, so distinguished by his title of Mir Alam, in behalf of Sikandar Jah." This seems to completely refute the assertion of Grant Duff in another place that the *Hadikah-i-Alam* was written by Muhammad Abu Turab. It is further to be observed that Mir Alam's name was Abul Kasim (i. e., father of Kasim), not Abdul Kasim, "slave of Kasim," which is a name that has no existence.

† In the text it is Mr. General Abarkram.

‡ No name is given in the text, which has only Mister General.

§ This clearly proves that the author was no other than Mir Alam himself.

permitted them to alight at their tents, which were parallel with the Idgah behind the army of Lord Cornwallis. From that day the fire of war was quenched. Lord Cornwallis afterwards paid them a return visit at their tent. The children then presented Lord Cornwallis with a dress of honour consisting of five pieces of gold brocade* and a jewelled *sarpech* and *jikah*, and to Dilawar Jang they gave a sword, and His Lordship gave Abdul Khalik a valuable gun, and to Muiz-ud-din he gave a pair of pistols, and after receiving *itr* and betel returned to his tent. General Medows, who was dissatisfied with the peace, on hearing this news was filled with anger and wounded himself with a pistol. Lord Cornwallis gave his division to Mister Jarnal and placed guards round his tent, and sent surgeons to heal his wound. Parsuram Bhao, too, was displeased with the peace and wished to break it off in any way he could, but as through the intervention of this loyal subject of the Nizam it was as firmly settled as the walls of Sikandar no one's efforts could shake it. On the 5th of the said month Tipu's sons were made happy by being admitted to an interview with Sikandar Jah, and Saif-ul-mulk went to meet them with 1,000 horsemen and some persons of distinction, and received from them a robe of brocade of five pieces and a jewelled *jikah* and an elephant. The Nizam's son, at the time they were permitted to depart, bestowed on them a jewelled *sarpech* and *jikah*, and fastened them on with his own royal hand. When the dispute had been settled the prince with his victorious army, and Hari Pandit with the Marathas, and the English generals with their forces set out on their return, and the sons of Tipu went as hostages with the English to Madras. The English, in accordance with that saying of the wise, "Courtesy wins people," took the way of kind treatment and showed the children politeness and respect, and the Nuwab Asif Jah II., who had brought to a happy conclusion this vastly important expedition by the aid of felicitous daring and strength of arm in alliance with the English, turned his steps from Pangal to Haidarabad, and the disease of the guinea-worm, which had attacked his feet while residing at Pangal, owing to the insalubrity of the climate, after his return to that delightful city was very soon cured by the use of camels' milk. After some months, in accordance with the saying "God does what He wishes," Ghulam Saiyid Khan, who from extreme intimacy with the Nizam had got the management of state affairs, on account of certain matters became hostile to the people of Punah, and by repeated representations induced His Highness to be disposed to chastise them, and then set to work to prepare for war. Thus in 1208 A.H. the Nizam moved to Muhammadabad with this object in view, and there abode a long time collecting troops and preparing munitions of war. On the 11th of Jumad-ul-akhir 1209 A.H.=4th of January 1795 His Highness moved from Bidar in the direction of Punah, and on the 15th of the said month the figures of a body of the enemy were visible and the dust caused by their movements rose on all sides.† On the 10th of Shaban in the same year His Highness ordered the chiefs who led the army to turn at

* *Badlah*, a Hindustani word which should not be used in Persian.

† "This was the last time the chiefs of the Maratha nation assembled under the authority of their Peshwa." (Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 111.) Daulat Rao Sindhia brought 25,000 men, of whom 10,000 were regular infantry under M. Perron, second in command of De Boigne. Raghujii Bhonslah mustered 15,000 horse and foot. Tukaji Holkar had 10,000, of whom 2,000 were regulars under Dudrenec. Parshuram Bhao had 7,000, and there were the forces of Patwardhan and Rastia, the jagirdars of Malegaon and Vinchur, the Prithi Nidhi, the Pant Sachew, and all the flower of the Maratha nation, making 130,000 horse and foot besides 10,000 Pindaris and 150 guns. The Nizam had 111,000 men, of whom twenty-three battalions were commanded by Raymond. The battle of Kurdla, as Grant Duff calls it, took place on the 12th of March 1795, and both sides fought gallantly. Lal Khan, a Biluchi, charged Parshuram Bhao, and after cutting down several men with his own hand unhorsed and wounded the Bhao, but was immediately killed by the Bhao's eldest son; but Asif Khan, son of the Nuwab of Karnul, and Salabat Khan, son of the Nuwab of Ellichpur, maintained the fight, and at last routed the vanguard of the Marathas. But the Nizam's cavalry were dispersed by the fire of Perron's thirty-five guns, and in an unfortunate moment the Nizam recalled Raymond just when he was retrieving the battle. Confusion then took place, and the Nizam took shelter in the fort of Kharala (not Kurdla), as Grant Duff writes it, and was there surrounded, and obliged to make a disastrous peace. He had to surrender his Minister Mushir-ul-Mulk, and the territory from Paraindah in the south to the Tapti on the north including Daulatabad. The Nizam also promised to pay three millions of rupees, and ceded territory to Raghujii Bhonslah of three lakhs and 18,000 rupees, and paid him twenty-nine lakhs of arrears. It will be seen that Grant Duff and the *Hadikah* differ as to the date of the battle to the extent of nine days.

night by the hill of Koh Mahri and occupy the ground where the streams of the lower Ghat flow, and take care that the enemy should not get between those streams and his army and prevent his army's advance. The generals obeyed this command, and marching at night took up a position on that side of the hill, on the edge of the streams that go to the Plain Ghat, which caused great alarm to the enemy, as the intention of those wretches was to stop that pass and not allow the Muhammadabad army to move through it. On the 29th of Shaban=21st of March 1795 the two armies were opposite to each other and fighting began, and several gallant officers charged the enemy and shook the ranks of the infidels, and a furious battle ensued in which many on both sides were wounded and killed. For example, Parshuram Bhao, who was a distinguished leader of the enemy, was wounded by the keen swords of the champions of the Faith, and Wazir Khan, who was a foremost Jamadar in the Muslim army, was killed by a rocket. In short, the battle was fierce and the victory nearly inclined to the Nizam's army, when the enemy received a strong reinforcement with guns and charged on all sides. The Muhammadans fought valiantly, but their supports coming up slowly and the artillery turning away from the fight the army gave way. When the sun set and darkness came on the fighting subsided, and the Nizam retired to the fort of Kahrah, and the generals sought to defend themselves as well as they could from the enemy. The baggage and camp followers took shelter under the walls of the fort. Govind Kishn, the Wakil of the Peshwa, thought that peace would be advantageous to both States and for the ease of their people, and began some preliminary negotiations which might have detached His Highness's will from the control of Ghulam Saiyid Khan, and from that day to the crisis his representations were accepted. On this the Wakil went to the Peshwa's camp, and having prepared the basis of an arrangement returned to the Nizam, and on the 8th of Ramazan represented to him the terms of a treaty. On the 9th the conditions were put in writing, and on the 12th the Nizam set out on his return from Kahrah. The author of this book, who for certain matters had gone by His Highness's order to Punah, where he used endeavours which obtained the thanks of his Government, returned on the 14th of the said month,* and was the recipient of rewards from the Nizam. On that day the Rajah Shamraj and Raghotam Rao were honoured by kissing the threshold of the court. On the 15th of that month His Highness commanded the general to reduce the numbers of the new levies, and he then moved on his way back, and on the 17th of Shawwal, on a Thursday, and in a fortunate moment, entered Haidarabad. On the 30th of Zil Kadah, on Monday, Govind Kishn, who had got leave a second time to depart from Karah and had gone to Punah with the treaty, returned thence to Haidarabad, and was honoured with an interview. The same year, and not long after the Nizam's return, juggling fortune brought on another event. Rajah Shamraj, who conducted affairs in the absence of Ghulam Saiyid Khan, by the advice of Raghotam Rao, and to save money for the State, induced His Highness to consent to a reduction of the army, and conveyed to the author of this book, who at that time was laying the foundation of friendship with the English, and trying to engage a body of them in the service of His Highness, a message from the Nizam to reduce the forces. This well-wisher of the State regarded such a measure as contrary to its welfare, and represented to His Highness with what hard efforts and prudent steps the alliance and friendship of the English had been obtained, so that through the good fortune of His Highness a body of those gallant men had become his servants, and this had strengthened the foundation of his government, which would daily become more stable, and was the means of giving it dignity and inspiring awe into the hearts of its enemies. "Heaven forbid," I added, "that this new measure should dispel such feelings, and so give rise to some disaster which it would be difficult to remedy." In short, as fortune was adverse, a number of those brave men who

* Fraser says: "Mir Alam returned from his mission to the Peshwa about the 5th April 1795." This exactly coincides with the date in the *Iadikah* (see Wüstenfeld's *Tables*), and positively proves that Mir Alam wrote this book.

were in the service of the beneficent Government were dismissed, and left the capital and arrived at the hill of Warapali. At this time a calamity took place through seditious and diabolical persons, who had imagined that their own rise would take place through the ruin of Ghulam Saiyid Khan; but as they did not see a sign of their success in the mirror of the future, after his fall and removal from court, like bats becoming enemies of the sun of prosperity, they desired that the daylight of the government of the sun of the world, the prince, whose compassion extends to all men, should decay, in order that, by exchanging that light for a darkness which would envelop the world, they might, according to their wish, climb the steps of the ladder. What plots and tricks they practised in this matter! At last, thinking they had a good opportunity in the gallant English being removed from the capital, they secretly intrigued with the Nizam's eldest son, Alijah, and having made a covenant to support and obey him they brought him to entertain vain ideas. In short, one night that prince, by the guidance of those who were treading the path of error, left his residence and departed from Haidarabad, and with the support of Sadasew Redi, a Zamindar, and other rebels and traitors, he set out for Muhammadabad Bidar and got possession of the fort. The said Zamindar attacked Abdullah Khan Habshi, who had with him a body of infantry, and had taken leave of His Highness, and had gone in pursuit of the prince, and came upon him unexpectedly while *en route* and dispersed his force. Abdullah Khan himself was wounded and was taken prisoner with his family. When the news-writers sent the intelligence of this, and that indigent persons who were without employment were assembling around the prince, the Nizam at first acted with clemency and sent Khush Rakam Khan with a gracious letter full of kind expressions to deter the prince from his course. This letter was presented by Mihr Bakhshi Bigam, who endeavoured to make him see his error and return to a right conduct. But as this was unavailing, and the prince, owing to the arguments of seditious advisers, would not return to salutary courses, the Nizam in the next place adopted severe measures, and determined to have recourse to that chastisement which is necessary for government, and sent M. Raymond the Frank with his division, and other generals with the victorious army, to bring back that refractory person from his obstinate course, which was to him fatal poison, and to punish the other traitors. When the army drew near to Bidar the rebels, led by destruction, attempted to resist, but after a struggle took to flight and carried the prince to Aurangabad, and committed oppression there in order to raise money to levy troops. The Nizam's army followed hard upon them and gave them no time to prepare for their defence. The prince sent to Puna for aid, but the Ministers of the Marathas, out of regard to the Nizam, would not listen to them. As soon as all hope of assistance from that quarter was gone, the well-wisher* of the State again conciliated that body of the brave English that, contrary to his ideas of what was right, had been dismissed by His Highness, and had reached the hill of Warapali, and with them set out for Aurangabad to punish the prince. The prince's troops through dread of the approach of this force began to disperse, and he had to eat the bitter fruit of disappointment from the tree of his own actions, and awoke from the deep slumber of his imagination, and penitent, and *nolens volens*, accompanied the army in hopes of pardon to kiss the threshold of the court, and according to the saying of Sadi of Shiraz, on whom be mercy!—"Whoever sowed the seed of evil and looked for good indulged in an idle fancy and formed a vain expectation." On the journey and before arriving at the capital the prince responded to the call of his Maker and passed away from this world of the three senses. That same year Madhu Rao Sawai, the ruler of Puna, whom the Nizam from the moment of his birth had favoured by repelling his enemies, and had placed on the throne of power, and who after arriving at years of discretion and being seated firmly in the government entered on a hostile course, which has already been recorded, through the displeasure of the Almighty fell from the terrace of his palace, and the cold wind of death bore him

* "On the morning of the 24th Major Roberts started for Bidar, accompanied by Mir Alam, by whose advice and instructions, at the Nizam's especial request, he was to be guided."—*Our Faithful Ally*, p. 177.

from this world. Whoever falls out with the great falls down.* As soon as his fortunes were assured Baji Rao, the eldest son of Raghunath Rao, succeeded to the office of Peshwa, and what he felt after the death of Madhu Rao, as regards hostilities and charges among the Maratha chiefs, cannot be detailed in this book. To sum up, the fall of Madhu Rao was in truth the fall of the people of Panah, for from that day the star of their power descended on Baji Rao, and by the aid of the English he became Peshwa. Ghulam Saiyid Khan, who was at Panah during the internal dissensions of the Marathas, seized the opportunity and made friends with some of the chiefs, and with Baji Rao's consent got away and reached the Nizam's Court and acquired more than his former influence, and for the safety and continuance of the State and the increase of his own favour with the Nizam he formed a close friendship with the English, and by setting forth that the English are renowned throughout the world for observing treaties and keeping to their covenants, and for truth of speech and righteousness of act, he influenced the heart of his master the Nizam, and brought about a firm alliance between the States. As fate assisted his counsels all his measures succeeded according to his wish. In short, with the concurrence of the English and with mutual aid, Tipu, the son of Haidar, ruler of Seringapatam, who from foolish pride sounded the drum of dominion, and imitated Pharaoh, and set up the standard of hostility to the English, was chastised and killed, according to the saying, "Two hearts united will break a mountain." Thus the mountain of his pride was broken, and his treasures dispersed, and his children went into captivity to the English. The detail of this history would be long, but its essence is briefly this: Tipu through his headstrong will injured his silver arm in a struggle with arms of steel. The *Hadikah-i-Alam* was finished on the 12th of Shaban 1258 A.H., and the copy from which this translation has been made was written by Muhammad Vazir by direction of Mir Muhammad Husain Khan Musavi.

So far this history has for the most part followed the Persian MS. above referred to. With the alliance with the English the independent action of the Nizam to a great extent ceased, and it will be sufficient to register very briefly the principal events that followed in the period subsequently to that alliance.

CONCLUSION.

The point at which the *Hadikah-i-Alam* stops seems a proper place to say something of its author, Mir Alam. The Duke of Wellington in his despatches makes some sharp remarks regarding him; but military men, who are all for instant action, are often unfair judges of civilians, who generally act with more deliberation, having no *gros bataillons* to fight them out of a difficulty if they should get into one. Besides, Mir Alam naturally looked at the war with Tipu from a very different stand-point than that taken by the English General, and he was, moreover, obliged to observe the temper and obey the wishes of his master, Nizam Ali, and his master's favourite, Azim-ul-umara. It will be fair, therefore, to form an opinion of Mir Alam rather from Lord Cornwallis than what Arthur Wellesley says of him. Lord Cornwallis, then, writes to the Nizam of Mir Alam as follows: "Having had the pleasure of a former acquaintance with Mir Alam, and at that time having been fully convinced of his abilities and good qualities, of his zeal for your Highness's welfare, and his earnest desire to strengthen and increase the intimacy between the Company and your Highness's government, I was made very happy by the choice of Mir Alam, as a person of confidence and authority, to join me and to preside on your part at any congress of deputies that might assemble in order to examine and discuss the claims and pretensions of all parties concerned, and to consult on terms for an honourable and advantageous peace; and since his arrival his conduct has proved the wisdom of your Highness's selection of him, and by confirming the sentiments I had before imbibed of his warm zeal for the prosperity of your Highness's government, and of his earnest desire to cement the friendship between us, and to promote the success of the present alliance, has afforded me inexpressible satisfaction." In another

* The play on the words is better seen in Persian than in English.

place he says : " Mir Alam, bating ignorance of military affairs even as the natives understand them, and of sickly habits, is otherwise equal to important considerations, and considering his qualifications altogether, and the sincere attachment I believe he entertains for our government, were I called on to give my opinion of the proper person amongst the chiefs of the darbar I am not certain I could fix on a better man."

Mir Alam treats of many matters which are not mentioned by English historians, but he omits some which should be inserted to understand the history of the period. One such matter is the dispute which took place between Tipu and the Nizam as to the succession to the Nuwabship of Karnul, and the payment of the *peshkash* or tribute from that province, which at the period referred to had an area of 8,000 square miles and a population including a quarter of a million. The ruling family were Afghans, and as insubordinate as people of that race generally are. The treacherous murder of Nasir Jang by a Nuwab of Karnul has already been recorded, and though the Nuwabs were distinctly feudatories of the Nizams they yielded no obedience except under pressure. Haidar Ali overran and conquered their territory, which paid tribute to him for the rest of his life, and subsequently to Tipu, who claimed it, therefore, on a prescriptive right of more than twenty years, but he would have made it over to the Nizam in 1792, when forced to make terms by Lord Cornwallis. The Nizam wished to get it as an hereditary claim, and by grasping at too much lost the *peshkash*. A long correspondence ensued, in which Lord Cornwallis urged the Nizam to withdraw his claim to appoint a successor to the Nuwab Ranmast Khan, who died in 1792, and also to give up the *peshkash* to Tipu. The Nizam, however, persevered in appointing Ranmast's successor, and after, in the first instance, nominating the eldest son, Azim Khan, finally appointed his younger brother Alif Khan, who loyally followed his suzerain into the fatal field of Kahrach.

From the period of the alliance of the Nizam, the Marathas, and the English against Tipu the English continued to exert more or less influence at Haidarabad. On the 1st of April 1795 the English detachment, which since the breaking out of the war with Tipu had been serving with the Nizam's army, was withdrawn at His Highness's request, who was at that time desirous of increasing his force under M. Raymond and other French officers, which already numbered 15,000 men. This was objected to by the Resident, Captain Kirkpatrick, and formed the subject of a remonstrance from Sir John Shore. Not long after this occurred the rebellion of the Nizam's eldest son, Ali Jah; and the Nizam, endangered by this revolt and unmercifully pressed by Govind Kishn, the Maratha Vakil, to pay by anticipation a large sum due according to the treaty of Kahrach, applied for the recall of the two English battalions under Major Roberts to Haidarabad. They arrived at Haidarabad on the 31st of August. The rebellion of Ali Jah ended with his death on the 22nd of November 1795, he having, it is said, swallowed powdered diamonds. Major Roberts's troops were next employed at Raichur in coercing Zamindars on the 14th of February 1796, and after capturing the outposts and the native town of Raichur they, under Captain Dalrymple, on the 8th of April stormed the fort, which is built on a hill, and must at that time have been a strong place. Meanwhile M. Raymond and the French were gradually acquiring increasing influence. DeBoigne was at the head of a powerful force in Sindhia's army, and Tipu was entertaining French officers, while Raymond took possession of Madah and the territory lately controlled by Sadasew Redi, and the heir to the Nizam's throne, Sikandar Jah, placed implicit confidence in the French commander. But on the 25th of March 1798 Raymond died, and was buried in a remarkable mausoleum in the Nizam's deer-park, which still remains in good repair. Perron, who succeeded him, showed much less ability, and the arrival of the Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Mornington, on the 17th of May 1798, was the signal for the downfall of the French influence and of their chief supporter and patron, Tipu Sultan. That despot had sent two ambassadors to the Isle of France, and had levied there 100 officers and 50 privates, who landed at Mangalur and were at once received into Tipu's service. Lord Mornington regarded this as a direct act of hostility against the

British power in India, and he forthwith called on the Peshwa's government and on that of the Nizam to join him in an expedition against the usurper of Maisur, in accordance with the 13th article of the Treaty of Punah. To this they agreed, notwithstanding the efforts which had been made by Tipu to detach them, and especially the Nizam, from their alliance with the English. On the 1st of September 1798 a new treaty was made by the Governor-General with the Nizam, by which the English Subsidiary Force was made permanent, and increased to six battalions of infantry, with a corresponding force of artillery, at an annual charge of Rs. 24,17,100. A not less important part of this treaty was that the French force should be disbanded, and the officers given in charge to the English to convey them to Europe as prisoners of war. On the 9th of October 1798 the English Subsidiary Force was joined by four battalions, and after a few days these troops, under Colonel Roberts and Colonel Hyndman, took up a position in front and rear of the French cantonment. The French then, though 15,000 strong, surrendered and allowed the English troops to take possession of their arms and guns, and thus, without a shot being fired, that formidable force of 15,000 men was disbanded. Operations were then commenced against Tipu. The British Contingent of 6,500 men with an equal number of the Nizam's men and many irregulars joined General Harris at Velur, and took an active part in the siege and capture of Shrirangpatanam.

A new subsidiary treaty was then made with the Nizam, on the 12th of October 1802, by which two battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry were permanently added to the English Subsidiary Force paid by the Nizam, and the British Government guaranteed the Nizam against the unprovoked attacks of any foreign power. For the payment of this force, which subsequently became a part of the Madras army, the Nizam ceded all the territories which he had acquired by the treaty of Shrirangpatanam in 1792, and that of Maisur in 1799. In case of war all this force except two battalions left to guard the Nizam's person was to be employed against the enemy, together with 6,000 foot and 9,000 horse of the Nizam's own troops. This latter force was called the Contingent, as it was to be employed under English orders only in the contingency of war. At the same time the confines of the Haidarabad State and of the Company's territories were rectified by the Nizam ceding Adoni and other districts to the south of the Tungabhadra river, which thus became the boundary between the two countries. In 1802 a commercial treaty was made with the Nizam, by which the produce of his country was admitted into British territory and *vice versa* on the payment of 5 per cent. duty. In August 1803 Nizam Ali died at Haidarabad, and his then eldest son, Sikandar Jah, succeeded him.

Aazim-ul-umara, who had been in confinement at Punah ever since the battle of Kahrah, obtained much influence with the Marathas during his captivity, and it is a proof of his extraordinary abilities as a negotiator that before his return and reappointment as Minister, which took place in July 1797, he had obtained the restoration of the territory ceded by the Nizam after the battle of Kahrah, the abandonment of the claim for *chauth* on Bidar, the re-cession of the fort of Daulatabad, and the extinction of all pecuniary claims on the part of the Marathas on the payment of two krors of the three which had been agreed on. Aazim-ul-umara did not long survive the master he had served so well, but died in May 1804, and the Nizam then, at the urgent request of the British Resident, appointed Mir Alam to succeed him, but in 1805 desired to replace that able statesman by Rajah Mahipat Ram, who endeavoured to undermine the alliance with the British and to destroy Mir Alam. The British Subsidiary Force, however, expelled the intruder and chased him out of the Nizam's dominions. He then took refuge with Holkar, and was there murdered. Mir Alam died in 1808, and the Governor-General was desirous that Shams-ul-umara, a brother of Sikandar Jah, whose son married a sister of Afzal-ud-daulah, should succeed. The Nizam, however, appointed Munir-ul-mulk, the son of Mir Alam, to be Diwan, and Chandu Lal to be Peshkar. In 1822 Sir C. Metcalfe, then Resident at Haidarabad, concluded a treaty with the Nizam which released him from the obligation of paying *chauth*, to the right of levying which the English may be said to have succeeded

by their overthrow of the Peshwa. Munir-ul-mulk died, and was succeeded in the office of Diwan by Chandu Lal, under whom the finances of the State fell into the greatest disorder. Sir C. Metcalfe was then Resident, and induced Sikandar Jah to allow European officers to superintend the different districts and to make a settlement of the land revenue. This system was carried out for eight years and brought the country into a comparatively flourishing condition. But the Nizam himself was burthened with debt, in great part owing to the lavish expenditure of Chandu Lal, and to the habit of borrowing large sums from the house of Palmer and Co., at a high rate of interest, which amounted at times to 16 per cent. Thus in 1823 His Highness owed seventy-eight lakhs to that house, and twenty lakhs to the Company's Government. As the only means of escaping from these difficulties he allowed the British Government to redeem the annual tribute of seven lakhs they paid to him for the N. Sarkars for the sum of Rs. 1,16,66,666.

Sikandar Jah died in May 1829, at Haidarabad, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Nasir-ud-daulah, with whom the Governor-General commenced to correspond on terms of equality. Up to that period the Nizam spoke of himself as *Ma ba Daulat*, "our royal self," using the same expression as the Afghan kings used, while the Governor-General spoke as *Niyazmand*, "the well-wisher." Nasir-ud-daulah put an end to the system of European superintendence of the districts, and with its cessation troubles began anew.

In September 1838 Colonel Fraser succeeded Colonel Stewart as Resident, and in 1839 a Wahabi conspiracy was discovered, which extended over many parts of India, and had for its object the overthrow of the British power. A Court of Inquiry was assembled in June 1839, and sat till April 1840, when it pronounced its opinion that Mubariz-ud-daulah, brother of the late Nizam Sikandar Jah, and others, were organizing the Wahabis or fanatical Muslims throughout India against the British and the Nizam's Government. Mubariz-ud-daulah was imprisoned in the fort of Golkondah, where he died in 1854. On the 6th of September 1843 Chandu Lal resigned the post of Diwan or Minister, and after some abortive changes Siraj-ul-Mulk, the grandson of Mir Alam, was appointed to succeed him. The new Minister was not a favourite with the Nizam, and he was surrounded with dangers, which but for the support of the Resident, General (late Colonel) Fraser, would perhaps have overwhelmed him. General Fraser suppressed a mutiny of the Nizam's troops, by which the life of the Minister was threatened, but he was unable to overcome the discontent of the Nizam, who removed Siraj-ul-Mulk, and appointed first Amjad-ul-mulk and then Shams-ul-umara, his near relative, to the office. But after an administration of only five months Shams-ul-umara resigned, declaring that it was impossible to control the extravagance of the inmates of the palace. This was in May 1849, and after a stormy interval of two years Siraj-ul-Mulk was reinstated as Minister in June 1851. He succeeded also to a renewal of his former dangers, and in March 1852 was wounded by a shot in the cheek. It was now resolved to extricate the Nizam from his difficulties by a new treaty, by which districts bringing in fifty lakhs a year were assigned to British management for the payment of a force to be called the Haidarabad Contingent, and to consist of 5,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and four field batteries. Other claims for the families of Apa Deshaji, Mahipat Ram, and certain other Marathas were also to be paid from the revenue of these assigned districts, and any surplus was to be made over to His Highness. The districts thus made over were the Birar Pain Ghat and the border districts thence to Sholapur and the Raichur Doab. This treaty was concluded on the 21st of May 1853, and signed and sealed by the Nizam on the 18th of June following. On the 27th of May Siraj-ul-mulk died, and the Nizam appointed his nephew, Salar Jang, then about the age of Pitt when he became Prime Minister of England, to succeed him. Like his uncle, he had to contend with the violence of the Arab troops and other mercenaries, who were then very numerous in the Nizam's dominions. On the 22nd of September 1853 these men at Dewalgaon fired on the British troops, and in August 1853 a very serious *émeute* took place in Haidarabad under an Arab Jamadar named Bilaswad, which the Minister, however, succeeded in quelling with the aid of the Arab chiefs themselves, and Bilaswad and

another ringleader were banished. In March 1856 the Minister inaugurated an exhibition of the products and fabrics of the Nizam's dominions in the suburb of Haidarabad called Chadar Ghat. On the 30th of December 1856 the Resident, Mr. Bushby, died at Bolaram, near Haidarabad, and Major Davidson was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Bushby had succeeded Colonel Low in August 1853, who had succeeded General Fraser in November 1852. In May 1857 the Nizam Nasir-ud-daulah died, and his eldest son, Afzal-ud-daulah, mounted the throne. Like his father he was of gigantic frame, six feet three inches in height, and tall and stout in proportion, not unfit to wear the armour of a more remote ancestor, which is still shown at Haidarabad, and is said to have belonged to a champion six feet six inches high and of corresponding bulk and strength.

Afzal-ud-daulah ascended the throne at a critical epoch. The Great Mutiny of Mirat and Dihli had just begun. Haidarabad was full of Arabs and other fanatical Muslims, armed to the teeth. It is not too much to say that had he countenanced the proceedings of the seditious a terrific impulse would have been given to the rebellion. In the end no doubt England would have triumphed, but her then sorely pressed soldiers would have had to wade through new seas of blood to victory. But the Nizam was a faithful ally, and his Minister was cool, sagacious and resolved. On the 13th of June, 1857, placards were fixed on the walls of a mosque in Haidarabad fixing a day for a general outbreak. A Fakir harangued the populace, assuring them of assistance from the Sipahis of the Contingent if they would rise. The green flag, the flag of Islam, was raised amid an excited crowd at the famous Makkah-mosque, so called from its resemblance to that mosque in the Holy City which is the centre of devotion to the followers of the Prophet. But the Fakir was arrested by an Arab Jamadar, and other Arabs sent by the Minister dispersed the crowd, and some mutineers who entered the city were immediately arrested by order of Salar Jang. In spite of these preventive measures a plot was laid to attack the British Residency, and on the 17th of July a body of Rohillas and others led by Jamadar Torabaz Khan and the Maulavi Ala-ud-din attacked the Residency, which was surrounded by a high brick wall but was totally devoid of fortification. This attack was gallantly repulsed by the troops under Major Briggs. The Jamadar was shot dead, and the Maulavi was made prisoner and subsequently transported to the Andamans. The Residency was then made as defensible as time and insufficient means would allow, and at the close of 1857 the force at Sikandarabad was increased by a regiment of dragoons, one of European infantry, and some European artillery. But in truth there was little reason for apprehension as long as the Nizam remained faithful, and that he was so is proved by the evidence of the Resident, Colonel Davidson, who replied to some slanders cast against His Highness by officially stating that he had caused the Nizam to be narrowly watched from quarters and in ways he little suspected, and although emissaries (from the rebels) had come to him, he had, after listening to their stories, refused complicity in any movement against the British Government.

Meantime the Haidarabad Contingent assembled at Adlabad, and after the rains of 1857 marched to join the British force operating in Central India. They first reduced the Zamindars of Piplah and Raghugarh, and then joined the 1st Central India Brigade at Dhar. Before their arrival the rebel garrison of that fort escaped and joined the Mahidpur contingent, who had murdered their European officers. The excited body of rebels at Mahidpur was overtaken by the Haidarabad Contingent at Rawal. The Contingent, who at Mahidpur had rescued Mrs. Timmins, wife of the officer commanding the Mahidpur contingent, came upon the insurgents well posted at Rāwal, about 4 p.m., and immediately charged them. The assailants numbered only 350 sabres, but they routed the rebels, killed 175 of them and captured eight guns and a quantity of stores. On this occasion Colonel Hastings Fraser, author of *Our Faithful Ally*, was attacked by three men at once, a trooper, a grenadier, and an artilleryman, and, it is said, killed them all three, severing the body of one of them in half with a single blow. So satisfied was Colonel Durand with the exploits of this gallant body of cavalry that he authorized the payment of 5 rupees a month extra to each

trooper while in the field. The Contingent marched on the 26th of December to join Sir Hugh Rose, and met him two marches beyond Sagar. They aided in forcing the Madanpur Pass and then captured the fort of Talbait, thirty miles south of Jhansi. They took part in the siege and capture of Jhansi and also in the pitched battle of Kunch and the taking of Kalpi. They then returned towards the Dakan, reducing the Zamindars of Bilwah *en route*. The movements of Tantia Topi, however, led to the Contingent being employed against Gwalior, after the reduction of which fortress they returned to the Nizam's dominions, after a glorious campaign of thirteen months. In February 1858 a detachment of the Contingent dispersed the troops of the rebel Rajah of Shorapur, in performing which service Captain P. K. Newberry was killed.

In February 1859 a fanatic Muslim attempted to kill the Resident and the Minister, who were conversing arm-in-arm, but after wounding one of the Minister's attendants was himself cut down. On the 5th of October, 1861, presents to the value of £10,000 were presented to the Nizam from the Governor-General, in acknowledgment of his services, and to Shams-ul-umara the Nizam's uncle, and the Nuwab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk Sir Salar Jung, his Minister, respectively, presents for similar reasons were given to the value of £3,000. The Governor-General in Council further expressed to Sir Salar Jung the most cordial thanks of the Government of India for the ability, courage and firmness with which he had discharged his duty to the Nizam and to England. Yakub Ali Khan, Jagirdar of Tikkapilli, and Muhammad Ghaus his son, and Rajah Rameshwar Rao of Wampatti were also rewarded for their loyalty. On the 31st of August, 1861 the Grand Cross of the Star of India was conferred on the Nizam, and in 1871 on Sir Salar Jung. These marks of consideration from the British Government had been preceded by one still more important. On the 21st of December 1860, by a new treaty, Shorapur was made over to the Nizam, and the Raichur Doab, yielding a revenue of twenty-one lakhs, was restored to him, and a debt of fifty lakhs held to be due by him to the British was cancelled. On the other hand the Nizam ceded a strip of land on the left bank of the Godavari, from below the confluence with the Savari, thirty miles above the mouth of the Wain Ganga, and agreed to abolish the duty of 5 per cent. on goods carried on the Godavari. Afzal-ud-daulah died in 1867, and was succeeded by his son Mahbub Ali Khan, then a mere child. In 1869 a determined attempt was made on the life of Sir Salar Jung by a fanatic Muslim. The Minister was being conveyed in a sort of sedan, called a bhoyah, and the assassin first discharged a blunderbuss at him, the shot from which penetrated the sides of the sedan, but without wounding the Minister. Foiled in this, the ruffian attempted to effect his purpose with a dagger, but a faithful servant threw himself between his master and the blow. Sir Salar's life was saved by this gallant act, but the devoted follower was killed on the spot. In 1875 Sir Salar Jung visited England and was received with all the honour which his long and eminent services deserved.

